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INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
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AND

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LITERATURE, MEDICINE, PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOLOGY, SCIENCE, ART

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XLVI—1917.

JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

In the person of **Dr. James Burgess**, who died at Edinburgh on the 3rd October in his eighty-fifth year, there has passed away an accomplished scholar and zealous worker who played a great part in the development of Indian historical and archaeological research, and Sir Richard Temple and I have lost a valued friend of long standing. The following sketch is offered as a tribute to his memory and an attempt to give an idea of what he achieved during some fifty years of active life and solid hard work.

Dr. Burgess was born on the 14th August, 1832, at Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. He was educated chiefly at Glasgow, with a view to adopting the profession of teaching. And he went to India in 1855 as Professor of Mathematics in the Doveton College at Calcutta. In 1861 he became Head of a large school at Bombay, the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution, and it was this move that led to his taking up the line of work in which he became so prominent. His interest in archaeological matters was aroused by the remains at Elephanta and the Kapheri Caves, and the other places which residence at Bombay gave him the opportunity of visiting during vacations. And the first fruits of the work which he was thus led to begin appeared in his "Temples of Satrunjaya," published in 1869, and his "Rock-cut Temples of Elephanta," which followed in 1871.¹

Soon after that came his first great service to the scientific world, which was done in 1872 by starting this journal, the **Indian Antiquary**. His objects were to bring together in one publication, of a suitable size for illustrations, the work in all the various lines of Indian historical and archaeological research which was being done by scholars both in India and elsewhere; to draw more workers into the field; to provide a medium of communication between writers who lived and worked in far different localities; and to make accessible in English translations and abstracts work that was being turned out by some of our European scholars in other languages. A glance through the Lists of Contents of the early volumes will show how many prominent scholars, both European and Indian, responded at once to his call, and availed themselves of the advantages that he offered by joining the ranks of his supporters and contributors, and how quickly new workers were attracted and brought into this field of research, and the pages of the volumes themselves are full of most valuable matter which he was thus the means of laying before us, including many contributions by himself both in separate papers and in editorial footnotes. He carried on this publication, in monthly issues and yearly volumes, chiefly at his own cost, for thirteen years, and wound up the series by a penultimate contribution of quite exceptional interest and value, namely,

¹ Here and below I mention only his most prominent works, nearly all of which have been taken into the general series of the Archaeological Survey of India, though a few of them, besides these two, were not written officially. Various other publications by him or prepared under his direction are to be found in the brochures or subsidiary smaller volumes of the Bombay and Madras Surveys, and in separately issued descriptive books and collections of photographs. A nearly full list of them all can be got from the bibliography attached to his article on Indian architecture in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, along with the lists which are given at the end of the annual report of the Director-General of Archaeology.

McCrimde's translation of Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia. Then, but only because by that time he found his hands quite full with the official duties which had devolved upon him, he made over the journal, at the end of 1884, to Sir Richard Temple and myself.

Meanwhile, from 1868 to 1873 Dr. Burgess was the Secretary of the Bombay Geographical Society. His work in this capacity and what he was doing as Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, along with the two small books which he had published on Elephanta and Satruñjaya, attracted the attention of Government, and led to official recognition of his special qualifications. It had already been realized by the Government of India that the extensive historical and archaeological remains of India deserved a better fate than that the exploration of them should continue to be left to private and intermittent enterprise. A first step was taken in 1870, when General Sir Alexander Cunningham, who, indeed, had been employed previously for some years on official archaeological exploration but had retired from active service, was recalled to India to be at first Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India, and then when a staff of Assistants was provided for him, to be Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. His time, however, and that of his Assistants was fully filled by work in Northern India. It was recognized that separate arrangements must be made for the South. And a second step was taken in January, 1874, when Dr. Burgess was appointed to be the **Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western India**. He was peculiarly fitted for such a post by having already a clear appreciation of the different classes of Indian architecture, a quick perception of the salient features which called for description and illustration, habits of close observation and accuracy partly innate and partly due to his mathematical training, great skill as a draftsman and photographer, and a winning manner which got for him the cordial co-operation of other scholars in supplying readings and translations of inscriptions, the only part of the work which he could not deal with in person. And the selection of him for the newly made office was quickly justified by his production of a series of fine large volumes, handsomely got up and richly illustrated, and full of most useful matter. In 1874 appeared his "Report on the First Season's Operations in the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts;" in 1876, his "Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh," including a contribution by E. Thomas on the "Sāh" and Gupta coins; and in 1878, his "Report on the Antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts in the Territories of H. H. the Nizam." During this period he started, by a "Provisional List of Architectural and other Archaeological Remains in Western India," which was issued in 1875 as No. 4 of the brochures of the Bombay Archaeological Survey, a series of compilations, framed subsequently both for Bombay and for other parts in an amplified and more detailed form, the usefulness of which has been found very great. Also, he perfected and taught to us who were co-operating with him the process of making the squeezes and impressions, both plain and inked, which enabled us to substitute real facsimiles of the inscriptions on stone for the small-scale photographs and the unreliable reproductions from eye-copies, tracings, and rubbings touched up by hand, which had been previously the only ways of illustrating such records.

In 1881 Madras was added to Dr. Burgess's sphere of work, and he became **Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India**. He then brought out in 1883 his fourth volume for Western India, namely, a "Report on the Buddhist Cave-temples and their Inscriptions," the inscriptions being given mostly from a preliminary treatment of them by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, published in 1881 in No. 10 of the brochures of the Bombay Survey, which was revised and added to by Professor Bühler. In the same year he produced his fifth volume for Western India, a "Report on the Elura Cave-Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India," with a treatment by Professor Bühler of the Nānāghāt and Kaṣheri inscriptions and the Daśavatara inscription at Elurā. In the meantime, in intervals of leisure Dr. Burgess had found time to co-operate with

James Fergusson in writing another volume of very primary importance, "The Cave-temples of India," which was published in both their names in 1880.

In March, 1886, Dr. Burgess succeeded Sir A. Cunningham as **Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India**. One of the first things that he did in his new office was to place the archaeological arrangements throughout India on a more systematic footing by putting Mr. Cousens and Mr. Rea, who were already his Assistants, in full charge of the work in Western India and Madras respectively; by getting Dr. Führer appointed for the North-West provinces and Oudh as an addition to the existing staff in Northern India; and by securing the appointment of Professor Hultzsch as Government Epigraphist, with the duty of collecting and publishing the inscriptional records of the Madras-Presidency and training a staff of assistants to help in carrying on that work and any extension of it. Another thing that he did in his new capacity was to start a second new journal, which, also, has played a most important part in Indian historical research. From 1872 the principal organ for the publication of the ancient records of India, the inscriptions on stone and copper which are found in such great numbers, especially in the South, had been the *Indian Antiquary*. But the pages of this journal were becoming insufficient for the increasing amount of material that was being collected. A separate journal, devoted exclusively to the inscriptions, was found necessary, and Dr. Burgess provided it by starting the *Epigraphia Indica*, which he brought out with the help of Professor Hultzsch and Dr. Führer, to provide for the inscriptions other than those which were specially the sphere of Professor Hultzsch's work. Owing to certain difficulties caused by special arrangements which had to be made in the Government Press at Calcutta, the first volume of this new series, issued in periodical instalment, was not finished till 1892, by which time Dr. Burgess had left India. But it was followed by vol. 2 without any undue delay in 1894. Here, again, a perusal of the Lists of Contents of the two volumes will show how successful he was in securing at once full support for his new undertaking. The pages of the two volumes are rich with epigraphic work by, amongst others, Professors Bühler and Kielhorn. And a noticeable feature in them is found in Professor Jacobi's "Tables for the Computation of Hindu Dates in Inscriptions," which Dr. Burgess, estimating quite rightly the usefulness of them, published in vol. 1, pp. 403-460, and vol. 2, pp. 487-498. This was a somewhat new line of inquiry, and a very important one. It had been started, on proper lines for the first time, by Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, in 1887, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 16, pp. 113-122, where he showed us how to get the true European equivalents for Hindu dates by means of tables published in Marāṭhī by Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre. Professor Jacobi took the matter in hand on European lines in the same journal vol. 17, pp. 145-181, and then recast and extended his tables and methods in the two contributions for which Dr. Burgess so judiciously found a place in the *Epigraphia Indica*, thus laying fully the foundations of a branch in our work the superstructure of which has been continued elsewhere by Sh. B. Dikshit, Mr. Sewell, and other scholars. Meanwhile, Dr. Burgess went on energetically with his own special work, and gave us in 1887 the first volume in the archaeological series for Madras, namely, "The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District," with texts and translations of by Professor Bühler of the inscriptions of Aśoka at Dauli and Jaugada, and in 1888, in co-operation with Mr. Cousens, a volume on "The Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat."

Dr. Burgess left India in 1889, to settle down in his home at Edinburgh, but not by any means to lead a life of leisure: he had many unpublished materials on hand; and he applied himself steadily to working them up for publication. He was busy in the first place, down to 1894, with the editing of the *Epigraphia Indica*, which then, from the beginning of its third volume, was taken over by Professor Hultzsch. In 1896 he gave us a volume on "The Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat." In 1900 he published Part 1 of

a work on "The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad." In 1901 he gave us, in his private capacity, a small but valuable book entitled "Buddhist Art in India," being a translation, made by Miss A. C. Gibson and revised and enlarged by himself and enriched with additional illustration, of Professor Albert Grünwedel's "Handbuch" on this topic, which had been published in 1893. In 1903, again in co-operation with Mr. Cousens, he gave us a volume on "The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat." And in 1905 he produced Part 2 of "The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad." This was his last official publication. But even then his activity by no means came to an end. He wrote the account of Indian architecture which was published in 1908 in the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 2, pp. 155-205. In 1910, in co-operation with Mr. Phené Spiers, he gave us a revised edition of Fergusson's "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," originally published in 1876, which he brought up to date in the light of all the more recent knowledge that had been acquired since then and of his own special acquaintance with the subject. And in 1913 he gave us "The Chronology of Modern India, A. D. 1494—1894," as a complement to the well-known book on the earlier chronology, from ancient times down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, which had been published in 1899 by Miss C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. Rickmers).

As may have been gathered from some things said above, Dr. Burgess was an expert mathematician. This branch of knowledge he never deserted, finding in it the relaxation from ordinary work which all of us need in some form or another. In 1898 he was awarded the Keith Medal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for a paper in which he propounded a new process in the Error-function Definite Integral. And it was this side of his attainments that enabled him to give us in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1893, pp. 717-761, a most instructive paper entitled "Notes on Hindu Astronomy and the History of our Knowledge of it." It is to be regretted that he did not write more in this line of research, which has been much neglected since the time when Whitney published his notes and illustrations to the translation of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

When Dr. Burgess gave us his "Chronology of Modern India," his health had broken down to such an extent that he was no longer capable of any continuous efforts; it began to fail, in fact, about ten years ago; and it was only under stress of great pain and increasing feebleness that he finished his last two publications. He was afflicted by serious weakness of the heart, and by a complaint which made severe surgical operations necessary from time to time. Life was a heavy burden to him for the last few years during which he was never free from discomfort, if not actual pain, and was, indeed, for much of the time in bed. But he always had the consolation that his mind remained clear, which enabled him up to the very last to take a practical interest in any topics that were submitted to him for elucidation, and the devoted attentions of a wife and daughters who helped him in keeping up his communications with friends at a distance whenever he could not write letters in person. He bore his sufferings with signal patience and resignation, under the influence of his natural fortitude and the deep religious convictions that he held, and has passed at last to rest, to be missed greatly by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Dr. Burgess's merits and work received recognition in various quarters. He was made LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh in 1881, and Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire in 1885. He was an Honorary Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects; an Honorary Member of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, the American Oriental Society, and the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow; and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and of the University of Bombay. And he was an Honorary Associate of the Finno-Ugrian Society, and a Corresponding Member of the Ethnological Society of Berlin and of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. He was also a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which he joined in 1886, and of which he was at the time of his death almost the oldest surviving member; a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a Member of the Société Asiatique, Paris.

ORIGINAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE CYCLONE AT PONDICHERRY
ON NEW YEAR'S DAY 1761.

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART.

Introductory Note.

THE violent cyclone which occurred at Pondicherry on the 1st January 1761 is historically important, as it happened at a crisis in the blockade of that place and inspired the French with hopes of immediate success.

The Seven Years War was at that time drawing to a close, but the Anglo-French quarrel in India was still undetermined, and Colonel (Sir) Eyre Coote, in command of the troops at Madras, after a successful action at Wandiwash and the capture of Arcot, in January 1760, had set about the reduction of Pondicherry, which was held by the Count De Lally. But as the British forces were not strong enough for an assault, he decided to closely invest the place, and at the same time a strict blockade by land and sea was kept up from May to the end of December 1760, with the help of a squadron under Admiral Charles Stevens and Rear Admiral (Sir) Samuel Cornish. Its fall seemed inevitable, unless it could be relieved by a French fleet, as it was known that the inhabitants were suffering from want of provisions.

Then, on New Year's Day 1761, a cyclone broke upon the coast in full fury, and it appeared impossible that any ship could have escaped. Indeed, it was at first generally believed that the entire English squadron had perished, and Lally dispatched an urgent message to the French Resident at Pulicat, begging him to lose no time in forwarding supplies for the "saving of Pondicherry." But though three ships had foundered with almost all hands, three were stranded and four dismasted, the French soon realized that their adversaries were not rendered powerless. A part of the squadron, under Admiral Cornish, which had been refitting at Trincomalee, escaped the storm, and returned to Pondicherry on the 6th January. Colonel Coote sent to Madras for all the armed vessels and stores available, and meanwhile set about the erection of a fort to protect the men who were salvaging the wrecks. The Council at Madras responded to the call for assistance, and thus, in a few days, the English were again "formidable at sea." All hope of relief being now at an end, the garrison, "having no Provisions left," capitulated on the 15th January 1761.

There are several contemporary accounts of this cyclone among the India Office Records, as well as information collected by Robert Orme, and a report drawn up by him, some seventeen years after the event. There are also descriptions in the Logs of some of the vessels of Admiral Stevens' squadron, preserved at the Public Record Office. By the courtesy of the authorities, I now give these accounts in their original wording. A certain amount of repetition is unavoidable, but as each narration contains details not found in the other accounts, it has seemed advisable to print all the reports in their entirety. The whole collection forms a valuable addition to the history of cyclones in India in the 18th century.

Colonel Coote's Account of the Storm as recorded in his Journal.¹

Tuesday 30th December 1760.—The surf ran so high this day that no stores could be landed.

Wednesday 31st December 1760.—The surf so great this day that no boat or Catamaran could go off to bring any stores on shore.

Thursday 1st January 1761.—Very cloudy weather all this morning. In the evening about 8 o'clock, it began to blow hard. At ten the most violent storm arose that has been known in the memory of man, and continued 'till 2 in the morning.

Friday 2nd January 1761.—The storm which happened last night almost ruined our batteries and working tools, destroyed intirely all our Pandalls [*pandâl*, a thatched shed] in Camp, and killed several black people. His Majesty's ships *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector* drove on shore to the southward of Arioncopang²; all but five or six men in the crew saved. The *Duke of Aquitaine*, *Sunderland*, and *Duke* storeship foundered about one o'clock this morning. Only three men are saved out of those two men of war, and seven blacks out of the *Duke*; the *America*, *Panther*, *Medway* and *Falmouth* entirely dismasted and laying at anchor to the southward; no news yet of the *Norfolk*, Admiral Stevens, but fear she is lost. Wrote immediately to the Governor and Council of Bombay to acquaint them with this unhappy catastrophe, and requested they would immediately dispatch Captain Tideman and the men of war there to the Coast, and at the same time to send as much powder as they could possibly spare. Wrote also to the Governor and Council of Madras, and desired they would immediately send supplies of stores to the army, in the room of those lost on board the *Duke*. Ordered all the Mussola [*mussoola*, *masûla*, a surf-boat] boats and Catamarans from the northward to assist the ships to the southward and those ashore off Arioncopang, also ordered provisions and arrack to be sent for the use of the sailors belonging to the *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector*. Wrote to the officer commanding at Cudalore to dispatch immediately all his Mussola boats and Catamarans to assist the ships, and to send for those at Porto Novo and Deve Cotah.³ . . .

Sunday 4th January 1761.—This morning Admiral Stevens arrived in the *Norfolk* without any damage, also the *Grafton*, Captain Parker. Intercepted a letter from Mr. [Monsieur] Lally to one Mr. [Monsieur] Raymond⁴ at some of the neutral ports, in which he desires him, in the most pressing manner, to send some rice to Pondicherry, and to run all risques and hazard every thing to effect it, if it was only half a Garce⁵ at a time. He acquaints him that, as the English fleet was entirely destroyed, he had it once more in his power to save Pondicherry. Wrote to the Governor and Council of Madras to dispatch immediately all the armed vessels there to join the ships before Pondicherry. Wrote also to Admiral Stevens and sent him a copy of Mr. Lally's intercepted letter, at the same time represented to him my uneasiness least any boats with provisions should get into the

¹ Orme MSS., India, Vol. VIII. pp. 1986-7.

² Ariankuppam, near Pondicherry.

³ Porto Novo, on the Coast of S. Arcot, 32 miles South of Pondicherry. Devikotta, a Marâtha Fort.

⁴ See *Infra* for a translation of this letter.

⁵ A measure, varying from about 8,000 to 9,000 lbs. avoirdupois.

garrison, and recommended his ordering armed boats to keep constantly cruising in shore, so as to prevent any thing getting in to their relief. Received advice from Negapatam that a boat loaded with provisions sailed from that port; acquainted Admiral Stevens with this immediately. . . .

Tuesday 6th January 1761.—The late storm having raised the sea so high as to wash away the Star redoubt, which was built between the Sea and the river to the Southward and thereby leave that part uncovered, I ordered the Engineers to mark out a fort capable of containing 300 men, so as intirely to cover the southward and prevent the enemy from sending out any parties to molest the seamen at the wrecks. Received a letter from Admiral Stevens, desiring me to send armed boats to cruize before Pondicherry. Wrote him for answer that I had none fit for that purpose, and even if I had, there were no proper people on shore to man them; also informed him that I had intelligence from the different neutral ports of several boats lading with provisions for the enemy, and that I made no doubt of his taking the necessary measures to prevent their getting into Pondicherry. This day Admiral Cornish⁶ in the *Lenox*, with the *York* and *Weymouth*, arrived here, all well.

Colonel Coote's Report of the Storm to the Council at Fort St. George.⁷

Consultation, 4th January 1761.—This morning came in the following letter from Colonel Coote Commanding the Army before Pondicherry.

To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George.

Gentlemen,—After the most terrible night of wind and rain that I ever was witness to, I have this morning the most dismal prospect. Our fleet (I am afraid) entirely destroyed. Four of the ships we see dismasted and two more on shore. The beach is covered with peices of wrecks; the Army almost in as great distress, having our Tents, Huts, and every thing belonging to us destroyed. Great numbers of the black people, men, women and Children have been killed. I fear greatly for the Ship *Duke*; she had the greater part of her stores on board. It is absolutely necessary that you, Gentlemen exert your utmost [endeavours] (by sending us as speedy supplies as possible) to make up for this unfortunate disaster, and to enable us at the same time to push on the Siege with vigor. I am by this shocken Scene of confusion so hurried, which prevents me from saying any thing further at present, than that I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

EYRE COOTE.

Oulgaret,⁸ 2d January 1761.

To which was returned the following Answer:—

To Eyre Coote Esqr., Commander-in-Chief.

SIR,—We received this morning your favour of the 2d Instant with the unfortunate news of the sufferings the Fleet and Army have sustained by a storm of wind on the 1st Instant. The misfortune is great; so much the greater must our ardor be in preventing

⁶ Rear Admiral Samuel Cornish, Cr. Bt. 1766, died 1770. See the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* for a notice of him. He succeeded Admiral Charles Stevens in command of the squadron, on the death of the latter in April 1761.

⁷ *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 1-3.

⁸ Oulgaret, one of the four communes of Pondicherry.

the advantages the Enemy might otherwise make of our distress. Whatever can be done by us shall not be wanting. We had some part of the gale here, but the *Falmouth*, loaded with Stores, fortunately rode it out. We dispatch her to you this night. Two ships, (the *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich*) arrived from Bengal, shall in a few days carry you a further supply of Gunpowder. All our Carpenters are set to work to make more platforms, which shall also be forwarded to you as soon as they are finished, as well as every other store our Garrison affords.

We remain &ca.,
GEORGE PIGOT, &ca.,
Council.

Colonel Coote's further Report of the damage caused by the Storm.⁹

Consultation, 5th January 1761.—The following letter received from Colonel Coote, with further particulars of the loss sustained by the Storm of wind on the 1st Instant.

To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George.

GENTLEMEN,—After I had the honor of writing to you yesterday, I went along the Sea Side to the Southward of Pondichery, where I had a most miserable prospect of our shattered fleet. It is not in my power to describe the horror of the night of the 1st and the dreadful effects of it. The best account I can give you is the following. There are three ships on shore; most of the crews will be saved. The names are the *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector*. Three ships have foundered, the *Duke of Aquitaine*, *Sunderland* and *Duke Storeship*; the two former had but one man saved, and the latter seven blacks. Four large ships are entirely dismasted; who they are, I do not exactly know, nor can I tell any thing of the few remaining Ships of the Squadron. Should the *Revenge* be carried at Madras I beg you would dispatch her immediately, and whatever armed Vessels you can collect, as we have not at present even a boat to block up the place. I sent off an express yesterday to Bombay, by way of Anjengo, in order to hurry round the Ships of war there, and I am doing every thing in my power to help the distressed people here, as well as to carry on the Attacks on this place. The Storm has almost rendered useless every thing I have hitherto done; yet I hope by a little activity and perseverance to get the better of this misfortune.

I have the honor to be, &ca.,
EYRE COOTE.

Head Quarters, 3d January 1761.

Measures taken by the Council at Fort St. George in consequence of the above Report.

Such a Calamitous and unexpected accident to our Fleet at this time is indeed a very melancholy event. We, however flatter ourselves that Admiral Cornish, with his Division, consisting of five ships of the Line, has escaped the Effects of the Storm, and that we shall in a few days hear of his arrival on the Coast to renew the blockade by Sea. In the mean time, that every precaution in our power may be taken to prevent the Enemy's getting in supplies by that means, RESOLVED that the *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich*, which imported here from Bengal the 3rd Instant do take on board as much Gunpowder as they can receive for the Siege of Pondichery, and proceed to the Southward with all Expedition for that Service.

⁹ *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 240, Vol. 47, pp. 3-5.

And Ordered that Mr. Milton, the Commisary General of Stores at Camp, be wrote to for an account of the stores that had been landed from the *Duke*, that all possible means may be taken for replacing the deficiency occasioned by the loss of that Ship.

Ordered that Pattamars [*pathmār*, a foot runner, messenger] be dispatched to Bombay and Bengal with Advices of the late disaster which has happened to the Fleet, and to request of the Gentlemen at Bombay to communicate the same to the Commanders of any of his Majesty's ships there, that they may be prepared to execute such orders as they may receive from the Admiral, from whom as yet we have received no Advices since the Accident. We are uncertain what measures he may think most expedient to take for refitting the disabled Ships and as a part of our battering Cannon is lost in the *Duke*, It is Agreed to request they will supply us with this Article as far as they are able.

**Report of the Storm sent to Bombay, 5th January 1761, by the
Council at Fort St. George.¹⁰**

Honble. Sir and Sirs,—Since our last of the 20th Ultimo, we have received your favor under date the 27th November.

Admiral Stevens, with the *Norfolk*, *Sunderland*, *Falmouth* and *Protector*, joined the five Ships under Captain Haldane's Command off Pondichery the 25th of last Month, and the *Queenborough* a day or two after, having left Tricamallay [Trincomallee, Ceylon] the 16th, and parted from the *Lenox*, *Grafton*, *Weymouth*, *York*, *Salisbury*, *Tartar* Sloop and *Compagnie des Indes*, French Prize, under Admiral Cornish, off Point Pedro.¹¹

After this favorable account of the chief part of the Squadron being safe on the Coast, it is with pain we proceed to describe the very unfortunate Catastrophe which happened by the effects of a most violent gale of wind off Pondicherry the 1st Instant. All the particulars we have as yet received of this unhappy event are as follow. The *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector* drove ashore near Ariancopang, the crews saved; the *Duke of Aquitaine*, the *Sunderland*, and the Company's Ship *Duke* laden with Stores for the Siege, founder'd; of the two former, only one was saved, and a few Lascars of the latter. The *Norfolk*, *America*, *Medway*, *Falmouth* and *Panther* rode it out, but were obliged to cut away all their Masts, and we hear are otherwise much damaged; the *Liverpool* Frigate put to Sea, and has not since been heard of. The *Elizabeth*, *South Sea Castle* and *Hermione*, French Prize, we understand were sent round to Bombay from Trincomalay, and that the *Tiger* was left at the last mentioned place to compleat her Repairs.

As we are quite uncertain what measures the Admiral may think most expedient to take for refitting the disabled Ships, we can only give you this early notice, and request that you will be pleased to communicate the same to the Commanders of any of His Majesty's Ships with you, that they may be prepared to execute such orders as they may receive from the Admiral. The Instant we are informed of his resolution, we shall dispatch another Pattamar to you.

We have had no certain accounts of Admiral Cornish since Mr. Steevens left him off Point Pedro, as abovementioned, but a private letter just received mention[s] five Ships being seen to the Northward of Pondichery, which we hope to be his division.

Our Camp has also suffered by the Storm, but we are exerting our utmost endeavours to press the Siege with Vigour, and prevent, as far as we are able, the advantages the Enemy

¹⁰ *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47.

¹¹ A point at the extreme N. E. of Ceylon, near Point Palmyra.

might otherwise reap from this Calamity. Some reports speak of the arrival of the Ships destined to your Presidency at Anjengo. We hope it is true and are persuaded your Honor &c., will not lose a moment to give us all the Assistance in your power.

The *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich* from Bengal imported here the 2d Instant. Their arrival is very opportune to assist in carrying Stores for the siege of Pondichery. They have Salt Petre on board for your Presidency. Whether we can send them round conveniently with the present circumstances of Affairs we cannot yet determine. You may, however, depend that nothing but absolute necessity shall induce us to detain them.

Our call for Gunpowder is so great that we hope your Honor &c., will excuse our repeated Request that you will send us as large a supply as you can possibly spare and find conveyance for; and as we have lost a part of our battering Cannon for the Siege of Pondichery, if you can assist us in this Article with some 18 or 24 pounders, they will be very acceptable.

We are &c.,
GEORGE PIGOT, &c.,
Council.

**Admiral Charles Steevens' Report of the Storm to the Council
at Fort St. George.¹²**

Consultation 7th January 1761.—Received the following letter from Admiral Steevens to the President and Council at Fort St. George.

GENTLEMEN,—On the first Instant, observing the weather squally and unsettled, I made every necessary disposition to prepare His Majesty's Ships under my Command for going to Sea, if I found myself under an absolute necessity of running out with the Squadron.

At eight o'clock at night it began to be squally, the wind at N. W. by N. and at ten, I found myself under an absolute necessity of cutting my cable, and making a signal for the squadron to do the same, driving off under a Reef'd Mizen. From half past ten to half past eleven the wind increased, blowing very hard; at twelve it became moderate, and continued so till near one a'clock; then the wind shifted to the S. E. Quarter, and continued to blow harder than it did before, till about 3, the *Norfolk* at that time standing to the N. E. under a Reef'd Foresail, and when I could sound, only shoaled my water from 17 to 14 fathom, which soundings I kept till the weather moderated. At 7 o'clock in the morning saw Sadrass¹³ to the W. N. W., distant 5 Leagues. I then thought it necessary to haul off the land till the weather settled, having received no other damage than splitting a Reef'd Mainsail and Mizen, and losing my long boat; during the Storm I made (from the Ships labouring) 4 feet water.

Yesterday I spoke with the *Liverpool* at Sea, who had lost all her Masts, and soon after spoke with the *Grafton*, and left her to take care of the said Ship, as I pushed here this morning with all possible expedition, to be ready to assist the distressed ships of the squadron.

The *Grafton* and *Liverpool* are come to an Anchor off this place, and from the *Grafton* I am informed that on the 28th Ultimo, at about 30 Leagues off the Land He saw Rear Admiral Cornish with the *York* and *Weymouth* in Company.

Enclosed I transmit you the best account I can at present learn of the unfortunate lost and distressed Ships of the Squadron.

¹² *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 12-15.

¹³ Sadrass (Seven Pagodas) in Chingleput District, then a Dutch settlement.

I have only at present to beg the favor you will please to get Ships or Vessels to send down to the Squadron all the provisions the Agent Victualler has wrote to Mr. Morse about, as we are in great want of those Articles; as also all the Massoolah boats you can possibly get for the service of the squadron to water the Ships, and save what stores we can out of the wrecked Ships, as we have lost all our Long Boats, and most part of the other boats.

I am &ca.,

CHARLES STEEVENS.

Norfolk, off Pondichery, 4th January 1761.

Account of the Loss sustained by the fleet in the late Storm.

Aquitain, founder'd, one man saved only.

Sunderland, a few saved, the Ship founder'd.

Queenborough, lost, the people saved.

Medway, *America*, *Panther*, *Falmouth* and *Liverpool*, distasted.

Newcastle, ashore, the People saved.

Duke, Company's Ship, founder'd at her Anchors.

Protector, lost, people saved.

In answer to which the following draft was prepared, and Ordered to be immediately wrote fair and dispatched.

To Charles Steevens, Esqr., Rear Admiral of the Red and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Squadron in India, Sir,—Amidst the deepest concern on account of the disaster which has befallen those ships of your squadron which remained in Pondichery road, it is a great consolation to us to learn by your letter of the 4th Instant that you are safe with His Majesty's Ship *Norfolk* and that the Ships which were not yet arrived with Mr. Cornish has been seen in good condition since the storm.

We beg, Sir, you will rely on our utmost endeavours to render you all possible assistance in this your distress; we would even anticipate your wishes if we knew how. The *Lord Mansfield* and *Sandwich*, lately arrived from Bengal, having provisions on board for the use of the Squadron, shall be dispatched to you without delay; the former we believe will sail tomorrow, and the other the next day. The *Revenge* and *Tartar* Sloop, arrived here, shall be returned to you as soon as the stores Mr. Morse has to send you can be put on board. The *Admiral Watson* and *Fort William* Schooner shall be also sent back as soon as they arrive, and we have this day dispatched to you 13 Massoolah boats, which are all we have, except a very few reserved for the necessary services of the settlement.

We have the honor to be &ca.,

GEORGE PIGOT &ca.,

Council.

Further Reports from Colonel Coote: Effect of the news of the disaster wrought by the Storm on the garrison at Pondicherry.¹⁴

Consultation 7th January 1761.—Two Letters from Colonel Coote read as follows.—To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George. Gentlemen,—I have the pleasure to inform you that a ship appeared this morning, which we take for Admiral Steevens, whom every body gave over for lost. I have the honor to inclose you copy of a letter I intercepted from Mr. Lally, by which you will see how absolutely necessary it is to send here all the armed vessels at Madras. As I have not had the least intelligence as yet from

¹⁴ *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 15-17.

thence, I am uneasy about the fate of the *Falmouth* with our stores, and to know whether you have had the gale so violent with you as we have had it here.

I have the honor to be &ca.,
EYRE COOTE.

Head Quarters, 4th January 1761.

The intercepted Letter mentioned by Colonel Coote is from Mr. Lally to Mr. Raymond, the French Resident at Pullicat,¹⁵ importing that the English Squadron is entirely destroyed by the effects of the late storm, and therefore enjoining him to send boats laden with rice to Pondichery by every possible means.

To the Honble. the President and Council of Fort St. George. Gentlemen, . . . The Ship which we yesterday took for Admiral Steevens proves to be really his; he has met with no damage. The *Grafton* is also arrived; she spoke with Mr. Cornish on the 28th of last month.

I have &ca.,
EYRE COOTE.

Head Quarters, 5th January 1761.

A True Copy of General Lally's intercepted note to Mr. Raymond, brought to the Commander in chief the 4th January 1761.¹⁶

Translation.

PONDICHERY,
2d January 1761.

Mr. Raymond,—The English squadron is no more, Sir; out of the twelve ships which they had in our Road, seven have perished, Crews and all; four are rased (or dismasted) and it appears that there is but one frigate that hath escaped: therefore lose not an instant to send us Chelingues upon Chelingues,¹⁷ loaded with Rice. The Dutch have nothing to fear now. Besides, according to the rights of the nations, they are only not to send provisions themselves, and we are no more blockt up by the sea. The saving of Pondichery has been in your hands once already: if you miss this opportunity, it will be intirely your fault; don't forget also some small Chelingues. Offer large rewards. I expect seventeen thousand Maratos [Marâthas] within these four days. In short, risk every thing, and send us some Rice, should it be but half a Garce at a time.

(Signed) L.

Captain Affleck's Account of the Storm at Pondicherry, 1st January 1761, as given to Robert Orme in London in April, 1778.¹⁸

On the first of January 1761 the weather was so bad and the sea ran so high that no boats could pass from ship to ship; there being strong indications of a severe gale in the afternoon, Admiral Stevens made some preparations for putting to sea with the fleet (if it should be necessary), consisting of the *Norfolk* of 74 Guns where his flag flew, the *Duc d'Aquitaine* of 64, the *America*, *Medway*, *Panther*, *Sunderland* of 60, the *Falmouth* and *Newcastle* of 50, the *Liverpool* of 28, and the *Queenborough* of 20, the remaining part of the fleet

¹⁵ Pulicat, in Chingleput District, where the Dutch had a settlement.

¹⁶ Orme MSS., India, Vol. VI. p. 2043.

¹⁷ Chelingo, chelingue, etc., (Arab. *shelandi*) a cargo row-boat used for discharging troops!

¹⁸ Orme MSS., Vol. 63, p. 219.

not having yet joined him from Ceyloan. The wind continued off the land till 9 P. M., when it began veering to the Northward, at which hour it is supposed the Admiral put to sea; but the violence of the gale and the darkness of the night prevented the squadron from the knowledge of his intentions, and they consequently lay at anchor as long as their cables would hold them. About 10 o'clock all the Ships were adrift, having parted their cables; about midnight the wind shifted to the S. E. and blew with exceeding violence, and exhibited in the morning the dreadful scene of four ships in the offing dismasted and several driven ashore on the beach: this was not however the most melancholy circumstance.

The *Duc d'Aquitaine*, commanded by Sir William Hewit, and the *Sunderland* by Captain Colvill foundered in the gale, and out of both ships only nine men were saved, who were taken up by the *Panther's* boat in the morning, having been six hours driving about in the sea on pieces of the Masts and Yards which had been cut away. The Ships which were obliged to cut away their Masts were the *America*, Capt. Haldane, *Medway*, *Tinker*, *Falmouth*, *Brereton* and *Panther*, Affleck; and the *Newcastle*, *Collins* and *Queenborough*, Daniel, were driven ashore near Arcocapang, where being out of the reach of the guns of Pondicherry, their hulls were only lost, the crews, stores and provisions being all saved. Of the whole number of Ships lying the preceding day off Pondicherry, the Admiral's ship and *Liverpool* now remained to be accounted for: it was a general apprehension that the former had foundered, but the *Liverpool* having been stationed to the southward of the fleet and at a greater distance from the shore, had probably put to sea. On the 3d in the afternoon, these fears were removed by the Admiral's flag appearing and with him the *Liverpool*, who had been dismasted; the *Norfolk* had suffered no damage, having put to sea, when the other ships, not being able to see or hear his signal, were obliged to lye at Anchor untill their cables parted.

**Robert Orme's Queries to Captain Affleck regarding the Storm,
with the Captain's Answers.¹⁹**

Queries.

Did they anchor again or drive before the North storm until obliged to turn again to the land when it changed to the S. E., and then, having shoaled their water, anchor again; Or had they been able to avoid anchoring until the wind fell? I speak now more particularly of the ships which were riding in the morning, the *America*, *Medway*, *Panther* and *Falmouth*. At what time did these ships cut away their masts? Did they leave any one of the masts standing?

Is it known whether the *Duke of Aquitaine* and *Sunderland* foundered at their anchors, or when adrift, and at what part of the gale did they founder?

At what time of the gale were the *Newcastle* and *Sunderland* driven ashore? Did they anchor again after they first parted their cables and then part them again, and so drive ashore? It is more probable that they drove ashore whilst adrift. From the first I have a note that the masts of the *Duke of Aquitain* and *Sunderland* appeared the next morning just above the water. In what sounding did they founder?

Answers.

About 10 o'clock all the ships were adrift, having parted their cables.

In regard to the *Panther* she parted her S. B. [starboard bower] Cable about 9 o'clock, let go her B. B. [best bower] and brought up at 2 Cables an (*sic*) end by which she rode about 20 minutes, when that cable parting, she put to sea and set the reefed courses and

¹⁹ Orme MSS., Vol. 63, pp. 223-236.

stood off. The mainsail almost immediately split to pieces. Continued standing to the eastward under F. S. and reefed and balanced mizen, the wind veering to the N. E., and blowing violently: between 11 and 12 it died away suddenly, which being a certain indication of its shifting to the southward and redoubling its violence, hauled up the F. S. [foresail] and wore with the fore stay sail: in veering, narrowly escaped being on board the *Newcastle*. The wind at 12 o'clock burst from the S. E., with amazing force, which broached the ship too, and laid her on her beam ends. Cut away the mizen mast to endeavour at veering, but to no effect; the ship not righting and being full of water, cut away the mainmast, which broke below the upper deck and tore up the deck; the ship then was so filled with water between decks that the men could not stand at the pumps. The mainmast providentially soon broke near the gunwale, on which the ship righted: Scuttled the lower deck and freed the ship of water by the pumps. The wind continued with great violence from the eastward, and the ship consequently driving on the shore till about two, during which time were employed clearing away as much as possible of the wreck; then let go the sheet anchor to prevent driving under the guns of Pondicherry, but not bringing up, were obliged to cut away the foremast, by which the bowsprit was also lost. She then brought up and rode safe in twelve fathoms water.²⁰

The *Norfolk*, 74 guns, Captain Kempenfelt. Admiral Steven's ship.

Captain Kempenfelt's letter to Admiral Pocock, which I have, gives an account of what happened to her in the storm.²¹

The *Duke of Aquitaine*, 64 guns, Sir William Hewitt.

Mr. Cuthbert (April 2d. 1778), thinks she overset as she was endeavouring to cut her masts after she had parted her cables; this is in the S. E. part of the gale.

The *Sunderland*, 60 guns, Captain Colville.

Mr. Cuthbert says she would not cut away her masts, and the sea tore out her bows.

When the *Sunderland* was on her beam ends and it was proposed to Captain Colvill to cut away the masts, he replied, "of what use will the ship be against the enemy without masts," and attempted to cut away the main mast when it was too late.

The *Liverpool*, 28 guns, Captain [Richard Knight].

She was at anchor to the north of the other ships, put out to sea without sail. On the S. E. gale all her masts without sail were carried away. She made the land on the [?] off of Palliacate [Pulicat], and fell in with the *Norfolk* at sea.

The *Panther*, 60 guns, Captain Affleck.

Parted her cables at about 10. Was riding by her last cable when the storm ceased, and that cable was half cut through at the bows.

The *America*, 60 guns, Captain Haldane.

As the *Panther*, for what I know of her.

The *Medway*, 60 guns, Captain Tinker.²²

As the *Panther*, for what I know of her.

The *Falmouth*, 50 guns, Capt. Brereton.

The same as the *Panther* for what I know of her.

The *Newcastle*, 50 guns, Captain Collins.²³

Drove ashore nearly opposite to the fort of Ariancopang; at what hour, what happened to her before, I don't know.

²⁰ For further details see the extract from the Log of the *Panther*, which follows that of the *Norfolk*, *infra*.

²¹ See *infra* for this account.

²² For details of what happened to the *Medway*, see the extract from her Log, *infra*.

The *Queenborough*, 20 guns, Captain Daniel.

The same as the *Newcastle*; I know no more of her.²³

The *Duke* Storeship.

She went ashore as the *Newcastle* and *Queenborough*: I know no more of her.

The *Weymouth*, 60 guns, Captain Somerset.

Coming from Trincomalley, anchored in the evening of the 1st of January in Negapatam road, saw signs of bad weather, and that the Dutch on shore had struck the top mast of their flag staff, from which Somerset confirmed his own opinion, and put to sea. The gale arose from the N. E., and it was with difficulty he weathered a spit of sand which runs off from the head of Ceylon, when having got sea room, and out of the strength of the run of the storm, all was well, but he carried in proportion to the wind more sail than [ever] in his life [before] to clear the sand.

State of the Squadron after the Storm January 2d 1761.²⁴

| Name of Vessel. | No. of Guns. | Name of Captain. | State of Vessel. |
|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>America</i> | 60 | Haldane | Dismasted. |
| <i>Medway</i> | 60 | Tinker | Dismasted. |
| <i>Newcastle</i> | 50 | Collins, alive | Stranded. |
| <i>Salisbury</i> | 50 | Sir Wm. Baird | At sea, Well. |
| <i>Tyger</i> | 60 | | At Madras, Well. |
| <i>Queenborough</i> | 20 | Daniel | Stranded. |
| <i>Duke of Aquitain</i> | 64 | Sir William Hewit. | Foundered. |
| <i>Sunderland</i> | 60 | Colvill | Foundered. |
| <i>Falmouth</i> | 50 | Brereton, alive | Dismasted. |
| <i>Panther</i> | 60 | Afleck | Dismasted. |
| <i>Grafton</i> | 70 | Parker | At sea, Well. |
| <i>Lenox</i> | 74 | Ad. Cornish | " " |
| <i>York</i> | 60 | | " " |
| <i>Weymouth</i> | 60 | Somerset, alive | " " |
| <i>Norfolk</i> | 74 | Kempenfelt, Admiral Stevens, alive | Got through the storm. |
| <i>Liverpool</i> | 28 | Knight | " " |

Stranded-*Protector* [fireship].

Foundered-*Duke* [country vessel].

Dismasted 4

Stranded 1

Foundered 3

8

Safe 1

9

²³ For further particulars of the *Newcastle* and *Queenborough*, see the extracts from their Logs, *infra*.

²⁴ Orme MSS., Vol. 63, p. 190.

Part of a rough Sketch of the Storm, composed by Robert Orme in 1778.²⁵

[The commencement of the document is missing. The opening sentence apparently refers to the weather at the close of the year 1760. The M.S. begins as follows—] of December, although the same weather continued, a large swell came from the sea, and the surf beat so deep and heavy on the shore that no boats could pass, which continued thus through the night. The next morning the wind freshened and the sky was close and dusky, but without that hard irregularity which forebodes a storm. This aspect did not alter until 4 in the afternoon, but the wind did not increase until 8, when it began to blow in squalls every one stronger than the last until 10, when Admiral Stevens in the *Grafton*, commanded by Captain Kempenfelt, fired the signal for the ships to cut their cables and put out to sea.

None heard the signal. All were prepared, and some were already gone, but the wind was now grown so furious that none of the ships could set a single sail; however, as the wind was from the north, and the shore ran to the west, the meer drift carried them clear of the land until 12, when the wind ceased at once, and it fell stark calm. The symptom was known and the danger that was to follow not doubted. All hands were exerted to get the²⁶ ship about with her head to the north, which they had scarcely done [when] the wind flew up from the south east and blew with much greater fury than the first storm from the opposite quarter; the foresail²⁷ although hall'd up in the bracquets and the mizen double reef were tore away and shivered to pieces, but the foresail stood. The other ships, although they did not hear the signal, put out to sea, but unluckily later than the Admiral, all with the same impossibility of setting any sail, which, with the increased violence of the storm from the N. W., prevented them from getting as far from the South and from the land, when it fell calm, and the tempest when it changed drove them all back towards Pondicherry, every minute shoaling their water; and as the last resource they all anchored with every anchor they could get out, and most of them cut away all their masts. Nevertheless, the *Newcastle* of 64 guns,²⁸ the *Queenborough* of 20, with the *Protector* which now served as a tender, parted their Cables and were driven ashore near one another a little below the bar of Arian Copang, but the *Duke of Aquitain* of 64 and the *Sunderland* of 70, commanded by the Captains [Sir Wm. Hewit] and [Colvill] unfortunately did not take the precaution of cutting away their masts, and pitching excessively as they turned to head the sea, could not buoy up against the immense wave; and the first that broke over them left them with such a weight of water that they lost all power to resist the following or to be moved even by the violence of the wind towards the shore, although it is to be supposed that all the three cut their cables in order to gain this last means of preservation, and all the three foundered in 7 fathoms water with 1,200 English sailors on board; [only nine men]²⁹ besides a hundred Lascars in the *Protector*, were saved to tell the tale. All this havock was finished in two hours, for the South West storm suddenly ceased at half an hour past two in the morning, and the sea became quiet as it had been suddenly raised. Never did a town press [ed] to extremity behold so great a reverse for its preservation as the rising sun. Three ships stranded on the shore which a few days before had been their own; the masts

²⁵ Orme MSS., Vol. 63.

²⁶ These remarks refer to the *Panther*. See Captain Affleck's account, *ante*, p. 10.

²⁷ Mainsail: see Captain Affleck's account.

²⁸ In the list given *ante*, p. 1, the number of guns of the *Newcastle* is 50 and of the *Sunderland* 60.

²⁹ This is the number given by Captain Affleck. See *ante*, p. 9.

of three which had been foundered; and the only four which remained in sight [on] the water covered with wreck and death which every wave brought to their strand. Nor was the prospect of their enemies at land less free from destruction in proportion to the element in which it fell. All the tents and temporary cazernes [barracks] of the English army on the Red hill and in all their out posts were blown to pieces and torn from the ground; all the ammunition for the immediate service abroad was destroyed. Many of the natives attending the camp, from the natural weakness of their constitution, perished from the inclemency, and no vestiges remained in any order from the different battalions of Europeans, for all the soldiers have [had] been obliged to quit their arms in order to seek shelter where ever it was to be found. On the other hand, the sea had passed over the beach and overflowed the country, and, helped by the wind, had ruined all the batteries which the English had contracted [constructed] and employed against the town. But this inundation preserved the English army, for if the ground had been passable, 500 men marching out of the town with proper ammunition would for three hours no where have met fifty to oppose them.

Captain Kempenfelt's ³⁰ Account of the Storm. ³¹

On board the *Norfolk*, in Pondicherry Road,
30th January, 1761.

SIR,—I take this opportunity to address my respects to you and to convey some account of our Transactions here. After parting from you, we remain'd all the S. W. Monsoon off Cuddilore in expectation of the French Squadron, of whose coming we had several reports, but they never appeared, either judging us too strong from the Reinforcement we had received, or unable from the want of Provisions and Stores. Our Army, after having reduced Karecal and all the Out Forts of the Enemy, except Gingy and Tegara,³² formed the Blockade of Pondicherry and had some thoughts of commencing the Siege, but at last judged that they should not be able to go through with it till the Monsoon set in; thereupon it was deferred till that Season was over. Upon this, Mr. Stevens judged it Expedient to go to Trincomall with the most defective of the Ships to refit, and left five of the rest to continue the Blockade and risque the Monsoon; there [! these] were the *America*, *Medway*, *Panther*, *Duke of Aquitaine*, and *Newcastle*. We arrived at Trincomel the 29th of October, and the 16th of December sailed to return upon the Coast, with the *Lenox*, *Grafton*, *York*, *Weymouth*, *Tiger*, *Sunderland*, *Falmouth*, *Salisbury* and *Queenboro'*, and that this might be sooner effected the Admiral directed each Ship to make the best of their way without waiting Company. The 25th of December we, with the *Sunderland*, *Falmouth* and *Protector* Fireship, joined our Ships before Pondicherry. They told us the Monsoon had been very favourable. Our Army had opened some distant Batteries against the Town, and were landing Cannon, &c., to advance their attacks. By Deserters we learnt that the place was in great Distress for Provision.

The 1st of January we had a large swell hove in from the Eastward, and indeed for two days before we had it more than common, but the Sky appeared settled and the Breezes were regular, inclining off Shore in the Night and from the Sea in the Day, till the first, when

³⁰ Richard Kempenfelt 1718-1782, notable as the Admiral who went down in the *Royal George* "with twice four hundred men." See the notice of him in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³¹ *Orms MSS.*, Vol. 52, pp. 185-190.

³² Kārikāl, a French settlement on the Coromandel Coast, near Negapatam; Gingee (*Chenji*) a hill fortress in S. Arcot, 35 mls. N. W. from Pondicherry; Tiyāga Drug in S. Arcot, a hill fortress, situated in 11°45' N. Lat. and 79°8' E. Long., on the road from Arcot to Trichinopoly.

it blew the whole Day from the N. N. W. with a close Sky, but not a Windy aspect till the afternoon, when we reefed our Courses and prepared to put to Sea, tho' it did not blow any thing fresh till after 8, when it became Squally; at 10 we made the Signal to Cut. It immediately came on to blow so Violent that we could shew no Sail. However, we drifted off as the Wind was at North.³³ At 12 it fell at once moderate, and the rain which was during the Gale ceased, and the Sky looked quiet and still. We set our Courses, and the Wind vereing to the S. E., we wore to the Starboard Tack. Scarce had we trim'd the Foresail, when of a sudden it flew up thick all round, and the wind came pouring down from the S. E., with a Fury and Impetuosity far beyond any thing I had ever seen. Our Mainsail, tho' close up in the Braces, was in a moment all in Rags, the Mizzen the same, but the Foresail to a miracle stood. We were but in 16 fathom when we made the signal to wear, and the Wind hauling more out to the Eastward, gave us but little prospect of Clearing the Land. Every thing was prepared for cutting the Masts away and bringing up with a couple of Anchors in case we had thowled [sic, ? shoaled] our Water. I kept the Master to the Lead, and finding that we preserved our depth, which was 14 fathom, resumed hopes of saving the Ship and her Masts to[o]. At 4 the Gale abated, and at Daylight it was moderate enough to set the Topsails. When we looked round and could see no Ships, we had Melancholy apprehensions for the rest of the Squadron. If they had got off it must have been on the same Tack we did, and of Course would have been in sight. The next Day we fell in with the *Liverpool* Dismasted, as Captain Knight said, by the meer force of the Wind, having no Sail set. The 4th we Anchored in Pondicherry Road again, which Exhibited a most Melancholy scene, repleat with all the ruinous devastation of the most cruel Storm. Some ships there was riding, but all their Masts gone, others ashore and some sunk, their Masts appearing just above the Water, the Sea and Shore spread with Floating Carcasses and the ruins of Masts, Yards, etc. The particulars of which are these—the *America*, *Panther* and *Falmouth*, but their masts away and brought up with their Anchors; the *Newcastle*, *Queenborough* and *Protector* Fireship were ashore near Ariacupong, but saved all their people. The *Duke of Aquitaine*, *Sunderland*, and a large Ship belonging to the Company Ordnance Stores [the *Duke*], Foundered and only 15 Men, most of which Lascars, out of the whole, saved. This Gale acting with such Extream Violence, did not extend far. It was neither felt at Madras³⁴ nor Negapatam; the *Revenge*, tho' not far off in the Offin at that time, had it not, and the *Liverpool*, who put out of the Road in the Forenoon of the 1st, had the height of it at 8 at Night from the N. N. W., but had nothing of the S. E. Gale which with us was by much the most Violent.

The 6th of January Admiral Cornish, joind us with the rest of the Ships from Trinomal [Trincomalee]. Luckey in having a long Passage, they had no Wind Extraordinary, only an uncommon Large Irregular Swell. Another remarkable thing is that tho' the Swell with us was prodigious large just before the Gale came on, yet it fell as the Wind increased, and in the height of the Storm the Sea was smooth. For two or three days after I never saw the water so smooth upon the Coromandel Coast.

This Gale, happening to [? so] late in the Year, when the apprehensions of them are over, together with the Hazard of Provisions getting in to Pondicherry, on the preventing which the Reduction of the Place chiefly depended if the Squadron should be absent, were

³³ For further particulars, see the extracts from the Log of the *Norfolk*, which follows.

³⁴ This is not quite correct. See the letter from the Council at Madras to Colonel Eyre Coote, of 4th January 1761, *ante*, p. 4.

the reasons that induced Mr. Stevens to defer too long the Signal for putting out. This disaster, great as it was, did not interrupt the Proceeding against Pondicherry, and the want of the Cannon lost in the Storeship was supplied from the *Newcastle*. We got two Batteries advanced, of 10 Guns and 3 Mortars, each near [the] N. W. Bastion, which soon destroyed all the Defences that opposed them there. . . .

I am with perfect Respect Sir,

Your most Humble and most Obedt. Servant,

To

ADMIRAL POCOCK.

RD. KEMPENFELT.

Extract of the Log of the Norfolk, Captain Richard Kempenfelt,³⁵

Friday, 2d January 1761.—Fresh gales and hazey with rain . . . the gale increasing at 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, stormy wind with hard wind and sharp lightning from N. W. to N. E., at which time parted the Best Bower. Cut it at the Splice of the 2d Cable, Slipt the Kedge Anchor with 2 Hawsers bent to it, cast her Lead off shore to the Eastward, brac'd the yards up and kept the Wind a point abaft the Beam to gain an Offing, not daring to set any Sail as no Canvas could hold against the Violence of the Wind. At 11 the Longboat broke adrift; lost in her all her Sails &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 had 3 foot of Water to Leeward on the Gun deck, Occasioned by not being able to get on the Bucklers, hause, &c., also making great Quantities of Water from the Water Walls, Upper Works, and port rope holes, which obliged us to Scuttle the lower Deck to let the Water down the Hold. At 12 the Gale began to Abate. Set the fore Mair and mizen Courses; $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 Saw Sail of the Squadron without Us, one of which appeared to have lost all her Masts. Shew'd the Topp and Poop Lights. At 1 A.M., the wind Still Veering to the N. E., fired 3 Guns, the Signal to wear, and Wore to the N. E. and brought her a little too, on the Starboard Tack, so as to have the Wind about 2 points abaft the Beam; then hawling the Foretack on board, was suddenly attacked with a very violent Storm from the S. E. Quarter, which laid the Muzzek of the Upper Deck Guns in the water, blew the Mainsail from the Yard (then close hauled up) and the Mizen from the Mast and Yard (hauled close up in the Brails), and Foretopmast staysail away out of the netting, and the Main topmast Staysail loose and split it, Unshipped, and blew over board the middle poop Lanthorn. Kept the wind sometimes one point and sometimes two points abaft the Beam and shoald the Water Gradually. At 4 the Gale began to Abate

Extract of the Log of the Panther, Captain Phillip Affleck.³⁶

Friday, 2d January 1761.—At 1 A.M., the wind increas'd with great violence . . . haul'd up the Courses, but could not furl them . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 the ship lay so much on her beam ends and pressed with water both in the hold and between decks, were obliged to cut away the main mast to right her, which carried away the Mizen Mast. She then righted a little . . . the ship falling off by the loss of her mast, so as not to clear the land, let go the sheet anchor, which not bringing her up at a cable and a half, cut away the foremast and lost the bowsprit, in which she brought up in 3 fathoms . . . At 3 A.M., it began to moderate; lost three Men, one with the Main Mast, one with the Bowsprit, and one with the Long boat, which Stove and Sunk at parting the S.B. [starboard bower] Cable, and

³⁵ *Captains' Logs*, 643 (Public Record Office.)

³⁶ *Captains' Logs*, 666 (Public Record Office.)

was Cut adrift. At daylight saw 4 Sail of dismasted Ships at Anchor, and 3 Ships stranded; launched a Cutter overboard, and took up 8 Men belonging to the *Sunderland* who foundered in the Gale.

Extract of the Log of the Medway, Captain John Bladen Tinker.³⁷

1st and 2d January 1761.—Ship so very light that I apprehended she would not carry sail. At 10 stormy squalls and rain. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 at night the ship drove, and as we came near the Admiral, in whose Hawse we rode, we cut the cable, loosed the yard arms of the Foresail in order to clear him and shoot farther from the shore. The sails split to peices, and as the long boat and hawser got foul of the rudder, we cut her away . . . As we expected a second and more violent attack of the storm; as soon as the ship was about, the wind flew about to the Southward, and blowed so extremely hard that all the sails flew to Peices, and laid the ship Lee Gunwale under water. At 2 found the ship water logged, which obliged us to cutt away all the masts to right the ship . . . Ordered the people to the pumps, there being upwards of 10 ft. water in her, found the platform of the magazine blown up, the powder barrels all stove and the powder all washed away. When the fore-mast went away, it carried away the sheet and kedge anchors, the davit, and one of the fore-castle guns. Some of the wreck got foul of the sheet anchor, which obliged us to wear away some of the cable, to clear it from the ships bottom. In the morning at day light saw 3 sails within us dismasted, and 3 more that were drove ashore and lost . . .

Extract of the Log of the Newcastle.³⁸

Friday 2d January 1761.—At eleven it blew so Extreemly hard N. W., that our Cables parted. Do. Cutt away the Remainder part of the Cables at the Manger Board and hoisted the Fore Topmast Stay-sails to Ware clear of the *Panther*, which Immediatly blew away. Then hoisted the fore stay sails, which also blew away. Soon after finding ourselves Clear of the *Panther*, then Entirely Loosed the Yards Arms of the Fore Sails, which blew Entirely to peices, and then Bunted the spritsails and Loosed the Yard arms of it, which Likewise blew away; soon after it fell Little Wind . . . In A Instant the Wind Encreased to a Haracan at S. E., the ship flew up to the Wind with her Lead to the Southward; Do. Lashed the Fore Topsails Yard to the Cap and Loosed the Goose Wings of the Fore Topsails to Endeavour to Ware the Ship. When she had fallen of to W. N. W., saw a sail Close on board of us right a head; we put the helm Down to run Clear of her, which she Immediatly Broched to; then the Fore Topsails blew to peices, and soon after the Fore Topmast was blown over the Side . . . At the time we had four feet Water between Deck, and the Carpenters employed Scutling the Lower Deck; at the same time we were Cutting away the Main Mast, at which time the Man at the Lead said there was 17 fathom Water, when she Instantly struck the ground and the Main Mast fell over the side. At 6 A. M., observed the *Queenborough* and the *Protector* fire Ship on Shore to the Northward of us and the *Duke of Aquitain* Sunk without us, and the *America*, *Panther* *Midway* and *Falmouth* at anchor in the offing with all there masts gon; Do. employed Making Catamarrans to get the people on Shore.

Extract of the Log of the Queenborough.³⁹

Friday 2d January 1761.— $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 the fore topmast staysail blew all to pieces . . . at 12 . . . saw 4 or 5 ships, one upon the larboard beam hailing us to get out of the

³⁷ *Captains' Logs*, 593 (Public Record Office.)

³⁸ *Masters Logs*, 956 (Public Record Office.)

³⁹ *Masters Logs*, 993 (Public Record Office.)

way. Do. loos'd the topsail and backed a stern, not having room to wear . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ past . . . the foresail and Mizzen Topsail Blew all away to peices, Carried away the head of the Foremast in the Wake of the Fore Yard Jibb Boom and Main Topmast and Main Yard Arm, Brought too and Carry'd away the Mizzen Topmast. People employed pumping of the Ship. Found She made a Great Quantity of Water . . . Do. Found the Ship to Strike very heavy. Do. Cutt away the Main Mast and Mizzen Mast to Ease her, the Sea making a Free passage over Us.

Description of the Storm of 1st January 1761, in a letter from (Brigadier General)
Richard Smith, ⁴⁰ to his Sister.

[25th January 1761.]

MY DEAR SISTER,

The glorious sixteenth of January has crowned all our hopes! has given us the Accomplishment of all our Wishes! has finished a Ten Years War by a total Expulsion of our Enemies! and this by the Reduction of Pondicherry, which is now an English Conquest! Colonel Coote is the Favorite of Fortune. This grand Event has been brought about by Prudence and good Conduct. Nine Months were they blockaded, the four last very closely. Providence seemed to favour our Desigas. Our Army was by no means equal to a regular Attack. We were certain the Place must fall, if not relieved by a French Squadron, and we had no Idea of an Enemy's Fleet that could appear before ours. The 8th December we opened some Batteries of Cannon and Mortars, more to amuse, than from any Expectations of Success. These continued playing untill New Years Day. Perhaps we had been too sanguine in our Hopes, but that Night gave a Damp to all our Expectations and convinced our Army that without the Almighty is on our side, the Race is not always to the Swift nor the Battle to the strong. About Ten at Night there arose such a terrible Gale of Wind that surpassed the Memory of Man. In Camp all the Tents and Huts were demolished, our Batteries ruined, and many poor Objects died thro' the Violence of the Wind and Rain. But dismal as was such a scene, our Army had no Thoughts for themselves. Their Attention was ingrossed for their Naval Friends. With how much Impatience did they wait for Morning. Too soon it came to discover such a scene of Horror! The *Newcastle* of 60 Guns,⁴¹ the *Queenborough* Frigate and *Protector* fireship were stranded on the Beach—the Crews saved. The *Sunderland* of 60 Guns, the *Duc D'Aquitaine* of 64 Guns foundered just without the surf; only two or three souls escaped. The *Duke*, a Country Vessel landed with Stores for the Siege, foundered. The *America*, *Medway*, *Falmouth* and *Panther* of the Line, and the *Liverpool* Frigate dismasted. Admiral Stevens in the *Norfolk*, stood early out to Sea, and escaped. The rest of our Fleet were fortunately not returned on the Coast. Here was a scene of Distress, and at a Period, too when we were on the Point of accomplishing our Wishes. However, a few days made us appear formidable again at sea. Admiral Stevens returned; Admiral Cornish with his Division arrived; the dismasted Ships got up Jury Masts, and we had by the 10th Eleven Sail of the Line. Our Damages by Land were soon repaired. On the 10th a Battery of Ten Pieces was opened within six hundred Yards of the Walls. On the 13th We began our Approaches, and in that and the succeeding Night accomplished such a prodigious Task of Trenches and raised another Battery of eleven Pieces

⁴⁰ Richard Smith, a purser's mate, entered the Company's service as Ensign, became Captain in 1758 (and A. D. C. to General Stringer Laurence) and Major in 1762. See *Lovs: Vestiges of Old Madras* (Indian Records Series), II. 423 n.

⁴¹ Affleck's list, *ante*, has 50 guns.

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within 4 or 500 Yards of the Walls, that it amazed the besieged. On the 15th this Battery was opened, and we then fired [? fired] from thirty three Pieces of Cannon and nine Mortars. That same Evening Commissaries came from the Fort to capitulate. Colonel Coote would hearken to no Terms; surrender at Discretion was the Word. And to this they were obliged to submit, having no Provisions left. . . .

Thus has fallen the famous Ponticherry, and since the Attack of the Bounds and Intrenchments in September, we have not lost but one Officer and less than twenty Men. Had we, like Lally, attempted at first a regular Attack, like him, we had been foiled. Now we have succeeded, what a Prospect does this open to us! If properly managed The Company will be soon reimbursed near 80 Lack of Rupees (their Debt from the Nabob), besides future Advantages.

News of the loss of another boat in the Storm of 1st January, 1761.

*Consultation at Fort St. George, 26th January, 1761.*⁴²

The following Letter read from Mr. Claud Russel, Commissary to the Army.

To the Honble. George Pigot Esq., President and Governor &ca., Council of Fort St. George. Honble. Sir and Sirs,

The boat *Physioramany* which you were pleased to send me with a Cargo of Grain the 26th Ultimo, arrived at the King's Redoubt but two days before the late Storm. The Commander in Chief was then so anxious to have the Military Stores landed from the *Duke*, for which purpose every boat was employed, it was out of my power to have any of the grain brought ashore in that short interval, so that the whole must have perished with the Vessel, which has not been heard of since that unfortunate night

I have &ca.,
CLAUD RUSSEL.

CAMP BEFORE PONDICHERY,
12th January 1761.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. Vol. XLV, p. 204.)

De Nobilis' retirement in 1645 and last days.

About 1645 the active work of De Nobilis as a missionary came to a close. He thenceforward lived as a retired servant of God. Other men continued his work, and he gave simple advice. Even at this time of weakness and old age, the father provincial thought so much of him that he sent him in 1648 to Jaffnapatam as the superior of the Ceylon mission. Too weak and blind to work, however, De Nobilis left Ceylon and went to Mylapore, where, in a small hut, he lived the last few months of his simple life. In these days he was attended by four Brahman converts, who carried him, whenever he wanted, to the church in their arms. His simple meal, taken once a day, consisted of herbs cooked in water and seasoned with salt and spice. On account of his blindness he never went out of his hut and spent almost all his time in dictating something to his attendants. One day in 1680, he was removed, on account of the fury of some Hindus, who had been provoked by the Christians, to the Christian quarters within the fortress. The change did him no

⁴² *Madras Military Consultations*, Range 251, Vol. 47, pp. 78-79.

good, and soon he died. It is said that, at the point of death, he expressed the hope that the cabin from which he had been removed for safety's sake, would be safe and sound, while the fortress and the town would be no more; and that the prophecy was afterwards fulfilled; for "it is recorded that the French of Pondicherry drove the Portuguese out of Mylapore, and were in turn driven out by the Sultan of Golcondah, the ally of the Portuguese who, fearing the return of the French, razed the walls, and took the stones into the country, leaving only the little cabin." (Chandler).

Such were the life and labours of the remarkable man who founded the Jesuit Mission in Madura. Defects there were in his character. Questionable were his actions. Positively repulsive were some of the means he employed. But who will deny that for the acuteness of his vision, the profundity of his scholarship, the originality of his method, and the clearness of his view, he stands unrivalled in the history of Christianity in India? Who will deny that this "Romish Brahman", this saint and scholar, this sage and seer, was the most transcendental personality in the annals of Indian missions? By his merits and demerits, by his actions and sufferings, by his methods and means, he became a model and example, and though he never ceased to be looked on with a controversial eye, and though his career unfortunately introduced certain objectionable principles into the Christian propaganda, yet the success of the Christians was due to his genius, his skill and his example. As Chandler says, he was the greatest missionary in India of his century, and impressed upon the Madura mission, certain lasting features. "One was the adaptation of the life of the missionary to that of the people. Another was the appropriation of harmless customs and ceremonies for Christian use. A third was the thorough study of the vernacular with a view to fluency of speech and writing, and accurate knowledge of the literature of the people." These are the three-fold bases of the Jesuit Mission.

The organization of the Mission.

The history of South Indian Christianity after the practical retirement of De Nobilis can be traced from two standpoints,—from the standpoint of organisation and from the standpoint of method. As regards organisation, what we have to remember is that, by 1660, Christianity had extended throughout the regions now covered by the five vicariates of Madura, Pondichery, Coimbatore, Mysore and Madras. A distinct group of priests and fathers worked in each sphere, and carried on the work which the great Jesuit priest had planned and begun. Each father had the oversight of a certain extent of territory called a Residence. Between Trichinopoly and Mysore there were the two Residences, of Pasur⁵² in the north and Satyamangalam in the West. "Tanjore was of course an important Residence. To the North of it lay the Residence of Kallayi, "a village⁵³ 20 miles South West of Ginji and nearly 100 miles North of Tanjore." Between Tanjore and Madura there was the Residence of Nandavanam, an area of 60 miles east and west, and 12 miles

⁵² It extended 87 miles in one direction and 126 in another. Satyamangalam was 25 miles either way, and included 130 villages with 23 churches. Owing to frequent invasions of the Mysoreans these Residences declined between 1660 to 1670.

⁵³ This included Vellore and Trinomali. See *S. Arcot Manual*, 389-90. The chief Fathers of the mission were Martins (d. 1656); P. Erandi (1670); Andre Freire, (1676) in whose time it was divided into two districts. It was at Tattuvancheri that D. Britto afterwards resided.

broad. The Residences were not permanent. The wars of the age, the quarrels with the Hindu temple authorities, who not unoften owned the Residences, and other difficulties, led to frequent changes. Each Residence was divided into at least two districts. Satyamangalam, for instance, had two, one of which was healthy, and the other, which included Palghat, so unhealthy that sometimes 2,000 or 3,000 people died of diseases in one season. Similarly the Residence of Kallayi contained the two districts of Koranupatti and Tattuvanjeri. Each district was further sub-divided into provinces—Pasur, for instance, into seven (Salem and Omalur among them). The smallest unit was the village. Each village supported its own church, and all the villages of a given area united in the support of the central church.

The Rise of two types of missionaries. The Sanyasins and Pandarams.

With regard to the method, the most important point to be remembered is the establishment of two classes of missionaries. We have already seen how De Nobilis established a mission exclusively among Brahmans and princes and endeavoured to convert them to the religion of Christ, and how he was not quite successful. His scheme of Brahman Christians failed, but his endeavours did not end in nothing. He had at least impressed the superior authorities that, if Christianity was to make a tangible progress in the land, it must be, outwardly at least, an ally and not the enemy of the caste system. The high caste Christians must be kept separate from low caste Christians, for a promiscuous union of both with the consequent annihilation of the country's social system meant the stoppage of Christianity itself. The logical result of this was that the missionaries for Brahmans had to be kept separate from those for the Pariahs. Thus it was that, after De Nobilis' advent, two classes of missionaries were appointed. They might, and indeed did, belong to the same mission, but outwardly they were independent of each other. Those who worked among the Brahmans and the higher classes were called Sanyasins and the others Paṇḍārams. The Sanyasins had, of course, to live the lives of ascetics. They should employ Brahman servants alone and eat only vegetarian diet. They had necessarily to acquire high linguistic and literary attainments. They could not mix with the Paravans or with the Pandaram missionaries. Sometimes, it is true, the exigencies of service and the opportunities of success made a Sanyasi baptise or work among Paravas; but this had to be done stealthily, during night. The least suspicion of such a circumstance would have resulted in a storm of discontent, a tremendous outburst against the so-called Sanyasin, and the premature collapse of Christian progress among the higher circles. The Pandarams who had non-Brahman servants and worked among the low castes and out castes, also dressed like the Hindus and lived ascetic lives. But the environments in which they worked blackened their name in the eyes of the people, who called them by the contemptuous name of 'Parangis.'

Their different spheres and methods of work.

The Paṇḍārams, as a rule, were Portuguese, while the Sanyasins belonged to other nationalities. Ever active and industrious, the Paṇḍārams would not live for more than two months in a place, but would travel on foot in the burning heat, and without shelter at night. They indeed commanded less regard than the Sanyasins from the people and

their conversions also were less numerous. Yet they had greater advantages and, as servants of God, they were ideal men. Foreigners in birth, language and race, these missionaries identified themselves with the depressed classes of a coloured race, and worked day and night, amidst a hundred difficulties, for their betterment and their elevation. It should be remembered that the ordinary conditions of Indian life, poor as they were, must have been hard for them. Coming from cold and temperate regions, belonging as a rule to aristocratic families, they worked in India under circumstances which, though common in Indian eyes, were to them extremely adverse and incongenial. Many of them could not bear the withering climate and the burning atmosphere. Most of them had to live in thatched huts not fit for men, in mere cabins of earth, which had no windows, and which were so narrow and denlike that there was no space even for free movement. Ants and serpents, scorpions and worms, rats which nimbled their feet, and bats "which carried away the wick of your lamp even when lighted,"—were their companions. Their bed was on the bare ground or a plain mat, a tiger skin or a plank. Their food consisted of a handful of rice cooked in water, "seasoned with a decoction of pepper, sometimes with bitter herbs," vegetables, milk and ghee. The Pandarams took meat by stealth, and fish openly, but the Sanyasins had to refrain from both. Their journeys which were very frequent on account of patients and confessions, were dangerous owing to the pest of robbers at night, and the difficulty of walking on sands, "that burn like coals" during the day. In the rainy season, when canals and rivers became torrents and when the mud of the road was mixed with thorns and pebbles, walking was a hard business, swimming a matter of necessity, and utensils consequently a great burden. To add to these, there were the dangers of wild beasts owing to the abundance of forests in those days. But physical difficulties were not the only difficulties. There was, to add to them, the difficulty of persecution and popular scorn. "The people," says De Costa in a language of bitter discontent, "are the vilest race one can imagine. The Government is only tyranny, and there is nothing but disorder and confusion." Even when these difficulties were overcome, and men were brought into the pale of Christianity, there was no permanent satisfaction as there was no permanent security of the new proselytes from backsliding. The banishment and torture of Christians had a deterrent effect, and the work of months was often at one stroke, undone in a moment. In 1643 for instance, on the occasion of De Costa's visit to Satyamangalam, a hundred high caste Christians in a body went back to their old religion.

Such were the arrangements made for coping with the increased task of proselytism on the retirement of De Nobilis from Madura, and such were the difficulties which the missionaries had to surmount. But the missionaries were not the men to be daunted by obstacles or discouraged by adverse causes. Both the Sanyasins and Pandarams were men of high mental calibre and wondrous bodily energy, and carried on their work with such firmness of purpose that it was crowned with not a little success. At Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, Satyamangalam and every important Christian centre, the heroic labours of a Martin and an Alvarez, a De Costa and a Proenza, performed wonders. A few events in each of these important centres of Christianity, may be recorded before we pass on to the circumstances of Tirumal Nâik's death.

The Career of Martinz, De Nobilis' successor.

We have already seen that De Nobilis and his companions represented the Sanyasins in Madura. From the time of his retirement about 1645, there were regularly at Madura "a Brahman father and two Pandaram fathers, besides a father in the church of the Paravans." The most important of these, indeed, the head of the whole Madura Mission after De Nobilis, was the celebrated father Martinz. This illustrious missionary had commenced his career of glory as early as 1625. For a space of 25 years he devoted himself, in the North-western parts of the kingdom, to the work of proselytism, and in 1650 succeeded De Nobilis as the Superior at Madura. Far greater as a man and as a saint than De Nobilis, Martinz succeeded in captivating the hearts of men. His predecessor had excited their admiration, had appealed to their thought, Martinz appealed to their heart. The one attached importance to knowledge, the other to the sentiment; and as both are necessary to successful proselytism, Martinz can be declared to be the logical supplement of De Nobilis. He was as capable of an ascetic life as the other. He had, in fact, greater sincerity, greater humility in his long career of 20 years; he went to prison about half a dozen times, was tortured on more occasions. Never was he free from the persecutions of the Brahmans, the Yogins and the Pandarams; but never did this valiant man of God complain or condemn. Oppressed and tortured, he fought for the soul of his opponents. Condemned and scorned by men, he laboured for them. No better example have we in the world's history of such endurance of tyranny for the sake of what is considered to be truth. Once, in July 1640, while he was about to baptise a Brahman of Madura, he was arrested by the brother-in-law and first favourite of Tirumala Nâik, and sworn enemy of the Christians, beaten, and then dropped into the Kaveri. It was after this that he underwent imprisonment. Once he took refuge in the Gingee country and established a branch of the mission there. "Once in Satyamangalam he received so many blows that his swollen and livid face was unrecognisable." He was also thrice exiled with ignominy, twice from Trichinopoly. On one of these occasions, he was driven out with a necklaco of leaves and pebbles, when even children were cruel to him and made blood flow. Once he was nearly burned to death in his presbytery by Yogis. In this manner lived and died the great man in August 1656. He was then 63 years old, and had served his society for 31 years. Like De Nobilis he was a great scholar and left many Tamil writings. As Chandler says, "De Nobilis had planted and Martinz watered. As between the two the Christians respected and venerated De Nobilis; they had confidence and love for Martinz."

The Trichinopoly Fathers, De Costa and Alvarez.

At Trichinopoly and its neighbourhood, affairs were hardly better. Here the two fathers, who most distinguished themselves, were De Costa, the father of the Pandaram missionaries, and Alvarez a native of Negapatam. Born of rich and honourable parents Alvarez underwent a religious education in Jaffnapatam, and joined the Society of Jesus in 1630. A true servant of God in every respect, he was particularly noted for the work of charity to which he consecrated himself. The Jesuit letters record how, in his charitable missions, he was frequently put to financial pressure, from which he was, it is said, relieved by God himself, who, in return for his prayer, showered gold on him. Both these

laboured chiefly among the Pariahs. They indeed brought converts from the Chetty, the Vaduga and other communities, but they were primarily the uplifters of the depressed classes. They did not only give them the consolations of their religion, but also bettered their worldly position. They saved them from death by starvation. In a terrible famine, for instance, which broke out in Trichinopoly in 1646 and 1647 and which swept away thousands of people, Alvarez "treated patients who came from great distances, sometimes 24 miles." Such acts of humanity and sympathy could not but bring their recompense. Many men of position deserted their religion and joined the new one, and bequeathed their fortunes to it, and Alvarez utilized these in building two churches for high castes, in Trichinopoly, and in the vicinity of the great stronghold of Hinduism.—Srirangam. The erection of the latter church caused a great alarm among the Hindus. A number of soldiers seized the missionary and brought him before the Trichinopoly governor, who ordered him and his followers to be kept in irons till a heavy ransom was paid; and they were liberated only when it was clear that they were too poor to pay. The governor, however, was so indignant that he sent Alvarez out of his territory, and seized his property. But De Costa who had been all this time working at Tanjore, proceeded to Madura to appeal to the Nâik in person, and in an interview which he got after 15 days waiting, obtained the Nâik's order for the restoration of everything to the Christians.

SECTION VIII.

The death of Tirumal Nâik.

Tirumal Nâik died, if we are to believe tradition, a violent death. It is said, that in the later days of his life, he displayed such undue sentiment of reverence towards Christians that a feeling grew that the king's partiality to Christianity might end in his ultimately professing it; and many a desperate man prepared himself to avert the catastrophe. A party of conspirators, headed by the temple priest, Kula Sêkhara Bhatta, resolved to murder the monarch, justifying their outrage as a necessary sacrifice at the altar of their gods. A dark vault under the pagoda of Minâkshi, in the most interior part of it, was selected for the scene of the crime. The traitors then enticed Tirumal into the fatal chamber by reporting that the goddess preserved there a secret treasure, and had intimated to them in a vision that it could be discovered by the king alone in person. The greedy credulity of Tirumal Nâik did not suspect the designs of his advisers, and he therefore found himself helpless in the dungeon, where the cruelty of his enemies left him to the slow death by starvation. The inquiries of the surprised, but superstitious, populace were satisfied and silenced by the authoritative statement of the temple priest that the king, while engaged in the worship of his goddess, was absorbed by her into her personality, in recognition of his immense devotion and magnificent liberality in the cause of religion. To a people steeped in superstition and not unacquainted with miracles, the report of the priest could hardly have seemed wanting in veracity. It seemed but natural to them that a prince, so devoted, so pious, and so charitable, should receive a special mark of divine favour, and get an easy and miraculous entry into heaven. It was, in their view, virtue reaping its reward, and labour its fit return.

There is however another version as to the manner of Tirumal Nâik's death. It ascribes his alleged tragic end, not to religious policy or sceptical tendency, but to a vile and injudicious love adventure. It is said that the king was in terms of guilty intimacy with the wife of a priest, and on one occasion, while he was returning in the dark from his stolen visit, he fell into a well in the garden. The priest, in his desire to save his reputation, resolved on the crime of murder. He promptly filled the well with mud and matter, and crushed the monarch to death.

The discussion of Stones of his death.

These and similar stories are believed by some to show that Tirumal Nâik did not perhaps die in his bed; but the conflicting versions make a definite pronouncement as to the real manner of his death impossible. The story that he was a martyr to Christianity, and a victim of priestly villainy, is hardly credible. If it had been a fact, the hawkish eyes of the Jesuit missionaries, ready to find fault where there was none and to magnify a mole into a mountain, would hardly have overlooked it. They would in that case, not only condemn the priesthood before the tribunal of public opinion, but would have written to their masters in Europe, dwelling on the danger which even powerful kings of the stamp of Tirumal Nâik had to meet, in case they entertained ideas of heresy and apostacy. On the other hand, the Jesuit letters of the day clearly state that Tirumal died as he had lived,—“an impenitent sinner.” Tirumal Nâik was, it is true, a friend of the Christians, but this was not because of his preference to Christianity, but because of that enlightened policy of religious toleration which he inherited from his ancestors. Himself a bigoted Saiva, he never believed that a regard for one's own beliefs was genuine only if accompanied by active injury to those who held different beliefs. His superiority to religious prejudice is evidenced by his friendly attitude to the Muhammadans as much as to the Christians. The latter were, it is true, not only permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but encouraged in their proselytising work. When Robert De Nobilis converted many of the turbulent Kallas from barbarism to Christianity and predatory life to honest livelihood, Tirumal appreciated the work and gave large areas of land to the converts for cultivation. Nevertheless, in spite of such liberality, we can positively assert that Tirumal had no Christian tendencies whatever. His death came eight years after the departure of Robert de Nobilis from Madura, and where a Nobilis had failed to persuade, others could scarcely have succeeded. The theory of priestly villainy and Christian martyrdom is thus a pure myth, not history; a creation of the imagination, not a substantial fact. It is based on a wrong notion of the fundamental basis of Hindu polity. The beliefs, interests, institutions, advisers, subjects, and queens of Tirumal Nâik, in fact, everybody and everything around him would have been a standing obstacle to his conversion. To give up his religion would be, for a Hindu king, to give up his crown,—so inalienable was, as it still is, the bond between royalty and religion, between the State and the Church.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH IN THE INDIAN VERNACULARS.

“HAPLEHAPPI” is commonly used in Marâthi Newspapers to convey the idea of smartness. This puzzling expression is a derivative from

hapel hap, the Marâthi soldiers corruption of “shoulder arms,” copied from the methods of pronunciation adopted by British non-commissioned officers.

H. WILKINSON-BELL.

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN PRAKRIT.¹

BY K. AMRITA ROW, M. A.; MADRAS.

DR. CALDWELL, while discussing in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (vide p. 56. III Ed.) the question of the Dravidian Element in the vernacular languages of Northern India, says "If the non-Sanskritic element contained in the Northern vocabularies had been Dravidian, we might also expect to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots, such as the words for head, foot, eye, etc., but I have not been able to discover any reliable analogy in words belonging to this class." He further says "though the matter has been very much discussed in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* Vol. II and in Beames's *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, few, if any, traces of *distinctively* Dravidian elements are discernible in the North Indian Vernaculars."

Beames, on the other hand, in his *Comparative Grammar* (pp. 9-10 *3) says "the Aryans were in possession of a copious language before they came into India; they would therefore not be likely to borrow words of an ordinary, usual description, such as names for their clothing, weapons and utensils, or for their cattle and tools, or for the parts of their bodies, or for the various relations in which they stood to each other. The words they would be likely to borrow would be names for the new plants, animals, and natural objects which they had not seen in their former abodes, and even this necessity would be reduced by the tendency inherent in all races to invent descriptive names for new objects."

With regard to the non-Sanskritic element in the Northern Languages, the theory of Mr. Beames seems to me to be more accurate than that of Dr. Caldwell. I cannot understand why Dr. Caldwell should expect to find in the Northern vocabularies a few Dravidian roots, such as those for head, foot, eye, etc. The occurrence of such words would depend upon the degree of contact between the Aryans and the Dravidians. At the present time, we find in South Canara people speaking Konkani, an Aryan dialect, and living amidst people speaking the Dravidian languages, Canarese and Tulu. Though they have been living there for a very long time, the only foreign words which are now to be found in the Konkani vocabulary are words of the type mentioned by Mr. Beames. But the Dravidian words borrowed by the Prakrits, which will be given below, tell a different tale. We find that the Aryans speaking the Prakrits have borrowed from the Dravidians even words for the various relations in which the Aryans stood to each other, besides words for parts of the body. Though they had several words of their own for the various animals, they borrowed words for them from the Dravidians. Thus, we find 4 words for parrot, *kirō* (Dr), *kaṇaṭṭō*, *kuntō*, *vāyāḍō*; five words for pig, *kiraḥ* (Dr), *kiḍi* (Dr), *bhuḍō*, *thūlaghō-nō*, *bhuḍirō*; six words for tiger, *pakkasāvaḥ*, *karāḍō*, *arialli*, *rattacchō*, *pulli* (Dr), *khacchollō*; four words for snake, *kikkindi*, *sarāhaḥ*, *payalāḥ*, *pāvō* (Dr). It is unnecessary to multiply instances.

With regard to *dēśi* words in Prakrit, the only source of information we have at our command is Hemachandra's *Dēśināmamālā*. Though Hemachandra himself mentions the names of other authors such as Pādalīptāchārya, Gōpāla, Dēvarāja, etc., the works of these authors have not come down to us.

¹ Abbreviations: P. Prakrit; S. Sanskrit; Dr. Dravidian; Pers. Persian; Pehl. Pehlavi.

Hemachandra says, in the introductory verses of his *Dēśināmāṇī*, that in his work will be given such words as are not explained in his Grammar, are not to be found in lexicons and do not owe their origin to the power called *guṇilakṣaṇā* (i. e., which are not used in a metaphorical sense). He further says that numerous forms have been used in the various provincial dialects, and that the term *dēśi* has been used to denote only those words which have been used from times immemorial in Prākṛit. While several provincialisms given in *Dēśināmāṇī* can be traced back to Dravidian origin, some go back to Persian. Cf. P. *angulthalam*, 'ring,' Pers. *angushtari*, Pehl. *angust*, Zend. *angusta*. For the change of *st* to *t/h*, cf. S. *hasta*, 'hand,' P. *hattha*. 2. P. *dattharō*, 'handkerchief,' Pers. *dastār*, 'a napkin, towel.' (For change of medial *ā* to a *cf.* S. *prastāva*, P. *patthava*) 3. P. *bandhō*, 'a servant,' New Pers. *bandah*, 'a servant,' Pehl. *bandak*, Old Pers. *banda ka*. 4. P. *parakkam*, 'a river,' Pers. *parak*, 'name of a river.' For the use of proper nouns as common *cp.* P. *gonḍam*, 'a forest,' P. *gaṇḍivam*, 'a bow.' Punjābi *g-anesh* 'a due' paid to Hindu shrine. 5. P. *bokkadō*, 'a goat,' is evidently the Prākṛit form of S. *var-kara*, 'young animal,' which is evidently to be traced back through Persian to Arabic *baqar*, 'ox, bull,' Hebrew, *baqar*, 'young animal.' (For change of medial *a* to *o* *cf.* S. *padma*, 'lotus,' P. *pommā*, and for change of *r* to *d* *cf.* S. *bhēra*. P. *bhēda*.) 6. P. *jayana*, 'saddle,' *cf.* Pers. *zin*, Pehl. *zin*, Zend. *zaini*.

We learn from Mr. Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India* that the Pahlavas settled in Western India as the lords of a conquered native population about the second century, A. D. and that the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, (5 century A. D.) found the valley of the Lower Indus under the rule of the Parthian chiefs. After the battle of Nahavend in 641 A. D. in which the last Persian dynasty was overthrown by the Arabs, a large number of Zoroastrians from Persia came and settled in India. Muhammad Kāsim, a great general was deputed by the Caliph of Baghdad to conquer India about 711 A. D., and the Arabs ruled in India until they were turned out of Sind by the Rajputs. During the time of Muhammad of Ghazni (A. D. 997-1030), famous in Indian History for his twelve expeditions, one of his *vazirs*, being more a man of business than learning, introduced the practice of writing all public papers in Persian. Elphinstone in his *History of India* says that it is owing to this circumstance that although India was never directly conquered by Persia, the language of business and of writing in general, is all taken from the latter country. Hence we need not be surprised if we should find Persian words in Prākṛit, since we find Persian and Arabic words in the Dravidian languages, on account of Muhammadan rule in Southern India. Hemachandra, is therefore perfectly justified in supposing that provincialisms borrowed from Persian have been in use 'from times immemorial'.

The following are a few of the *dēśi* words in Hemachandra's *Dēśināmāṇī*, of which I attempt to give the Dravidian affinities. In deciding whether a word is Dravidian or not I have followed in general the same principles as those followed by Dr. Kittel and Dr. Caldwell (*vide* Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, Preface p. xiv—xvi).

Nouns of Relationship. Of the seven nouns of relationship borrowed by the Prākṛits five are distinctly Dravidian. 1. P. *appō*, 'father' is found in almost all the Dravidian dialects. 2. P. *ammā*, *vvā*, 'mother.' *Amma* is found in all the Dravidian dialects except Tulu. In Canarese *avva*, *avve*, means 'a mother or grandmother.' In Telugu *avva* means 'a grandmother.' 3. P. *akkā*, 'sister,' in Sanskrit, 'mother.' In the Dravidian dialects *akka* means 'sister,' as in Prākṛit. 4. P. *attā*, 'father's sister.' *cf.* Dr. 'atta father's sister.' 5. P. *māmi*, 'mother-in-law.' *cf.* Dr. *mēmi* 'mother in law.' 6. P. *bhāvō*, 'elder

sister's husband.' cf. Can. *bhāva*, S. *bhāma*. 7. P. *vahunī*, 'elder brother's wife.' This is probably derived from the Sanskritised form, *vadhuni*, cf. Tel. *vadine*. (For the change of medial *i* to *u* cf. Tam. *maīr*, 'hair,' P. *māsuri*.)

Parts of the body:—1. P. *bondi* 'form, face, body.' cf. Tam. Tel. *bondi*. 2. P. *poṭṭam*, 'belly.' cf. Tel. *poṭṭa*, Can. *poṭṭe*. 3. P. *khaddam*, 'beard' cf. Tel. *gaḍḍamu* Can. *gaḍḍa*, Tam. *kaṭṭai*. 4. P. *māsuri*, 'beard' cf. Tam. *maīr*. For change of medial *i* to *u*. cf. Tel. *vadine*, P. *vahunī*. 5. P. *punḍhō*, 'hollow, hollow of the loins.' cf. Tam. *punḍai* 'female organ of generation.' 6. P. *maḍō*, 'neck,' cf. Tel. *meda*. (for change of medial *e* to *a* cf. Tel. *reḍḍi*, P. *raddhī*: see below). 7. P. *kandala*, 'cheek,' cf. Can. Tel. Tam. *kanna* (vide Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, (Pref.) p. 17.)

Personal nouns. 1. P. *raddhī*, 'Chief, head' cf. Can. Tel. *reḍḍi*, 'the title of agriculturists.' 2. P. *seṭṭhi* (S. *śreṣṭhin*) 'the headman of a village.' cf. Can., Tel. *ceṭṭi*, Tuḷu. *seṭṭi*. 3. P. *talārō*, 'a village watchman.' Dr. Pischel derives it from *talavāra*, *talavāraṇam*, 'glove of an archer' (cf. S. *skandhavāra*, P. *khandhāra*. cf. Tam. *taleyāri* (from *tale-yāyī iru* 'to be at the head.'), Tel. *talāri*, Can. *taleyāri*. 4. P. *pōō*, 'boy' (S. *pōta*, 'young one of an animal'). cf. Can. *pōtu*, 'a he-goat.' Tel. *pōtu*, 'young one of an animal'. 5. P. *paṭṭajjha* (*paṭi ajjha*). For *paṭi* cf. Tel. *baḍi*, 'a school.' (For change of *b* to *p*. cf. Tel. *balli*, Skt. *palli*, 'a lizard'). 6. P. *paḍujuvai*, (*paḍuju vai* fem. term. corr. to S. *vai*), 'a young girl.' cf. Tel. *paḍuṣu*, a young girl. (For change of *c* to *j* cf. S. *piśāci*, P. *piśāji*). 7. P. *sūlā*, 'a courtesan,' cf. Can. *sūle*. 8. P. *illī*, *ellī*, 'a poor man,' cf. Tam. *illān*, 'a poor man,' Tam. *illai*, Can. *illa*, 'there is not.' 9. P. *kurulō*, 'a man with curly hair.' cf. Tel. *kurulu*, Can. *kurul*, Tam. *surul*, 'to twist, curl.' 10. P. *kurudō*, 'unkind, clever man.' cf. Tam. *kurudan*. Can. *kuruda*, 'blind man.' (change of meaning can be easily explained). 11. P. *maṭṭhō*, 'lazy man.' cf. Can., Tel. *maḍḍi*, 'stupid, dull, awkward person.'

Names of Animals. 1. P. *pulli*, 'tiger.' cf. Dr. *puli*. 2. P. *pāvō*, 'snake.' cf. Can. *pāvu*, Tel. *pāmu*, Tam. *pāmbu*. 3. P. *karadō*, 'tiger.' cf. Tam., Can. *karadi*, 'a bear.' 4. P. *mangusō muggasō*, 'ichneumon.' cf. Tel. *mungisa*, Can. *mungisi*. 5. P. *kira*, 'a parrot.' cf. Can. *kīru*, 'to cry,' Dr. *kīṭi*. 6. P. *kiraḥ*, *kiḍi*, 'a pig.' cf. Dr. *kīru*, 'to scrape, scratch.'

Miscellaneous. 1. P. *ciccī*, 'fire.' cf. Tel. *cičču*, Can. *kiccu*. 2. P. *ṇēsarō*, 'sun,' cf. Can. *ṇēsar*, Tam. *ṇāyir*. 3. P. *jhaḍi*, 'torrent of rain.' cf. Tel. *jaḍi*, Can. *jaḍi*. 4. P. *addāō*, 'looking glass.' cf. Tel. *addamu*. 5. P. *paṣiṇṇi*, 'gold.' cf. Tel. *paṣiḍi*. 6. P. *vairam*, diamond, Tam. *vairam*. 7. P. *peṇḍam*, 'anklet.' cf. Tel. *peṇḍaramu*, 'an anklet.' 8. P. *chāṇa*, *chāṇi*, 'cow-dung.' In the sense of cloth, P. *chāṇa* Skt. *chādana*. In the sense of cow-dung from S. *chagaṇa* (Can. *saganī*), cf. Tam. *śāṇi*. 9. P. *ūrō*, 'village.' Cf. Tel. *ūru*, Tam. *ūr*, Heb. *ār*, 'a city,' Assyrian, *uru*. 10. P. *māḍiam*, 'a house.' cf. Tam. *māḍam*, 'a house.' 11. P. *ummarō*, 'threshold.' cf. T. *ummārapaḍi*. 12. P. *kassō*, *kachcharō*, 'mud.' cf. Tel. *kasavu*, Can. *kasa*, *kasavu*, *kasara*, 'rubbish.' (For change of *s* to *ch*, cf. S. *sirā* 'vein,' P. *chihṛā*). 13. P. *jheṇḍua*, 'ball.' cf. Can. *ceṇḍu*. 14. P. *moggara*, 'a bud' is evidently derived from Tel. *mogaḍa*, a bud. (For change of *d* to *r*, cf. S. *śhōḍaśa*, P. *śrāḥa*). The doubling of medial *g* is due to confusion with Tel. *mogga*. cf. Can. *mogge*, *moggu*, 'a bud' Tam. *moggu*. 15. P. *u id*, 'black gram.' Cf. Tam. *uḷundu*, Can. *uddu*. (for change of medial *u* to *i* cf. S. *puruṣa*, P. *pulisa*.) 16. P. *tuppā*, 'a leathern bottle for oil.' cf. Can. and Tam. *tuppa*. 17. P. *kalla* toddy, cf. Tel. *kaḷḷu*, Can. *kaḷḷu*, Tam. *kaḷ*. 18. P. *kāram*, pungent, through P. *khāram* from S. *kāra*. The deaspirization of initial is probably due to Dravidian influence, cf. Dr. *kāra*. 19. P. *muddī*, 'kissing.' Cf. Dr. *muddu*. 20.

P. *aṭṭai*, boils : cf. Dr. *ad*, to cook, past part. *aṭṭa*. 21. P. *ghuṭṭai* 'drinks.' cf. Tel. *gutu* (*ku*) 'a gulp,' Brahui *guṭ*, 'throat.' 22. P. *rampai*, *ramphai*, 'cuts.' cf. Tel. *rampamu*, 'a saw.' 23. P. *kāvi* 'blue colour.' Cf. Dr. *kāvi*, 'red ochre.'

Since the above words are considered by Hemachandra to be provincialisms which were in use from times immemorial, we may say that those words were borrowed long before his time. It is not, however, possible to say at what periods the different words were borrowed, as the materials I have collected till now are too scanty. Of course, there can be no doubt that the Aryans at one time lived in very close contact and freely mixed with the Dravidians, as is evident from the words mentioned above. This intermingling of people speaking Dravidian and Aryan vernaculars has occurred even in more recent times. Several Dravidian families have gone and settled permanently in Benares, the Bombay Presidency and even Kashmir, and intermarried with people speaking the Aryan vernaculars. We may therefore, expect to find a few Dravidian words in the languages of Northern India on account of this immigration. It may, after all, be that the Dravidian languages spoken by these people have not had any effect upon the Aryan vernaculars, just as the Marāṭhā language spoken in Tanjore and other parts of Southern India by settlers from the Marāṭhā country and the Gujarāṭi (Paṇṇūli dialect and that by the Mārwaris) have had no influence on the Dravidian languages.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 28.)

If the theory of apostacy and murder is incredible, that of love intrigue is equally so. To believe that a king who had, in his harem, more than 200 wives,⁵⁴ the picked beauties of his kingdom, and who was already far in the decline of life, being more than 65 years old at the time of the alleged intrigue, was engaged in it, and underwent a vile and miserable death in the backyard of a poor man's house, alone and in the dark, demands an absurd amount of credulity as well as the sacrifice of commonsense. All that we can say is, that Tirumal Nāik must have died such a sudden death as to give rise to surprise and suspicion on the part of the populace and the concoction of plausible theories on the part of his servants. The early life of the Nāik ruler had not been adorned by temperance, and a sudden indisposition probably proved fatal.

NOTE.

Wheeler (*History* Vol. IV. Part II, pp. 576-581) gives some curious information concerning Tirumal Nāik. He says that Tirumal Nāik came to the throne on Feb. 9, 1626. The very next day after his coronation, Tirumal received the Tanjore ambassador and agreed to give Vallam in exchange for Trichinopoly,⁵⁵ if Vijaya Ranganātha would give his sister Pārvaṭi to him in marriage. Wheeler then gives a description of the royal marriage, which was exactly the same as that at the present day. Three days after this marriage, Aryanātha died.⁵⁶ His funeral was performed with great splendour, and the

⁵⁴ The Jesuit letters say that he had 200 wives and the most distinguished of these committed *satī* on his death. See *Madura Gaz.*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ This is absurd; for we have already seen that Vallam was exchanged for Trichinopoly in the time of the first Viśvanātha.

⁵⁶ This is also absurd. Aryanātha really died in 1600, 23 years before Tirumal's accession.

ministerial ring was given by the Nāik to his favourite, Vidiappa, and the ring of the commander-in-chief to his other favourite, Rāmappaiya. Wheeler points out that the Nāik's army numbered 4,000 horsemen and 60,000 footmen under 72 polygars. The cavalry was placed outside the fort, and the infantry on the 72 ramparts. The annual revenue of the State was 44 lakhs of *chakrams*, i. e., 88 lakhs of rupees. About one tenth of these went to Brahmans, £ 60,000 for servants' salaries, £ 40,000 for charities and palace expenses, £ 20,000 for the Nāik's daily charities, and the remaining £ 680,000 were stored up in the treasury, thereby giving much scope for Mussalman plunder; or to speak in terms of *chakrams*, 4 lakhs for Brahmans and their temples, 3 lakhs for salaries of servants, one lakh for daily charities, and the remaining 34 were hoarded up. Wheeler then goes on to state that Tirumal married the daughters of his uncles, who had been passed over for the sake of the Tanjore princess. For his war with the Sētupati, his numerous marriages, etc., see *ante*. Wheeler concludes by pointing out that Tirumal was adored as a God by his subjects. He never refused a boon. No suppliant ever left his presence with discontent in his face. His troops were well disciplined, his generals brave and experienced, and himself so fortunate that he gained as many victories as he fought battles.

CHAPTER VII.

The Advent of the Marathas.

SECTION I.

Muttu Ala-kadri 1659.

THE death of Tirumal Nāik was the sign of internal factions and disputed succession. Immediately after the performance of the funeral of the great king, his son Muttu Alakādri, or Muttu Virappa⁵⁷ as he was also called, was elevated to the throne by a council of the lords, courtiers and the ministers. The succession of the new monarch, however, was disputed by the able Kumāra Muttu, the younger brother of the late king, who was, as we have already seen, engaged in his victorious campaign in Mysore at the time of his brother's death. Immediately after he received the intelligence of his nephew's election, he abandoned the contest with Mysore and returned at the head of his exultant army to win the crown by the sword. Kumāra Muttu had the strong support of his army, but Virappa had the command of the treasury and the support of the most influential grandees of the court. The war between the rival claimants, it appeared therefore, would be prolonged and obstinate; but at this stage the timidity or self-sacrifice of Kumāra Muttu saved the kingdom from the evils and hardships of a civil war. In return for the independent rule of Sivakāśi and the surrounding districts, he gave up his claim to the throne of his ancestors. The reasons which led to this extraordinary act are uncertain. The author of the *Madura District Manual* believes that it was probably due to the prudence of Kumāra Muttu or to the unwillingness

⁵⁷ The divergency of opinion among the chronicles in regard to Virappa's date is very great. According to the *Pand. Chron.*, which is perhaps the right authority, he ruled only three months from the Paṅguni of Viḷambi (1659 A.D.) to the Vaikāśi of Vikāri. The *Hist. of the Carnat. Kings and Supp. MS.* and the Telugu record of the *Carnat. Dynas.* on the other hand, attribute to him 10 years from Subhakṛit to Virōdhikṛit (S 1484-1494, i. e.,) 1562-1572 A.D. One of the Mirtanjiya MSS. (*O. H. MSS. II. 119*) says that he assumed office on the 5th Māsī, Viḷambi (S. 1580) and ruled till the end of Vykāśi in Vikāri, i. e., 4 months.

of his wearied army to fight with his formidable opponents. The theory of strong Court opposition seems to have much truth in it, for we are told that even Rangaṇṇa Nāik,⁵⁸ so just in his behaviour and so loyal in his conduct, was for Muttu Virappa, and went on an embassy from him to his rival, then encamped in the village of Dharmavaran, to dissuade him from war, and from the Madura throne in return for the sovereignty over the district of Sivakāśi. Either policy or fear then prompted Kumāra to support with resignation the loss of his crown and accept a province in preference to a more extensive but doubtful kingdom. Before he surrendered his right and his army, however, he took care that his son Kumāra Raṅgappa Nāik was installed and anointed as the second in power, so that the claim of his line to the crown might not die with him. At Sivakāśi he distinguished himself by his salutary works. He built the town, erected a large temple, which he dedicated to a *lingam* he had brought from Nanjanakuḍi, established a number of companion images ordered embroidered vestments for their adornment, constructed a car, and arranged for regular festivals. He is further said to have excavated many reservoirs and established many *agrahārams*. He ruled there for some time and died. (*Record of the Carna. Govrs., O. H. MSS. II, p. 184.*)

As for the new king, he seems to have been not wanting in capacity and character. A Telugu chronicle indeed eulogises him as a ruler of splendour and equity, a builder of temples and villages, a charitable man and a gallant soldier, and though the eulogy may be a general formula rather than a tribute to truth, yet Muttu Virappa seems to have been neither wanting in energy nor in high aims. The great object of his policy was to undo the political vandalism of his father, to remove the Musalman yoke, and to revive the former glory of independence. With this commendable, if unattainable goal, he strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly, and proposed to the Nāik of Tanjore the formation of an alliance, both offensive and defensive, against Musalman domination. The proposal of Virappa was a wise one, but it received no favourable support from the Tanjore Nāik who feared that it would invite war and bring disaster. After all, he did not gain by this selfish and timid attitude, for, in the opening months of 1659, a Muhammadan army appeared on the scene, and finding itself unable to seize Trichinopoly, owing to the caution of Muttu Virappa, turned its arms, with that unscrupulousness which blinded it from friends and foes alike, against Tanjore. The latter was not unprepared to sustain a siege. It was defended by an almost impregnable fortress, a fine equipment of artillery and a considerable collection of provisions; but all these sources of strength and means of success could be of no avail where cowardice and treason reigned supreme. The Tanjore general was a coward, and a slight wound was enough to make him lose heart and give up the defence and flee, with his master, to the neighbouring fortress of Vallam. The result was the Muhammadan army was able to take possession of the city and then reduce the rest of the kingdom. Nothing remained to complete the disintegration of the kingdom but the capture of Vallam, and the king and the victorious Islamites now proceeded to that task. The fortress of Vallam was one of the strongest and most strategic in the country. Its defence hardly required much military skill, and the Tanjore king had no reason to fear

⁵⁸ See Taylor's *O. H. MSS. II, p. 177* (The history by Raṅganna Nāik.) Raṅganna ruled his *pḍiḷoyam* for 50 years.

disaster so long as he had the necessary men and provisions; but he was the slave of fear and the tool of cowards. He therefore abandoned the defence of the place and left for the neighbouring woods, where pursuit was difficult and life was safe.

The conquest of Tanjore was immediately followed by the invasion of Madura; and the whole country from the banks of Kāveri to the latitude of Madura became subject to the depredations of the Musalmans. The unfortunate people once again had to experience the hardships of war, while their king was secure in his luxurious palace at Trichinopoly. As usual, the Musalman in victory did not display moderation or wisdom. It seemed to be more a crusade against civilization in general than the conquest of a kingdom. The avarice of the soldiers seized every opportunity of plunder and their brutality every chance of oppression. Never did Madura or Tanjore experience, in all their gloomy careers, a calamity so dire and so disastrous as on this occasion; but never at the same time did Providence mete out a punishment to the authors of the misery so rapid and so effective as the one on this time. The excesses and atrocities of the victors recoiled on themselves. The horrors of famine overspread the land. Thousands died of hunger, and thousands left the kingdom in search of better, safer and more fortunate climes. Those who survived the famine or resisted the temptation to emigrate fell victims to epidemics. In this combination of ills the Muhammadan army suffered most. Want of food thinned its ranks daily, and desertion became a common-place occurrence. The corpses of starved men and the carcasses of dead horses lined the roadside in disorderly mixture and filled the fields. The atmosphere became surcharged with the poison of putrid matter and the stench of decaying bodies. Diseases and pestilence broke out and added their dire work to the activity of famine. The difference between conquerors and conquered disappeared in the common suffering, and both united in cries of misery and prayers of urgency for the help of Providence.

For a few weeks the Muhammadan generals endeavoured to overcome the calamity, but in vain. They found their position absolutely untenable and longed to return to their homes. But before doing so they wished, if possible, to intimidate the King of Madura and extort an indemnity from him. With this intention they advanced to Trichinopoly and laid siege to it. They were not successful. In the first place they met with a stout and determined defence from Muttu Virappa and his general Liṅgama Nāik, a man of great capacity and greater ambition, of whom we shall hear much in the next reign. Secondly, the horrors of famine and virulence of pestilence followed them, and thirdly, the depredations of the Kaḷlas, probably the subjects of the Sētopati, insulted them by harassing and daring attacks upon their camps. The consequence was the Muhammadans entered into negotiations for peace. Virappa could, with greater tact, have refused attention to their overtures, and found a means to annihilate them; but he exaggerated their strength and underrated his own, and thought that he was making a good bargain by purchasing their evacuation of the country. His only consolation was that the drain from his coffers was comparatively moderate.

So ended the dream of Muttu Virappa to restore the glory of his realm to its former independence. His failure in the war is attributed by some writers on the authority of the Jesuits to his character. From⁵⁰ the moment of his accession, they say, he gained the notoriety of a drunkard and a debaucher. Entirely oblivious of the duties of his office,

⁵⁰ *E. g.*; Wheeler and Nelson. Taylor takes the view of the Chronicles that he was very probably a wise and peaceable prince and that his reign was not marked by incidents, (*O. H. MSS.* II, p. 184).

he employed his hours in the gratification of the senses, in the exclusive pursuit of pleasure, which told fatally on his constitution. The son of Tirumal Nâik died, according to this view, an inglorious, unhonoured, and unlamented death, after a short but eventful rule of three months. The chronicles, however, do not give this dark picture of the Jesuits.

SECTION II.

Chokkanâtha Nâik 1659-1682.

On the death of Muttu Alakâdri, his son Chokkanâtha, a youth of sixteen, came to the throne.⁶⁰ The young ruler promised to achieve greatness both in the field and in the *darbâr*. A keen soldier and enterprising adventurer, he had, for the first object of his ambition, the restoration of the independence of Madura.

The character of Chokkanâtha.

His arms were at first attended with success, but in the latter part of his reign, the degeneracy of his own character, the treason of his ministers, and the interference of the Marâthâs and Mysoreans in the State, resulted in the collapse of his policy and the practical extinction of his kingdom. Beginning then under auspicious circumstances, his reign ended, contrary to the sanguine expectations of his people, in misery and gloominess. The impartiality of the historian must declare that the period of his government, in fact, is a more horrible record of domestic plots and foreign invasions, of popular misery and hardships, than any other period of equal duration in Nâik history. More active than wise,

⁶⁰ According to the *Pand. Chron.*, the year of his accession was 1660 A. D. (Vikâri Ani). He ruled, it says, for 24 years till 1684 (Dundumi Ani). But the *Supp. MS.* and *Carna. Dynas.* say that he reigned from 1672 (Paritâpi) to 1688 (Prabhava). Wheeler gives him the date 1662-1685. Epigraphical references to Chokkanâtha are somewhat meagre, and they do not illustrate very clearly the period of his rule. They, however, shew that he ruled till at least 1678, the year when the usurpation or elevation of his brother Muttu Alakâdri took place. That Chokkanâtha came to the throne in 1659 is clear from an inscription in the Jayantîsvara Temple at Trichinopoly. (Parâbhava, Ani 27, Saturday, Trayôdash) wherein Chokkanâtha is said to have settled a dispute between five castes in regard to their paraphernalia. Sewell mentions six of his inscriptions from 1661 to 1667, and one of his brother dated 1678. The first of these is at Nenmêni, five miles east of Sâttur (Râmnâd Dt.) on a stone in front of the Ananta-Râja Temple, and records the gift of a tank for Chokkalinga's merit in S. 1583. A similar record, dated S. 1587, is on a stone north of the Perumâl temple in the same place. (Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, 305). A copper-plate grant of 1662 (which is in Telugu and which is, Sewell says, in the Trichin. Dt. Court) records a gift of land by Chokkanâtha to a Śrîraṅgam priest. This plate is also interesting for the fact that it records that Śrî Raṅga Râya was then reigning at "Ghanagiri." (*Id.* II, 7). An inscn. of 1663 found at Tiruchchengôde (Salem Dt.) says that "Vijaya Ranga Chokkalinga Naiken of Madura built the gopura." It is doubtful whether this refers to Chokkanâtha or any other prince of the royal family. (*Id.* I, 203). A Telugu copper plate of 1665, written in Tamil *grantha* characters, records a gift of land to some Brahmins at Kaniyur, 10 miles S. W. of Uḍumalpet. (*Id.* II, 27). This grant also mentions Śrî Raṅga Dêva Mahâ Râya, of Chandragiri. A similar copper-plate grant of 1667 mentions a similar grant at Kumâralingam, 10 miles S. E. of Uḍumalpet. This also mentions Chokkanâtha's acknowledging the allegiance of Śrî Raṅga Râya. In regard to this, Mr. Sewell remarks: "This is the first grant that I have seen where the Telugu language is rendered in *grantha* characters." (*Antiquities*, II, 28). The record of Muttu Liṅgappa is a copper-plate (Dt. Court, Madura) in Telugu, dated 1678 A. D. (Kâlayukti). It bestows the village of Kṛishṇâpûrâṁ on a Brahman. The grantor is described as "Muddu Alugari Nayudu, grandson of Viṣṇvanatha Nayani Tirumala Nayudu, and son Muddu Virappa Nayudu." He also recognizes the suzerainty of Sri Viraprâtâpa Sri Raṅga Râya Mahadeva Râya (who came to the throne, as Sewell says, in 1665). See *Antiquities*, II, 4.

Chokkanātha always had before him projects of a visionary nature, undertakings, which neither his capacity nor his resource was adequate to meet. He lacked that calmness, that quick understanding of facts, that intellectual nimbleness and resource, which is necessary for a successful politician. To this incapacity he added an extraordinary amount of self-pride, which detected insult where there was none. The result was, he left his kingdom at his death, in a most unhappy and dilapidated condition, a prey to rival powers and contending parties, and a home of bloodshed and anarchy.

His war with the Muhammadans.

The tendency of Chokkanātha to act on impulse and ignorance is seen in his very first act.⁶¹ Immediately after his assumption of the royal robes, he proclaimed a war with Bijāpur, with a view to drive that power from its stronghold of Jinji, to restore the Nāiks of that kingdom, and to revive the greatness of the Karnāṭaka rāj. It is highly probable that, in his precipitate move, Chokkanātha disregarded the cautious advice of his ministers. At any rate, there is evidence to show that, soon after Daḷavāi Liṅgaṇṇa Nāik proceeded with his 40,000 cavalry to the frontier against Sagosi, the Muhammadan general of Jinji, a plot of a formidable nature, in which the ministers themselves played a prominent part, took place. The origin of the conspiracy lay either in the spirit of independence which the king displayed, or in his youth, which inspired the ambition of unscrupulous men. The leaders of disaffection were the Pradhāni and the Rāyasam, the former a Brahman. Under the name of guardians, they deprived the young chief of his power and freedom and banished or imprisoned all those whose loyalty was a source of danger to their power. Nor did they display wisdom in their administration. They exercised authority with the cruelty of tyrants and the greediness of upstarts. Allying themselves with the Daḷavāi Liṅgaṇṇa, a man who, in his ambition and avarice, sold the interests of his country to the Muhammadan and was conducting a sham campaign, they organised a formidable triumvirate with the object of removing Chokkanātha and raising his younger brother to the throne in his place. The prospect of success was very near at hand, when an accident betrayed the nefarious plot and brought its authors to justice and ruin. The fidelity of a palace lady apprised the young king of the real state of things. He at once entered into secret communications with his friends in exile, and, with their help, eventually contrived to surprise and seize the traitors in the palace. The Rāyasam was immediately put to death, but the caste of the more heinous criminal obtained for him the comparatively mild punishment in the loss of his eyes. The other accomplice Liṅgaṇṇa Nāik, however, was still at liberty. With a reckless disregard of his country and creed, he joined hands with those whom he was sent to conquer, and marched against his master. Thus it was that a hostile Muhammadan army, of 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse, commanded by Sagosi and guided by the Nāik general, assembled at the foot of the Trichinopoly fortifications. The place was at once invested and every attempt was made to take it. To the arbitration of the sword was added the temptation of bribery, and the camp of Chokkanātha once again became a scene of treasonable activity. A kinsman of the old minister, who was in the king's service, took advantage of this opportunity to entertain designs of revenge, and sell his conscience and good name. The ability of the besiegers and the play of treason

⁶¹ These details are not found in any of the indigenous chronicles. Mr. Nelson has taken these from Jesuit sources, and my account of the reign is based on his.

in the Nâik camp would have achieved the fall of Trichinopoly, but the vigilance of Chokkanâtha saved him. He discovered the plot, removed the conspirator, and promptly overhauled the ministerial staff. A tide of success seems to have followed this reorganisation. The Muhammadans abandoned their attempt, and retreated to Tanjore, and numbers of their soldiery were attracted by the martial vigour and quick resource of Chokkanâtha to crowd under his standard, and the Madura army swelled from its original strength of 50,000 men to 70,000. Success killed prudence, and Chokkanâtha resolved to try the chance in his fortunes to a logical extremity and pursue his retreating adversaries. His object was now threefold, to drive the Muhammadans in disgrace back to their homes, to chastise the conduct of his Dalavâi, and to get reparation from Tanjore for its alliance with the enemies of Madura. In the flush of victory, Chokkanâtha was able to accomplish his aims. He inflicted a defeat on Sagosi and compelled him to return to Jinji. He fell on Tanjore and forced the submission of its chief; and he won over the unscrupulous Dalavâi, not however by conquest, but by matrimony, by raising his daughter to the dignity of his queen.

Curious Portents of disaster.

Such was the formidable treason which threatened Chokkanâtha's crown at the outset of his career, and from which he extricated himself with such pluck and courage. Though not twenty, he had behaved like a hero in the midst of a hurricane of enmity. If his reign began with a domestic trouble, it also began with a triumph over Jinji and Tanjore. Chokkanâtha had therefore every reason to look with self-complacency on his work; but he was not destined to enjoy his satisfaction long. Providence destined him to a career of incessant trouble and grief, of defeat and disaster. Nature itself, we are told, gave warnings of the coming woes and ills to which his State and people were to be subjected. Children were born, we are informed, with complete sets of teeth. Wild animals⁶² boldly roamed in plains and invaded cities; thousands of healthy people died sudden and mysterious deaths, while an equal number fell in famines. Swarms of insects darkened and poisoned the air, and epidemics of a ferocious nature raged with violence and swept off thousands. These unnatural events and extraordinary scenes threw the people into a panic of fear and anxiety, and raised forebodings of coming disaster and distress. Nor did it take long to come, though it did not take a shape as unusual as the events which foreshadowed it. It came in the form of another Musalman invasion.

The Muhammadan retaliation.

In the beginning of 1664, the Muhammadans once again burst into South India. It is difficult to say to, what this invasion was due but it can hardly be doubted that it was due to their desire to wipe out the shame of their late humiliation. The invaders this time were led by the commander-in-chief of Bijâpur, Vanamiân. In his sudden push for the Nâik capital, Vanamiân might have been successfully opposed by the king of Tanjore, but the latter preferred the traditional policy of submission and even assistance. At Trichinopoly, however, the Bijâpur general met with an opposition far stronger than that he had anticipated. The artillery of Chokkanâtha proved more than equal to the equipment

⁶² Proenza says that some time after Tirumal Nâik's death Madura was so much deserted that wild animals boldly came there. Perhaps it refers to this period. The Dutch, it may be mentioned here, took advantage of the popular misery to decoy hundreds of men and women selling them as slaves. That the Portuguese and Dutch dealt largely in slaves is amply proved by Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor*.

of the besiegers, and vanamîān realised that he could not easily capture the city. He therefore resolved to change his strategy, to attack the people and lay waste the kingdom, in short to strike at the king through his people. He therefore abandoned the siege of Trichinopoly, and diverted his forces into the heart of the kingdom. The strength of the Muhammadan soldiers and of Muhammadan fanaticism was let loose on a mild and innocent populace, and there began, in consequence, a period of horrible massacre, rare even in Musalman warfare. The soldiers of Bijapur looked with satisfaction on the burning flames of villages and farm-houses. They seized men and forcibly circumcised them, tossed children on sword points and violated all rules of civilized war. Desperation goaded even cowardice to acts of heroism, and the people of many a village set fire to their homes and preferred death in the general conflagration to capture and torture by the Muhammadan soldiery.

The atrocities of the Muhammadan army, however, had one good effect. They induced the king to endeavour for a conclusion of peace. At first he led a life of indolent security within the fort of his capital, too weak or too indifferent to remove the calamities of his subjects; but the widespread horror of suffering compelled the abandonment of his inaction and the resort to an understanding with the adversaries. He promptly agreed to pay a considerable sum as indemnity for the present and tribute for the future; and the Muhammadans turned their back on the ruined kingdom, encumbered with spoils and enriched with booty of priceless value.

His punitive expeditions against Tanjore and Rāmnāḍ.

In the tumultuous condition of South India in the 17th century, the slightest provocation was enough to inflame an internecine war. Chokkanātha's indignation was roused by the assistance which Tanjore had rendered to the invaders and by the indifference with which Tirumalai Sētopati⁶³ had regarded his recent humiliation. He therefore meditated, immediately after the departure of the Muhammadans, an invasion of Tanjore and the chastisement of Rāmnāḍ. Himself taking the field in person, he promptly marched to the fortress of Vallam and took it by surprise. Here his conquests stopped. It seems that Chokkanātha's object was not territorial conquest, but the simple punishment of his brother chief. His expedition was more a punitive demonstration than a serious war. He therefore abandoned the contest after the seizure of Vallam, and marched into Rāmnāḍ. He first occupied the Marava forts of Tirupattūr, Pudukkōṭṭa, Māna Madurai and Kālayār Kōil, and desired to subdue the Sētopati by a single but effective victory. But it was not the plan of the cautious Marava to come to a definite engagement. He adopted guerilla tactics, retreated into the inaccessible woods of his Jaghir, and harassed his Suzerain's forces by daring sallies and surprise attacks. Chokkanātha was, in consequence, tired of the war.⁶⁴ He had moreover to perform certain religious ceremonies in his capital. He therefore left the conduct of the war to his lieutenants, and went to Trichinopoly. The officers were incompetent, and the Sētopati was able to boldly emerge from the forest, resume the offensive, and inflict severe reverses on the royal forces. Chokkanātha had consequently to withdraw his troops, except those which garrisoned the places taken already.

⁶³ Tirumalai was the chief of the Maravas till 1670. Inscriptions 394 and 398 of 1906, which record gifts for his merit at the Satyagirinātha temple at Tirumayyam, are dated 1669 and are therefore practically his last. He seems to have performed the Hiranyagarbha sacrifice and therefore had the title of Hiranyagarbhayāji. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 89.

⁶⁴ See *Madura Manual*. Raja Ram Rao's *Rāmnāḍ Manual* does not mention this war.

His disastrous war with Mysore.

Besides the Tanjore and Râmnâḍ campaigns, Chokkanâtha seems to have been engaged in the first decade of his rule in a war with Mysore. Wilks says that it was due to "Chuckapa's" desire for the entire conquest of Mysore; but "the events of the war reversed his expectations, and left the districts of Eroor (Erode) and Darapoor (Dharapuram) as fixed conquests in the possession of Deo Raj, after he had urged his success to the extent of levying large contributions on Trichinopoly, and other places of importance." Wilks attributes this disaster to 1667 A. D. He also points out that in this year "Waumeloor" was taken by the Mysoreans from Gaute Moodelair (i. e., Gheṭṭi Mudali). In other words, if we are to believe Wilks, Chokkanâtha lost the extensive province of Coimbatore and Salem. (Wilks, I, 37). Wheeler describes an even greater disaster. He says that, immediately after Chokkanâtha's accession, the Mysoreans came as far as Madura, and invested that city, and took it; but that Chokkanâtha subsequently laid siege to the city and reduced the Mysoreans to such a condition that they had to live on monkeys and asses and agreed, in return for the allowance to return to their country, to surrender the city. It is not improbable that this event took place in the Mysorean invasion of 1667.⁶⁵ Wilks however does not mention it. (Wheeler is not correct in his chronology. He places this event subsequent to the later Tanjore war of 1674. It is evident he confounds the 1st Tanjore war of Chokkanâtha with his campaign of 1674).

A decade of peace.

The Tanjore, Mysore and Râmnâḍ campaigns disclose the decay of the Madura kingdom, and incapacity of Chokkanâtha. The defeat of his arms and the diminution of his prestige which followed the Râmnâḍ invasion, however, seem to have taught him wisdom—to prefer the duties of peaceful administration to the doubtful laurels of war. The next ten years of his sovereignty, in consequence, are years of profound tranquillity and commendable repose⁶⁶. There is nothing to record in this period, except the permanent transfer of the seat of government from Madura to Trichinopoly. In the recent days of trouble it was the fortifications of the latter city that had saved Chokkanâtha from ruin, and he therefore was desirous of making it his permanent residence. There was no harm, on the contrary there was perhaps a decided advantage, in this arrangement; but with extraordinary folly, Chokkanâtha gave orders for the demolition of the beautiful palace of Tirumal Nâik at Madura, in order that the materials might be utilized for the construction of a similar building at Trichinopoly. Immediately after the fatal order, the work of demolition began; "and every day saw trains of waggons bear away handsome beams, curiously carved monoliths, magnificent pillars of black marble, in a word, everything that was most excellent and admirable in an edifice which at that time was perhaps one of the finest in all Asia. And this barbarity was unblushingly perpetrated in order that materials might be procured for the erection of a common-place building which was never admired, about which history is altogether silent; and at the cost of the people which had been ruined by long continued wars, and utterly beggared by the unremitting exactions of its ministers"⁶⁷ (Nelson p. 190).

⁶⁵ Inscn. 181 of 1910 dated 1669-70 (Saumya) recording a grant to the temple of Kumârasvâmi at Satyamangalam should have been immediately after this invasion. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 92.

⁶⁶ Chokkanâtha perhaps began to show his over-religious temperament in this period. At any rate we have a few inscriptions to show his religious activity at this time. Inscn. 649 of 1905 dated 1666 A.D. (the Tamil year *Kilaka* is wrong) says that he made gifts of land to the Tiruchcheṅḡoḍu temple. Inscn. 654 of the same year records that in S. 1585 Subhânu (1663) he built the Gôpura of the Ardhanârîsvara temple as well as the temple of Kâsi Visvêsvara, at Tiruchcheṅḡoḍu.

⁶⁷ Wheeler gives a singular reason for this transfer of the capital. Chokkanâtha, while staying in Madura after his victory over the Mysoreans, saw one day a cobra on his bed clothes, and he felt it necessary to leave Madura itself.

Rāmnād affairs.

It was during this interlude of peace, moreover, that some important events took place in the history of Rāmnād. The famous Tirumalai Sētupati died⁶⁸ in 1670, after a long and beneficent reign of 30 years. On his death, his adopted son, Rāja Sūrya, the real son of the Sētupati's half-brother Ādinārāyaṇa Tēva, ascended the throne. His reign was eventless except in regard to the history of the Rāmēsvaram temple. He seems to have been an intriguer who schemed with Tanjore against his Suzerain.⁶⁹ He was consequently seized by Daḷavāi Vēṅkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya, a man of whom we shall hear presently, and taken to Trichinopoly, where, after a prisoner's life for some time, he was put to death. As he left no issue, the Maravas chose as his successor, according to one account, one Ātma Tēva, a distant relation of the deceased chief, to the *gadi*;⁷⁰ and when Ātma was snatched away by death within a few months of his elevation, they met once again, and chose as their leader, a scion of the royal family named Raghunātha, surnamed, in consequence of his age, the Kīḷavan (old man). According to a second account,⁷¹ after the death of Sūrya Tēva without issue, the Marava chiefs could not come to a definite understanding in regard to a successor, and so the country was, for a time, without a Sētupati. Two men, "Attana and after him Chandrappa Servaikāran, managed the affairs of the kingdom. Finally Reghunatha Tevar Kīḷavan, illegitimate son of the last Setupathi was installed." Wilson⁷² says simply that Chokkanātha, after putting Sūrya Teva to death, assisted his cousin Kīḷavan to become Sētupati.

The accession of Kīḷavan Sētupati was highly beneficial to Rāmnād. An able and efficient administrator, a fine soldier and statesman, Kīḷavan combined ability with experience, and tact with firmness. During the 35⁷³ years of his rule (1673-1708), in consequence, Rāmnād was really a power in the land, practically independent of Madura itself. One of his first and characteristic acts was to put to death the men who, by their schemes, had brought about his elevation; for he argued that the punishment of intrigue was more pressing than the claims of gratitude and that intriguers with him against others were not unlikely, under changed circumstances, to intrigue with others against himself. He then removed the capital from Pogaḷūr to Rāmnād and fortified⁷⁴ the latter. The fort "was built in the shape of a square, each side being about half a mile in extent, with the main gate to the east, facing the entrance to the king's palace. The fortifications consisted of a single wall, twenty seven feet high and five thick, surrounded by a deep ditch, now filled with rubbish. The wall was further strengthened with 32 bastions built at equal distances and loopholed, but without any ramparts. To the West of the palace was dug a spacious reservoir to collect the rain water as a provision against the droughts of the summer months. Among the people this tank is known as Mugava Urani, the tank where the face was washed, a name which arose with the rise of legend that Rama washed his face here on his way to Setu."

⁶⁸ This is doubtful, as we have an inscription of Tirumalai, dated 1673 at Hanumantagudi recording gifts of lands to a Musalman. See *Antiquities*, I, 298.

⁶⁹ Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, 230, based on the Rāmnād Manual. The date of this is uncertain; some attribute Sūrya's death to his helping Vijaya Raghava, i. e., they say that it took place after the Tanjore war.

⁷⁰ *Calcutta Review* 1878, p. 453.

⁷¹ Rāmnād Manual; Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 230.

⁷² *J. R. A. S.* III.

⁷³ The dates are not quite certain. Two inscriptions of Tiruvāḍānai, dated 1679, mention gifts by "Hiranyagarbha Sētupati." Was this person identical with Kīḷavan?

⁷⁴ *Calcutta Review*, 1878, p. 453. *J. R. A. S.* III, 165-8.

The Origin of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

One of the most important acts of Kīlavan Sētupati was the creation of the modern Toṇḍamān Rāj of Pudukkōṭṭa. It has been already mentioned how the area covered by the modern Pudukkōṭṭa State was, till the end of the 16th century, under the occupation of various chiefs. The Western parts were the possessions of the Maṇappārai and Maruṅgāpuri Polygars, the Southern under the Sētupati, the North-eastern under Tanjore Nāiks; and the centre, under the hereditary dynasty of the Pallava Rāyas, Toṇḍamāns as they were called. These Pallava Rāyas must have, as their name signifies, been somehow connected with the ancient Pallavas of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. The late Rao Bahadur Venkaya believed that,⁷⁵ immediately after their subjugation by the Chōḷas, the ancient Pallavas entered the service of their conquerors. The Karuṇākara⁷⁶ Toṇḍamān who, according to the *Kaliṅgatupparaṇi*, led Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa's forces against Kalinga and who was the lord of Vandai (Vandalur, Chingleput Dt.) was a Pallava. There were, again, Pallava vassals under Vikrama Chōḷa.⁷⁷ In the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession of the 12th century, the Toṇḍamān played a very important part as the ally of Kulaśēkhara, one of the claimants. From the account of this war, as given in the *Mahāvamsa*, it appears that the Toṇḍamān dominions could not have been far from the Pāṇḍyan country; that, in fact, they were most probably in the region of Tirumaṇḍalam⁷⁸ and Srivilliputtūr. In a later Tanjore inscription, the name Toṇḍamān is applied to a local chief named Sāmanta Nārāyaṇa, who gave the village of Karundaṭṭāṅguḍi, the suburb of Tanjore, to Brahmans. Thus the name Toṇḍamān actually travelled from the Pallava into the Chōḷa country. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the Toṇḍamān of Pudukkōṭṭa, who bears the title Pallava Rāya, is descended from the Pallavas of Kānchi.⁷⁹ Whether this was so or not, the Toṇḍamāns were a minor dynasty, in Kulattūr, a place not far from Pudukkōṭṭa, till the time of Kīlavan, when the first step for forming, out of his and his neighbour's territories a powerful and aggressive feudatory state was taken. It seems that the Pallava Rāya, who ruled at the little territory around Pudukkōṭṭa and who was "the last of his stocks" attempted to throw off his allegiance to Rāmnāḍ and to place himself under the protection of Tanjore; and that the latter in consequence was removed by the Sētupati. The latter then placed on the throne one Raghunātha Toṇḍamān, a local chief, whose sister, Kāṭṭēri, he had married. Raghunātha was a capable man, and he at once took steps to extend his little estate at the expense of his neighbours, till at last he became the head of an extensive State, with resources which enabled his descendants to thwart Rāmnāḍ itself, and Tanjore, and above all, Madura.

⁷⁵ See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906, pp. 241-3.

⁷⁶ For a detailed study of the poem, see *Ind. Ant.* XIX (1890), 329-40.

⁷⁷ See *Vikrama Chōḷan Ula*. For a very able analysis of this from two MSS. of the Tanjore palace library by the late Mr. V. Kanakasabai Pillai, see *Ind. Ant.* XXII (1893), pp. 141-8.

⁷⁸ Venkaya bases that surmise on the fact that a place called Mangalam is frequently mentioned.

⁷⁹ Venkaya believes that the Pallavas were Kurumbas (like the Vijayanagar kings later on) of whom the Tamil Kurubas and Canarese Karabas are representatives. From the facts that the term Pallava is used identically with Veḷḷala in some inscriptions that the Telugu Reddis and agriculturists called themselves Pallavas and that Pallava Rāya is one of the 30 *gotras* of the Tamil Veḷḷalas Mr. Venkaya surmises that there must have been some connection between the Pallavas and the cultivating caste in the Tamil as well as the Telugu country. We suppose that some of them must have settled down as cultivators after their political decline. See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906, p. 243.

Such is the account of the origin of the modern state of the *Toṇḍamān* as given by Mr. Nelson. According to this, the *Toṇḍamāns* are a very modern dynasty, who came to prominence only in the latter part of the 16th century. The palace records and the indigenous chronicles, however, claim a very ancient origin to the dynasty. They assert that the first of the line, "the founder of the family, was one *Tirumalai Toṇḍaiman*," who emigrated from *Tirupati* or *Tirumalai* in *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*, and settled in *Ambukkōvil* (22 miles east-north-east of *Pudukkōṭṭai*), seventeen generations before the middle of the 17th century. A Telugu poem, apparently composed about 1760, refers to one *Āvaḍai Raghunātha Toṇḍamān*, the 18th in descent from *Tirumalai*, as having distinguished himself by capturing an elephant in one of the hunting expeditions of *Sri Rāṅga Rāya* of *Vijayanagar* (about 1638-78), and as having been rewarded with the title of *Rāya* and several other distinctions. The fact that he obtained this title from the *Vijayanagara* king is also mentioned in a *Pudukkōṭṭai* grant as early as 1709. The same chief is stated in the memorandum of 1819, already mentioned, to have conquered the *Pallava Rāyas* in 1639, with the permission of the *Vijayanagara* king, and to have laid the foundations of the present *Pudukkōṭṭai* State. His son served the *Nāik* king of *Tanjore* for a short time; but in the end left his patron and annexed to his dominions several of the *Tanjore* villages. The same *Toṇḍamān* is said to have given his sister to the *Kilavan*, "the notorious *Sētupati* of *Rāmnāḍ*, and to have received, about 1675, as a gift from the *Sētupati*, the country of *Pudukkōṭṭai*, which his father represented in the palace memorandum to have conquered in 1640."

The editor of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer* believes that the second version, i.e., traditional account given above, "is inadequately supported by contemporary evidence and is in many ways improbable," and he therefore thinks that Nelson's theory is the correct one. It seems to me, however, that there is no inconsistency between the two theories. It is quite possible that, while the *Pallava Rāyas* were ruling at *Pudukkōṭṭai*, there was a contemporary local line of chiefs at *Ambukkōvil*. Most probably the two lines of chiefs were constant rivals, till at last he who was ruling at *Ambukkōvil* in the middle of the 17th century, conquered his contemporary at *Pudukkōṭṭai* and got himself confirmed in his new acquisition by *Kilavan Sētupati*, as he was his brother-in-law. As regards the title *Toṇḍamān*, it had been assumed by both the dynasties, and is now continued to be worn by the surviving one.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SURGEON GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

In a paper entitled "*Jahānārā*" and published in the *Journal* of the *Panjab Historical Society* Vol. II. No. 2 (1914), the author has controverted the assertion that *Surgeon Gabriel Boughton* did not take part in the treatment and recovery of *Jahānārā Begām*, daughter of *Emperor Shāh Jahān*. The learned author has noticed the "*Boughton Legend*" at greater length than the scope of the

article would seem to admit. He has consulted certain sources which he has either particularly noticed by name, or omitted to do so, as the context would show. As an Editor of a history for the B. I. Edition, now in course of publication and as an employé of the *Bengal Asiatic Society*, he must have read the paper on *Surgeon Boughton* and the privileges to the English traders published in 1912 in the *Society's Journal*, and Mr. *William*

Foster's two learned Monographs in this *Journal* for 1911 and 1912 on the former, of which the paper in the Asiatic Society's *Journal* was based.

What the author's main contention is, is summed up in this one sentence "that Boughton must have left Surat many months (could it not be many days or hours ?) earlier than the 3rd January 1645." Again "It is quite in the fitness of things that Asālat Khan should have sent for a capable European Surgeon from Surat."

Without going through the various facts and arguments advanced by William Foster in this *Journal* and by myself in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* "the Boughton Legend," may I at once bring to the notice of the writer of the article, Mr. Yazdāni, that Gabriel Boughton went with Asālat Khan, "who had long importuned us" President and Council at Surat), not to Agra, but to Central Asia,—to Balucke (Balch) as a body physician of that minister, as Mr. Foster has proved in his subsequent second article published in this *Journal* for 1912. It is a fact noted by Persian

writers that none but Hakims, or Yunāni physicians, took any part in prescribing those medicines that were taken internally; but Physicians and laymen of other nationalities took part in the treatment of the external sores. It is also a fact, that these latter treatments were of no benefit to the ailing patient, but only the ointments given by two unknown persons—Arif and Hemūn. Every one of the physicians and quacks whose medicines were found to be efficacious were rewarded and mentioned in the Persian Histories of the time. But those whose medicines did no good to the Princess, were not mentioned. If Dr. Boughton was so quick as to arrive at Agra or Delhi in time, he too like others was not mentioned because his treatment like that of others was of no benefit to the Princess. Either he took no part in the treatment or took part without being successful in curing the sores. In either case Boughton, and, through him, the English Company, could not get any concessions. Boughton got no concessions, nor even a *khelāt*.

ABDUL WALI.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

1. The Broker's Horse Allowance.

6 August 1662, *Consultation in Surat*. Our Broker Chout Tooquer [Chāwat Thākur] made it his Request That whereas it hath been a Constant

Custom for the Honble. Company to allow his horse meat [food], which hath for some years been omitted, that wee would againe allow the same, which wee finding to be a former Custom approved of. (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 2.)

R. C. Temple.

BOOK NOTICE

THE NOTION OF KINGSHIP IN THE SUKRANITI.

By R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., NASIK.

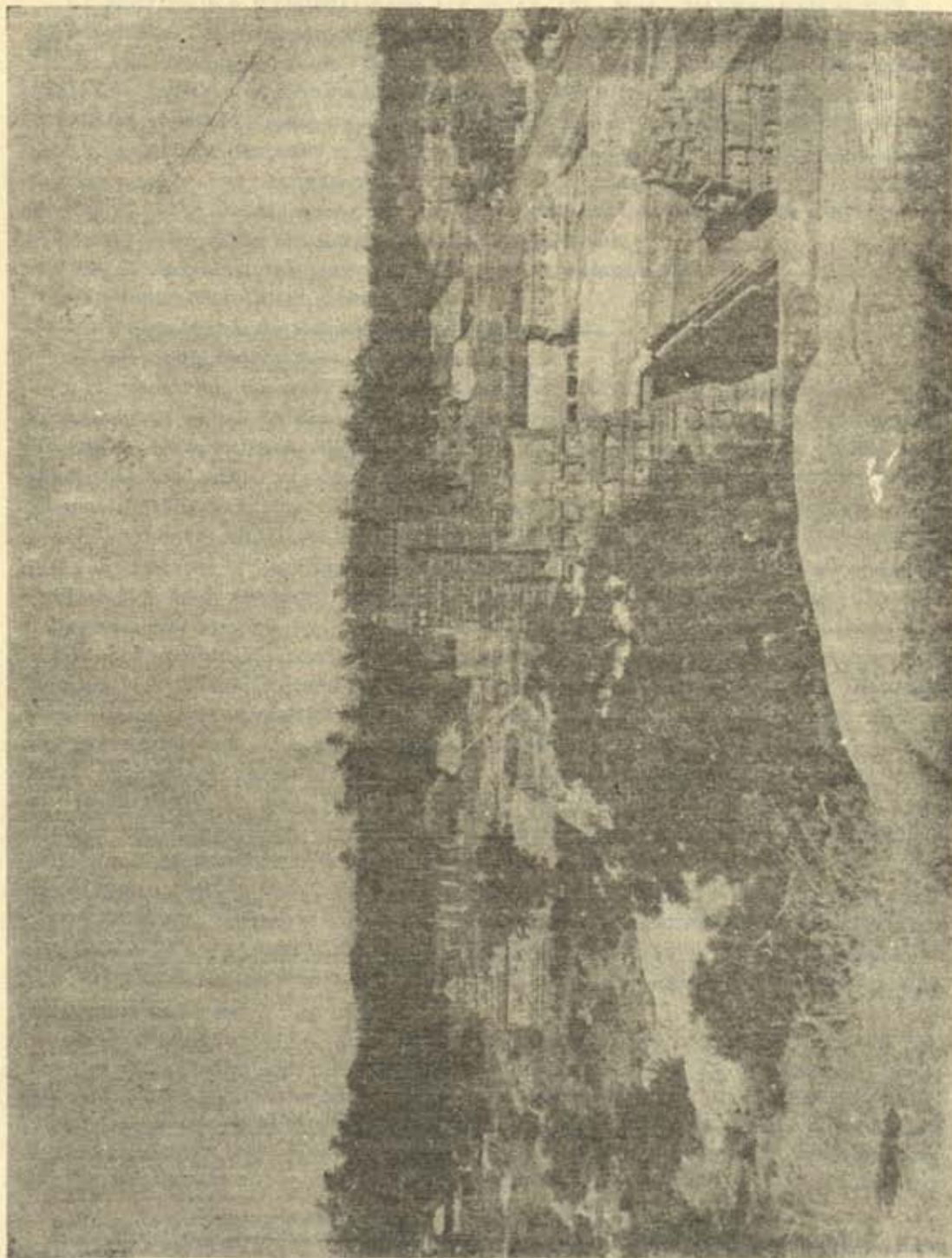
We have received a reprint of this article, from the author, who published it in the February No. of the *Modern Review*, 1916. The author has been at some pains to prove that the conception of royalty in ancient India, as discernible from the *Sukraniti* and other works on political science, was far more advanced than the notions prevalent in medieval Europe, and was a close approximation to the theory of constitutional monarchy, which has supplanted the old ideas in modern times. We think the attempt has for the most part been successful, as the writer has put forth his subject with moderation and careful thought; though we think he has misunderstood some words and phrases as they occur in Sanskrit. For instance, the popular maxim ना विष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः is understood by the writer as 'no king but is the representative of the god Vishnu', perhaps, wrongly construing ना विष्णुः as न अविष्णुः but the correct way in which it is popularly understood is ना विष्णुः which makes the whole phrase equivalent to 'The King (lord of the earth) is the god Vishnu (in the form of) a man.' In fact, this is another expression embodying the same idea as in 'नरानां च नराधिपः' *Bhagavadgītā*, 10, 27. In some places, we find the translation from the

original text of the *Sukraniti* inaccurate अस्वतंत्रः in l. 168 it is rendered as 'independent of Niti,' while the real meaning is, 'not dependent on himself, i. e., giving due consideration to good advice and the precepts of Niti' सुविज्ञः in l. 170 should have been translated as 'served or attended by qualified persons' and not as 'respected by meritorious persons.' The lines 189-90 have been completely misunderstood. The original verse भद्राः स्वामिता राज्ञो यत्नं वाञ्छन् न मन्त्रिणः । तथाऽविनीता वाचादाहुः पुत्राश्चोऽपि च ॥ is translated as 'Sovereignty in a kingdom is deprived of its beauty, if there is the king only, but there are no ministers, well disciplined kinsmen and restrained offerings.' It is not easy to see how such a simple verse was so grossly misinterpreted. We would translate the verse as follows:—

A king whose ministers are not restrained, whose kinsfolk are unruly and whose sons, &c. are wicked is (soon) deprived of the splendour of his sovereignty.

In other respects we find the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Pradhan regarding political thought among the ancient Hindus, to be quite legitimate and justifiable, and would heartily wish him to continue his researches with the same sober spirit in this untrodden field of enquiry, as he has shown in this article.

K. N. D.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN FROM THE ROYAGOPURAM WEST

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPUR.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR AVL., M. A. ; MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

MAHABALIPUR, popularly known Māvalivaram, is a village about 20 miles east-south-east of Chingleput and lies in a narrow strip of land between the Buckingham Canal and the Sea. It is now a small hamlet with but a few houses, though it has in it a Vāishṇava temple of some importance and considerable antiquity. Excepting an old light-house and the bungalow of the Zamindar of Nallāttūr there is nothing to indicate that the place is of any consequence at present. It is nevertheless a place of very great importance to the Archæologist, since the monuments left there are regarded as at the very foundation of Dravidian civilization on its architectural side.

The monuments in this particular locality fall into three classes:—

- (1) Monolithic rock-cut shrines.
- (2) Excavation in the shape of caves of various kinds.
- (3) Structural buildings—such as temples.

'If we do not know all we wish about the antiquities of Māmallapuram', says Fergusson,¹ 'it is not because attempts have not been made to supply the information. Situated on an open beach, within 32 miles of Madras, it has been more visited and oftener described than any other place in India. The first volume of the *Asiatic Researches* (1788) contained an exhaustive paper on them by Wm. Chambers. This was followed in the fifth (1798) by another by Mr. Goldingham. In the second volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1830) there appeared what was then considered a most successful attempt to decipher the inscriptions there, by Dr. Guy Babington, accompanied by views of most of the sculptures. Before this however, in 1816, Colonel Colin Mackenzie had employed his staff to make detailed drawings of all the sculptures and architectural details, and he left a collection of about forty drawings, which are now in manuscript in the India Office. Like all such collections, without descriptive text, they are nearly useless for scientific purposes. The *Madras Journal* in 1844, contained a guide to the place by Lieutenant J. Braddock, with notes by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, the Rev. W. Taylor, and Sir Walter Elliot; and almost every Journal of every traveller in these parts contains some hint regarding them, or some attempt to describe and explain their peculiarities or beauties. With the exception of the Mackenzie Ms. the most of these were collected in a volume in 1869 by a Lieutenant Carr, and published at the expense of the Madras Government, but, unfortunately, as too often happens, the editor selected had no general knowledge of the subject, nor had he apparently much local familiarity with the place. His work in consequence added nothing to our previous stores'.

Since then, however, a great deal more attention has been bestowed upon the place, by archæological and other experts in those branches of study to which in particular each turned his head or hand. Fergusson has embodied his architectural views in two monumental works of his: *The Cave Temples of India* and his *Hand-book on Indian and Eastern Architecture*, which has received the approval of, and revision by, James Burgess. Mr. Rea has brought out a book on Pallava architecture, on behalf of the Government

¹ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I. 328 (New Edn.).

Note.—This paper embodies the subject matter of two special University lectures delivered before the University of Madras in November, 1916. It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge, in this connection, my obligations to Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of Archaeology, Madras Circle, for his ready kindness in allowing me the use of his photographic negatives and photographs, both for illustrating the lectures and the paper as it appears now.

of Madras. The Madras Epigraphists, Dr. Hultzsch and his successors, have done their part in deciphering and interpreting the inscriptions. Others have been equally busy. There is a handy and very useful guide book recently published by Mr. Coombes of the Education Department, better known by his connection with the Chingleput Reformatory.

Last of all, there is the work of the Frenchman, Professor of Pondicherry, Jouveau-Dubreuil, whose recent work on *South Indian Architecture and Iconography* has perforce to allot considerable space to this locality.

With such an array of expository effort extending over a whole century and more, it would be rash indeed to attempt any further exposition of the subject which, at best, could result only in adding 'another hue unto the rainbow.' It turns out happily that it is not so, because so far no one has succeeded in expounding what actually this signifies in South Indian History. Even in respect of some of the details that have already been examined by archaeological specialists there has not been the co-ordination of evidence leading to conclusions for historical purposes. This it is proposed to attempt, with just the necessary amount of examination of various archaeological details for co-ordination with a view to the historical significance of the antiquities of Mahābalipuram.

The modern name of the village is Māvalivaram, or the Sanskritized Mahābalipuram, the city of Mahābali, the great emperor of the Asuras, who, legend has it, was too good and too powerful to be suffered by the gods gladly. The god Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation outwitted him. Praying for a gift of three feet of earth, he measured the nether and the other world in two, and demanded room for the third foot promised. Great Bali prayed that his humble head give the room demanded. When the foot of the Great One was placed upon it Bali sank under the earth, where he is said to reign supreme monarch of the world below. The unwary visitor to the shore-temple in the village is occasionally informed that the recumbent figure in the seaward chamber of the smaller shrine of the shore-temple is Bali on his couch.

There is a panel of Trivikrama in the Varāhavatāra cave and beyond this there is nothing particularly to associate this place with the demon-emperor Bali. This form of the name, perhaps, became familiar in connection with the dynasty which was known in the interior of this region as the Mahābalis (Māvalis popularly) or Bānas, with their capital at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District, and with their territory taking in portions of Mysore also. So far as our knowledge of this dynasty goes at present, they seem to have flourished in the period intervening between the death of the last great Pallava king Nandivarman and the rise of the first great Chola king Parāntaka. There is a reference to a Mahābali ruler, who was the father-in-law of the reigning Chola king Kūl in the *Maṇimēkhalai*². This work has to be referred to a period anterior to the Pallavas, as even the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya³ allots the great Chola Karikāla to the sixth century A. D., the period of interregnum between the great Pallava Dynasty, and the dynasty that preceded it.

² கெடியோன் குறளுருவாதி கிமிர்ந்துத

னடியிற் படியைய யடக்கி யவன்னுன்

நீரிற் பெய்த மூரிவார் சிலை

மாவலி மருமான் சீர்கெழு திருமகன்

சீர்த்தி யென்னுந் திருத்தரு தேவி.

Maṇimēkhalai. Canto XIX. ll. 51-55.

³ A. S. R. 1906-7. p. 224. note 1.

In the days, however, of the great Pallava dynasty, the place was known as Māmālapuram, generally taken to mean the city of Mahāmalla (Māmalla), the Pallava Narasimhavarman I. *Tirumangai Ālvar* refers to the city invariably as Mallai and has often the adjunct Kaḍal (Sea) before Mallai. In one verse he refers to the Pallava king Paramēvara Varman as 'Mallaiyarkōn'⁴ the king of the 'people of Mallai', or of the people 'Mallar'. The latter meaning is taken to find support in the expression *Mahāmāllakulam* in lines 24 & 25 of the copper plate grant of the Chaulukya Vikramaditya⁵ I; but the expression Mahāmāllakulam need not refer to a people, and probably refers to the family of Mahāmalla, the Pallava king Narasimhavarman of Kāñchī.

The title Mahāmalla was the title assumed by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman⁶ I. It is this Pallava king that sent out two naval expeditions to help his friend Manavarma of Ceylon, who ruled the island from A. D. 691 to 726.⁷ Of the first invasion we have, in the chronicle, 'Mānavarma then took ship and crossed over the sea (with his Army) and having made a fast voyage, landed at Lanka with his forces, and began to subdue the country (around)' The following passage contains a more detailed reference to the second. And Narasimha thus thought within himself: "This my friend, who seeketh most resolutely after fame, hath spent now many years of his life in my service that so he might get back his kingdom. And lo! he will soon have grown old. How then can I now reign (in comfort) and see him (thus miserable)? Assuredly I shall this time restore to him his kingdom by sending my army thither. Else what advantageth my life to me?" Thereupon the king collected his army together, and having equipped it well gave Manavarma all things he desired to have, and himself accompanied the army to the sea-coast, where a mighty array of ships of burden, gaily ornamented, has been prepared for them. And when the king reached the harbour he gave orders to all his officers that they should embark and accompany Mānavarma; but they all showed unwillingness to do so (without their king).

'And Narasimha, having pondered well over the matter, resolved on this stratagem. Keeping himself so that his army might not see him, he gave over to Mānavarma all his retinue and insignia of royalty together with the ornaments with which he adorned his person, and sent him (secretly) on board the ship, bidding him take the royal drum, the *Koṭṭa*, with him, and sound it from the deck of the vessel. And Mānavarma did as he was directed; and the soldiers thinking that it was the king (who was sounding the call), embarked leaving him alone on the land. Then Mana began his voyage with the army and all the material of war, which, with the ships in which they were borne, was like unto a city floating down the sea. And in due time he reached the port and disembarked with the army.'

In regard to these transactions the following details have to be noted. Mānavarma came to India some time after the accession to the throne of Haṭṭadatha II (A. D. 664). He lived for sometime alone, and then brought his wife over and she had by him four sons (say ten or twelve years). Then took place the war between Narasimha and the Vallabha (who must be Pulakeśin or Pulikeśin II). This war and the destruction of Vallabha's capital Vātāpi are ascribed to the year A. D. 642 by Dr. Fleet. Then took place the first expedition to Ceylon in aid of Mānavarma. It proved a

⁴ *Periya Tirumōṭi*, 2nd Ten, 9th Decad, Stanza 1.

⁵ *Ante*. Vol. VI, pp. 75-78.

⁶ *A. S. R.* 1906-7, p. 228 and refs. in note 5. ⁷ *Mahāvamsa*, Turnour and Wijesimha, Ch. XLVII.



failure and Manavarma returned and waited till four kings had ruled in Ceylon. In other words he had to bide his time during the rest of the reign of Hattadhata II and the reigns of his successors till, in A. D. 691, he was able to reinstall himself on the throne in Anurādhapura. He ruled afterwards for thirty-five years. Assuming that he came to India a young man, about 65 years of active life seem possible; but there is a discrepancy of about 35 years between the Ceylonese and Indian chronology. Let that pass. The synchronism is near enough, notwithstanding this discrepancy, to justify this assumption that Manavarma and Narasimha-Varman I. Mahamalla were contemporaries.

What was the port of embarkation of this grand Armada? Narasimha's capital was at Kānchi, and Narasimha's name or title figures prominently in several of the structures in Mahābalipuram, considered the oldest according to architectural standards. The natural inference then would seem to be that this Mahābalipuram as it is now called, was the chief port of the Pallavas, and that, since the Pallava ruler, Mahamalla Narasimha attempted to enhance its importance by building these structures, it came to be known then Māmallapuram. This conclusion finds support in the following passage in the life of Hiuen Tsiang. 'The city of Kānchīpura is situated on the mouth (bay) of the Southern Sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Simhala, distant from it three days' voyage.' The city⁸ of Kānchīpura here referred to can be no other than the 'port of Kānchīpura,' in all likelihood Mahābalipur. This probability is enhanced by what follows regarding the arrival of the two Buddhist Divines, Bōdhimeghesvara and Abhayadāmshtīra, because of a revolution in Ceylon. They are said to have just arrived at the city, and this could only be in the port and not at the capital 40 miles inland. The corresponding passage in Watter's *Yuwan Chwang* Vol. II. p. 227, is 'Kānchīpura is the sea port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days.'

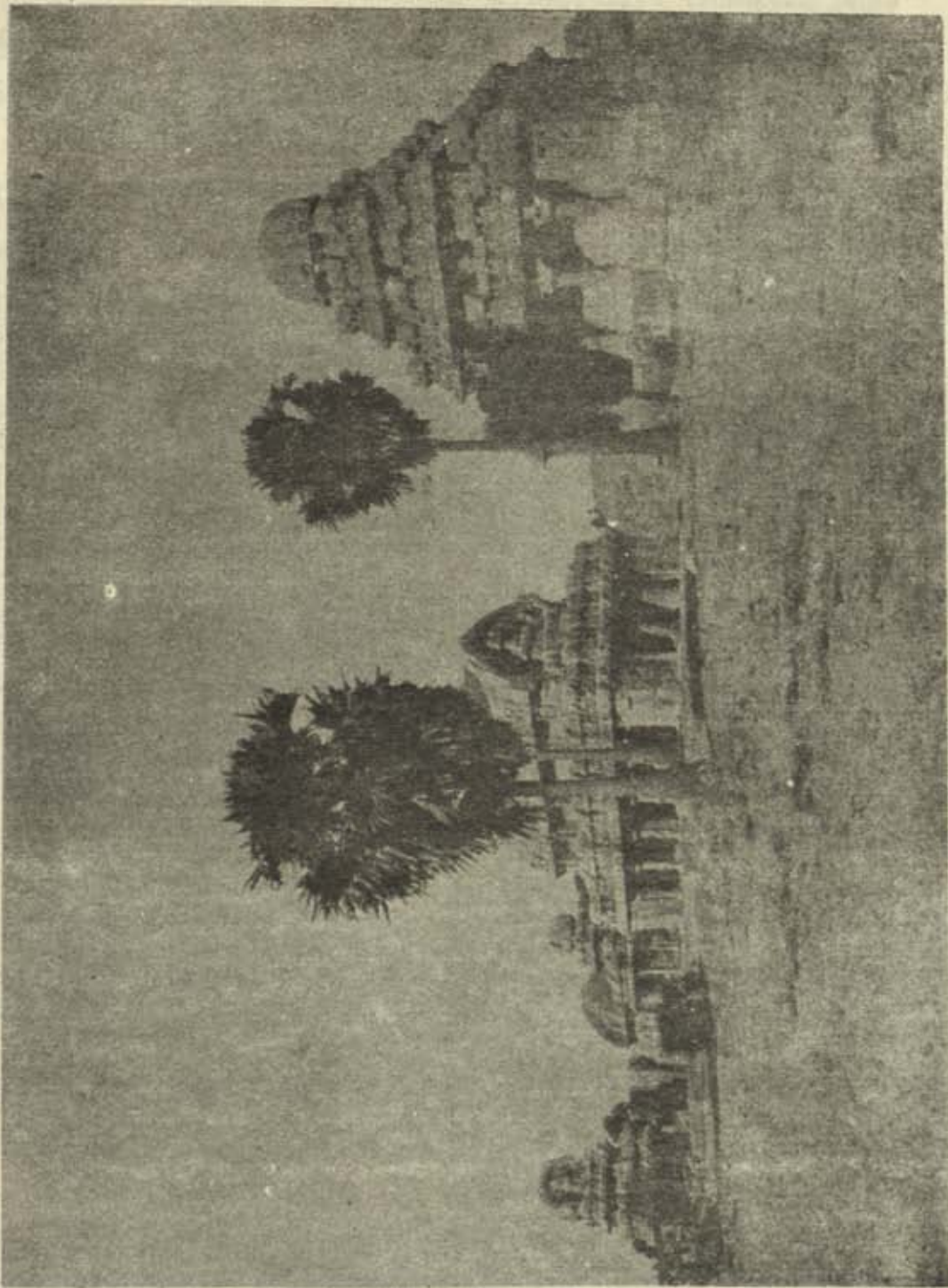
Compare with this the following description of Talaśayanam by Tirumangai Ālvār:—
'Oh my foolish mind, circumambulate in reverence those who have the strength of mind to go round the holy Talaśayanam, which is Kaḍalmallai, in the harbour of which, ride at anchor, vessels bent to the point of breaking laden as they are with wealth, rich as one's wishes, trunked big elephants and the nine gems in heaps.'⁹

There still remains the form of the name Mallai, distinguished often as Kaḍalmallai, 'the Mallai close to the sea.' This is the name invariably used by Tirumangai Ālvār, who lived one generation later than Narasimha. Even Bhūtattālvār, whose native place it was, refers to it as Mallai. This must have been an anterior name therefore, and the distinction 'Kaḍalmallai' raises the presumption that there was another Mallai, and possibly a people called Mallar, referred to by Tirumangai Ālvār in the designation of Paramēśvaravarman, 'Pallavaṁ Mallaiyarkōṇ' (the king of Mallar.)

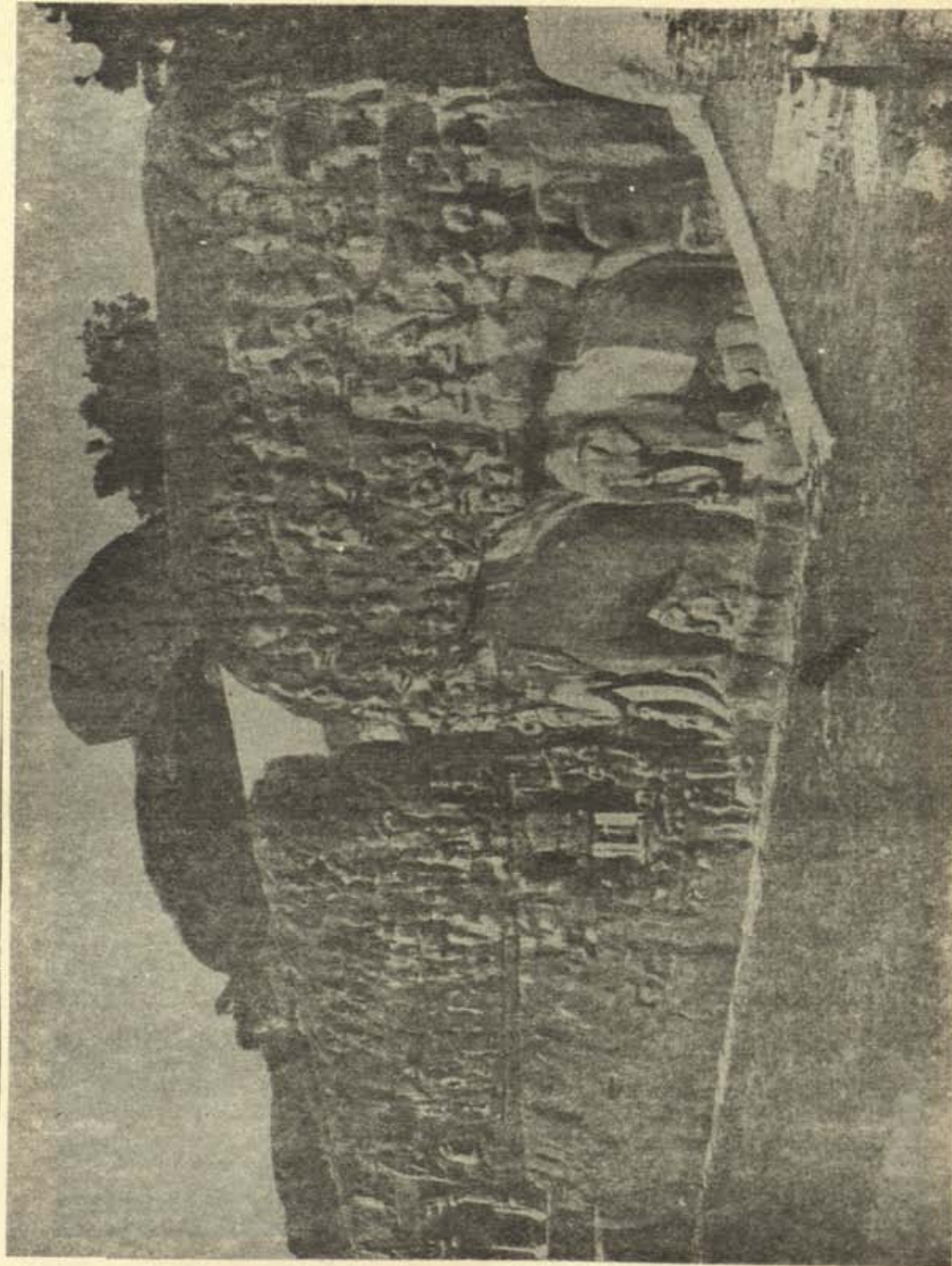
The first plate represents what is usually known as the Pancha Pāṇḍava Ratha. This name seems to have arisen at a time when the significance of the 'rathas' had long

⁸ Beal's *Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 139.

⁹ புலன் கொள் நிதிக்குவையேயடி புழைக்கைம்மாக ளிற்றினமும்
நலன் கொள் நவமணிக்குவையும் சமத்தெற்கும் கான்றெருகித்
தலங்களியற்கும் மல்லைக்கடன் மல்லைத்தல சயனம்
வலன் கொள் மனத்தாரவரை வலன் கொள்ளென் மடகெஞ்சே.



PANCHA PANDAVA RATHA : GENERAL VIEW





been forgotten and the story of the *Mahābhārata* was in great vogue. The origin seems simple enough. Of the five structures one differs from the rest the smallest with a peculiar roofing—a roofing that seems formed on the pattern of a small hut with the roof overlaid with paddy grass as village houses and huts often are. Of the four other structures three are quite similar in form. The whole five struck the popular imagination as houses built for the five brothers, the twins counting as one, as is often the case in the original *Mahābhārata*. Hence the name must have appeared peculiarly appropriate, having regard to the magnificent bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's Penance.

The illustration exhibits the structural differences between the so-called Dharmarāja and the Bhīmaratha clearly. The Dharmarāja, Arjuna and Nakula-Sahadēva Rathas are of one pattern—the conical; the Bhīma Ratha is of a different pattern—the apsidal; while the Draupadi Ratha is of the conical pattern likewise, but exhibits the roof smooth showing even the details of the over-lying paddy grass. The difference between the other three and the Bhīma Ratha is one of structure—the structure of the originals of which these are but obvious copies. The originals are no other than village houses, which are of the same two patterns all along the coast. The roofing material is almost universally plaited cocoanut fronds overlaid in more substantial dwellings by dried paddy grass. Such a structure necessitates certain structural features in the roof, which in the copies develop into ornaments. The tale of their origin is disclosed often by the names that stone masons and others engaged in architecture make use of. Inscriptions on them make it clear that these were intended to enshrine gods and goddesses. The work was begun under Narasimhavarman, Pallavamalla, was continued under Paramēśvaravarman I. and Narasimhavarman II, Rajasimha, and had not been quite completed even under Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the last great Pallava: in all a period of about a century. The Dharmarāja Ratha has inscriptions of all these except the last, while the Gaṇḍēśa Ratha and the caves of Sāluvanguppan contain inscriptions of Attranachanda taken to be a surname of Nandivarman while it might possibly be one of Rajasimha himself.

Plates II & III represent the bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's Penance. The sculptor has made use of a whole piece of rock with a hollow right in the middle, perhaps caused by the erosion of running water. The first gives the general view of the whole. The striking feature of the whole scene depicted appears to be the water course towards which every figure represented seems to move. As is always the case in Hindu temple building, one will see a small shrine on the left side of the cascade containing a standing figure. Just outside the shrine an old looking man is found seated to one side in the attitude of one performing *japa* (repeating prayers). Almost in a line with this, but above is seen another figure of an old man standing on the left leg, the right somewhat raised and bent, and both his hands held above his head in an attitude of god-compelling penance. In front of this old man is seen the majestic figure of a god, standing in an attitude of granting the prayer, with four hands, two of them holding weapons and the other two in the poses known as *abhaya* (no fear) for the left, and as *varada* (giving boons) for the right. The dwarf figures about and close to the personage deserve to be noted, as they are characteristic of Siva: the dwarf figures being representations of various *ganas*.

What this bas-relief represents has been agitating the minds of archaeologists very much. Their doubts that this does not represent **Arjuna's Penance** has shown itself in protean forms. Fergusson has it in his *Cave Temples of India* (P. 155—6): "It was popularly known as **Arjuna's Penance** from the figure of a Sannyâsi standing on one leg, and holding his arms over his head, which is generally assumed to represent that hero of the *Mahâbhârata*, but without more authority than that which applies his name with that of his brothers and sister¹⁰ to the Ratha above described."

"In the centre on a projecting ledge, between the two great masses of rock, once stood the statue of the great Nâgarâja, who was the principal personage for whose honour this great bas-relief was designed." This opinion is apparently shared by Burgess who collaborated with him in the publication of his standard work, the *Cave Temples of India*. These doubts, however, are thus summarised by a recent archaeologist in the following words:—

"Concerning the latter bas-relief, it is well to recollect that we cannot any more call it '**Arjuna's Penance**.'" The merit of having given a satisfactory explanation of this scene goes to Mr. Victor Goloubew? who has proved (*Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, Vol. IV. July-August 1914):—

1. That the principal object in the scene is the vertical crevice in the rock, for it is towards it that all the personages are turned;

2. That the presence of *nagas* in the crevice proves the presence of water.

In that case all is clear. During the Pallava epoch the rain water flowed through the crevice. This cascade then represented the Ganges descending to the earth from the heights of Kailâsa. On the rock Siva is seen giving an ear to the prayers of Bhagiratha. Thus the personage who has so long been mistaken for **Arjuna** is no other than Bhagiratha, and this grand sight must be called not '**Arjuna's Penance**', but '**Bhagiratha's Penance**'.¹¹

This authority, who is no other than my friend Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, whose methodical work in this branch of Archaeology has my sincere admiration, refuses to accept the popular designation of the relief and recognises that it represents **Bhagiratha's Penance**.

The bas-relief has to be carefully examined alongside of the story of **Arjuna's Penance** in the *Mahâbhârata* to accept or reject the popular name. The new suggestion has to be equally critically examined to establish a superior appropriateness. We shall prove by such an examination that the now prevalent name is the correct one, and the one suggested is hardly appropriate; and, as a consequence no further suggestion of a name is called for. The story of **Arjuna's Penance**, as described in the Kairâta *sarga* of the *Mahâbhârata*, is briefly as follows:—

Arjuna, while in exile with his brothers and their wife **Draupadi**, was advised, as a measure of necessary preparation for the war then almost certain, to go to the *Himâlayas*, perform a penance to god *Siva*, and, by pleasing him, obtain from him the *Pâsupata*, the weapon characteristic of *Siva*, and, therefore, could be given only by him. **Arjuna** went as directed and performed a long and severe penance. *Siva* was pleased enough with the penance which was of sufficient severity to make the gods feel perturbed as to consequences. All the same the weapon par excellence would not be conferred upon him without testing his

¹⁰ This was no sister but the common wife of the five brothers.

¹¹ Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I., page 66.

worth. For the purposes of this test Siva assumed the form of a hunter and went in pursuit of a boar, the form assumed by one of his attendants. The boar, as was intended dashed into the sequestered glade of the forest where Arjuna was rapt in contemplation in the course of his penance. The inrush of such an unwelcome intruder created such a disturbance about him that he opened his eyes and saw the wild boar. The instinct of the Kshatriya got the better of him; he took up his bow and with a single arrow, shot from it, transfixed him as he thought. Simultaneously with his action the hunter who came in the trail of his game, shot also and the dead beast shewed the marks of both arrows. The huntsman and the hermit both claimed the honour of the chase and the possession of the quarry. The opposing claims ended in a combat in which they fought hand to hand. Finding in the course of it the weapon that Arjuna cherished the most proved of no avail, and feeling his own strength ebbing away in the combat, Arjuna bethought him of what he had forgotten. His Kshatriya blood was up and he had forgotten, for the nonce, Siva. During the respite given for gaining breath, he placed a mud image of Siva and placed on its head a bunch of wild flowers which he had at hand. He was surprised to find the bunch on the head of his antagonist. Finding at once that he was fighting hand to hand with no other than God Siva he threw himself, into the attitude of a penitent who was determined to wipe out the guilt of this sacrilege by the severest penance he had yet done. Then Siva shewed himself to him in his usual form to assure Arjuna that he was pleased with the valour he shewed in the combat, which he had brought on on purpose to test him. Siva then asked him to state the boon that he would have. Arjuna, of course, demanded the gift of the *Pāsupata*, which God Siva gave with pleasure and benignity.¹²

The whole of this story is exhibited in three tableaux in the bas-relief. The sculptor has chosen the characteristic incidents in the story (1) the lower part exhibits Arjuna in penance, (2) the second exhibits the chase, the boar galloping away ahead while the other animals are quiescent in the relief, (3) the third is where Siva appears before Arjuna and bestows upon him the boon demanded by the penitent as a result of the penance. The three taken together make it clear that the relief is a representation on the surface of the rock of Arjuna's Penance. The trend of the various other beings towards the middle is not because of the watercourse there, but because of the chief character, Siva, being there. The watercourse is merely incidental and cannot be held to represent the coming of the Ganges (*Gaṅgāvataraṇa*). The story of the coming of the Gaṅgā, so far as it relates to this particular, requires that Gaṅgā should be shown as descending upon the matted coiffure of Siva, getting lost there almost, issuing therefrom in a small stream by means of a loosened lock. The aspect of Siva in the relief has nothing in it to indicate this.

There is much other evidence on the point, but it is other than archaeological. The archaeological features of the bas-relief leave little doubt that it was of the period of Narasimhavarman I, Pallavamalla, who was a contemporary of the two *Tēvāram* hymnners, Appar and Sambandar. Both of these mention the incident

¹² Cantos, 42 & 43 Book I, Kumbhakonam Edition.

of giving the *Pāsupata* to Arjuna as one of the more prominent acts of beneficence by Siva¹³. The inscriptions on the Rathas and the caves make it absolutely clear that **Narasimhavarman** laboured to make them Siva shrines and make a Saiva centre of the place. Inscriptions Nos. 17 & 18 on the Dharmarāja Ratha make it clear that it was intended to be called 'Atyantakāma Pallavēśvara.'¹⁴ The same name occurs in the so-called Gaṇeśa Ratha and in the Rāmānuja Maṇṭapam. This **Atyantakama** was no other than **Paramēśvaravarman**, the grandson of **Narasimhavarman I.** and father of **Narasimhavarman II, Rajasiniha**. The larger number of buildings in rock therefore began to be excavated by **Narasimhavarman I.** and reached their completion if they ever reached it at all under **Narasimha II, Rajasiniha**, Saiva sovereigns in a Saiva age. These naturally made the bas-relief represent one of the most popular of Siva's acts of beneficence to humanity which both the *Tēvāram* hymners refer to very often in the course of their works. This is the more natural seeing that the other bas-relief has reference to one of Kṛishṇa's achievements, the holding up of the hill, **Gōvardhana**, to protect the cowherds and cattle from a shower of stones. We shall revert to this later; but must mention here that this place finds no mention in the *Tēvāram* as a place holy to Siva, though these hymners refer to **Tirukalukkunṇam**; nor is the place included among those peculiarly sacred to Siva now. It seems to be then beyond the possibility of doubt that this bas-relief represents **Arjuna's Penance**, not as an incident in the *Māhābhārata* but as a representation of one of Siva's many acts of beneficence to humanity, perhaps because it is so depicted in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*.

This interpretation finds unlooked for support in the archaeological remains of a few pillars recently unearthed at Chandimau in the Behar District of the Patna Division. These are sculptures that exhibit the same incident and the monument belongs, according to Mr. R. D. Banerjee, to the 5th or the 6th Century A. D. as the inscriptions found on the pillars are of the Gupta characters.¹⁵

Another point in regard to this bas-relief is whether it is the work of foreigners. That foreign workmen from other parts of India and outside did do work in this part of the country on occasions, is in evidence in the Tamil classics.¹⁶ Jewellers from Magadha,

¹³ திரியல் பல்லா வுருவமதாதி யொண்டிதல்வே
டனதுருவது கொண்டு,

காரிகை காணத்தனஞ் சயன் தன்னைக் கறுத்
தவற் களித்துடன் காதல்செய் பெருமான்.

திருவேங்கு. 3. (சம்பந்தர்)

பாடகஞ்சேர் மெல்லடி சுற்பாவை யானும்

நீயும் போய்ப்பார்த் தனது பலத்தைக் காண்பான்

வேடனும் வில்வாங்கி யெய்தகாளோ.

திருவாரூர்த் திருத்தாண்டகம். 3. (அப்பர்)

¹⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, X. p. 8.

¹⁵ *A. S. R. For* 1911-12 p. 162-et. seq.

¹⁶ மகதவினை னுரும்மராட்டக் கம்மரும்

மவந்திக் கொல்லரும் யவனத்தச் சருஞ்

தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடித்

கொண்டி னிதியற்றிய கண்கவர் செய்வினைப்

பவனத்தி ரன்காற் பன்மணிப் போதிகை.

Manimekhalai XIX 107-110.

யவனத் தச்சரும் மவந்திக் கொல்லரு

மகதத்துப் பிரந்தமணி வினைக்கா ரும்

..... பசும்பொன் வினைஞருங்

கோசலத் தியன்ற ஓவியத் தொழிலரும்

வந்த நாட்டுவண்ணக் கம்மரும்.

Perungadai, Unjaikkāṇḍam, passage quoted under above in Pundit Saminatha Aiyar's edition of *Manimekhalai*.

smiths from Mahārāṭa, blacksmiths from Avanti (Malva), carpenters from Yavana, laboured with the artisans of the Tamil land.

Admitting this possible co-operation, it requires more to prove borrowing either the inspiration or the execution. None of the details of these works seem foreign either to the locality or to the prevalent notions of indigenous art. The suspected 'Cornucopia' held in the hand by one of the figures at the bottom of the central water-course is none other than a sling containing the sacrificial platter of wood which one of the disciples has washed and put together to carry home to the hermitage, while his companion carries on his shoulder a vessel of water.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 47.)

However it might have been, the rise of the Toṇḍamāns was an important event in the history of Madura, Tanjore and Rāmnāḍ. From the time when Raghunātha Toṇḍamān established himself at Pudukkōṭṭai, there was a new state which, led by able men and acute leaders, played a large part as a buffer-State in the wars and fortunes of the three powers which surrounded it. Nominally subordinate to Rāmnāḍ, it adjusted its policy to the exigencies of the moment, and utterly indifferent to the principle of constancy or loyalty, carried on its own task of self-expansion. The Toṇḍamān, as we shall see later on, did not hesitate to act against Rāmnāḍ if his interests dictated such a course. Similarly, he did not hesitate to fight with Madura, the suzerain of his immediate suzerain. Towards Tanjore the Toṇḍamān was, as a rule, an enemy; but even here enmity or friendship depended on the expediency of the moment. The result of these moves and countermoves, of these alliances and enmities, was that Pudukkōṭṭai was able, in the long run, to survive both the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura and, in a sense, the estate of Rāmnāḍ, as the last of these became, thanks to its instigation, a partitioned and therefore comparatively powerless estate.

In the year 1674 the interval of peace ended, and Chokkanātha again entered into a series of wars which, though at first attended with startling success, eventually turned out highly disastrous to the kingdom. The first of these, which was destined to mark a revolution in the history of South India, was with Tanjore. It not only led to the sudden extinction of the Nāik dynasty of that kingdom, but to the advent of the Marathas, just then rising to power and prominence, into the South. The Maratha occupation of Tanjore led in its turn to important effects. The Tanjore colony was the work of the younger son of Shahji, and was followed by a civil war between him and his elder brother. The struggle between the brothers was complicated by the entrance on the scene of their common enemy, Mysore, then under the efficient and powerful rule of Chika Dēva Rāj. The ambition and avarice of the contending parties extended their field of operations into the region between the Kāveri and the Vaigai. The kingdom of Madura became, in consequence, a vast theatre of war. The position of Chokkanātha was a most unfortunate and miserable one; for while the Marathas and Mysoreans were struggling with one another, they were equally interested in despoiling his power and annexing his kingdom, so that in a few years his authority was reduced to

a shadow and his extensive dominion to the single city of Trichinopoly. And when to this foreign conquest, he had to meet the contumacy of the greatest of his vassals, the Sētopati, who raised an independent standard at a time when his master was most in need of his obedience and help, the cup of Chokkanātha's grief became too full, and he passed away, leaving his kingdom in possession of contending foreigners, and his subjects the victims of war and military occupation.

The Tanjore war affords a fine example, so common in Indian History, of history merging into romance. The cause of the war was, as in many other cases in India, a woman. The king of Tanjore, the pious Achyuta Vijaya Rāghava, had a daughter, whose beauty of person and of mind, had gained wide renown and a crowd of suitors. Chokkanātha was an aspirant for her hand, and in 1674 despatched an embassy with presents and proposals of marriage. But no sooner did the Madura messengers state the object of their visit than the monarch of Tanjore flew into a passion and declared that the proposal was an insult. With undisguised contempt and denunciatory abuse, he⁸⁰ pronounced his brother chief to be unfit⁸¹ to be his son-in-law, and dismissed the messengers with insult. When Chokkanātha heard of the indignity he resolved on immediate war, and ordered the Daḷavai Vēṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa Nāik,⁸² and the treasurer Chinna Thambi Mudali, to set the Madura army in motion. Vēṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa was an able general. His skill had gained, from his master and his contemporaries, the flattering titles of Sugrīva's crown and Savyasāchin. He promptly obeyed his master's mandate, and was in a few days in the confines of the Tanjore kingdom, where the first engagement between the two powers took place. The contest was sanguinary, and "blood ran like water in the channels for irrigation." The Trichinopolitans gained the victory, and were able to push their way into Tanjore. When within a few miles of the capital, they came into collision, for a second time, with an army despatched by Vijaya Rāghava. Many interesting and singular facts are narrated in connection with this battle, which give us an excellent idea of the warfare of those days. The Telugu chronicle, *Record of the Affairs of the Carnatic Gover-*

⁸⁰ Vijaya Raghava would have, according to one version, consented for the marriage; but he was deterred from doing so by an evil counsellor, the Daḷavai Rangappa Naik, who had his own motive for thus acting. He wished to marry the princess to his son, Ranganatha, and to divert the crown through her, to his own family. With this view, we are told, he had already secured the imprisonment of the right heir, Mannāru Naidu by accusing him before the king of an abandoned life. In dissuading his master from listening to Chokkanātha's proposal, he proceeded in a cautious and effective manner by provoking by enormous personal vanity of his master. He pointed out how Tirumāl Nāik had stabbed his betrothed a Tanjore princess, for her playful remark that his buildings were like the drainage works of her father, and how such a brutal family was hardly worthy of a marriage alliance. He is also said to have bribed Gōvinda Dikshita, Vijaya Raghava's minister, to tell the king that he, a Vaiṣṇava, could not properly form an alliance with the Śaivite line of Madura. There are many improbabilities in this version, however: First, there is no evidence whatever to prove that Tirumāl stabbed a Tanjore princess, though there is evidence of such a marriage. (See Wheeler's *Hist.* Vol. IV, pt. II, p. 577) where Wheeler describes the wedding ceremonies). Secondly, Govinda Dikshita was evidently not Vijaya Rāghava's minister. Thirdly, even if Govinda had lived he would not have belittled his own deity Śiva.

⁸¹ Manucci, *Storia de' Mogor* III, p. 103-5. As usual Manucci is very inaccurate and unreliable. His version of the "Tanjore prince" (he gives neither the name of Chokkanātha nor of Vijaya Rāghava) is most disparaging, and differs entirely from other accounts. See Note p. 15.

⁸² According to Manucci he proceeded in person.

nors describes in detail the means adopted by the different parties to secure the defeat of the other. It says that Vijaya Raghava supplemented the martial valour of his army with the magic skill of his *guru*. Alarmed at the continuous defeat of his men, he asked his preceptor, Sôma Chandra Svâmi, to perform such incantations as could completely disable the enemy. Chokkanâtha, we are told, retaliated. His *guru*, Balapriya, was more than a match for Sôma Chandra, and by his counter-incantations, did not only make the Tanjorean devices harmless, but prepared the way for the desertion of the Tanjore troops at the nick of time. *Lakhs* and *lakhs* of pumpkins, we are informed, were made the subjects of incantations,⁸³ and cast into the Kâveri, so that those who drank of the waters impregnated with them, were sure to desert for the Trichinopoly ranks. In the midst of the war of magic, the two armies joined battle. The Tanjoreans, once again, suffered defeat and retreated into their own fort.

Vênkaṭa Kṛishṇa pursued the retreating forces and was soon in the vicinity of Tanjore. From his camp he sent word to Vijaya Raghava offering his withdrawal in case he consented to the marriage. A haughty challenge to arms was the answer. The Dalavai thereupon gave orders for the assault. The Tanjore fort was well guarded by 20,000 musketeers and a powerful army, but the besiegers were undaunted. They mounted their cannon⁸⁴ on raised earth-works and discharged against the fort some tens of thousands of cannon shot. The defending troops were not able to sustain the infliction, and hundreds deserted their ranks, and joined the standards of Trichinopoly. The gates of the fort were then demolished, the ditches filled up with vast quantities of fascines; and then the place was taken by storm, some ascending the breaches made by the cannon shot, and some going in by the gates.

Immediately after his entrance into the city, Vênkaṭa Kṛishṇa sent a second message of friendship and warning to the Tanjore monarch. The latter was, we are told, all this while engaged in the worship of his god. Entirely oblivious of the fatal events going on outside his city, he wasted his time in meditation and prayer from which no amount of

⁸³ The *Record of the Carn. Govrs.* Many similar examples of resort to magic in assistance to the sword can be cited from Indian History. Tippoo, for instance, in spite of his bigotry, organized a *japan* for securing victory against the English. It was performed for four periods of 12 days each. Scores of Brahmans abstained from salt and condiments promoting digestion and took simple milk and rice during this period. Thus prepared, a detachment of the corps frequently relieved, stood in a rank up to their chests in water, beating it incessantly with their hands and bawling out their *mantras* or incantations. This is also done during a time of drought in the state of Mysore. The same thing was done in the campaign which resulted into the two retreats of Lord Cornwallis from Seringapatam, and the Brahmans attributed his failure to their *mantras*. The *mantras*, however failed to save the capital from General Harris; and this was ascribed by the Brahmans, not to the inefficiency of the *mantras* themselves, but to some mistakes in the mysteries and to the fact that some of the Brahmans had tasted of salt. Muhammad Ali once spent £5,000, through one Achena Pandit, on a *jebbam* at the temple of Pakshijirta, S. of Madras, in order to kill Lord Pigot, and it, we are told, succeeded; and a similar incantation, after several failures, killed Haidar Ali. The *mantra* for killing particular persons was generally uttered after suspending a cobra by the tail from the roof of an apartment, and proper incense being burned on a fire immediately below. This is the celebrated *saro yagam*. Wilks gives the story of Haji who claimed one lakh of rupees from Umdatul-umra for killing, his usurping younger brother Amiru'l-umra. See Wilks *Mysore*, I, pp. 445-446. In Malabar especially, magic was largely used for political purposes. See the *Mantravidoms of Malabar* by V. Nagamaia in *Christ. Coll. Mag.*; Vol X pp. 82-92 and 158-166.

⁸⁴ The detailed consideration of the artillery and weapons of war is made in chapter XI.

bad tidings could disturb him. It is not improbable that the brain of the old king was deranged, and that his obstinate orthodoxy was but the product of lunacy. But if he was mad, there was a method in his madness. For, when Vênkaṭa Kṛishṇa's second message came to him, he sent the firm and coherent reply that even the loss of his crown would not change his resolution. The consequence was, the troops of Trichinopoly soon surrounded the palace. They stood exultant at the gates, when Vijaya Rāghava finished his devotions, and thought of the war which his vanity had courted and his folly ignored. From the moment of his awakening, he acted like a desperate man who expected certain ruin. He ordered the walls of the *mahāl* to be mined and provided with gun-powder, so that in the case of his death, which he expected, the ladies of the harem could be blown up, avoiding thereby the possible insults of a conquering foe. He then set free⁸⁵ his son Mannārappa Nāiḍu, who had been in prison as a punishment for a reckless and irregular life, and at his request, permitted him to take a leading part in the ensuing contest. Surrounded by five faithful servants and the wrecked remnants of his once powerful but unfaithful army, Vijaya Rāghava then emerged from the palace, and entered into a hand to hand fight with his antagonists. The enthusiasm he displayed in the battle-field, the acts of heroism of which he was the author therein, are the only good features of his character and conduct during the last days of his career. Though aged and worn out—he was more than eighty at this time—he had the bearing of a young and daring soldier. The shrivelling and overhanging eyebrows of the old man, we are informed, were fastened tightly by golden wires! The feeble and bending waist was adorned by valuable robes, glittering with studded gems.

Both his hands held two long and shining swords⁸⁶. Thus, he went into the thick of the battle, and performed feats of valour. But the attempt of the Tanjoreans was a forlorn hope. The Trichinopolitans were over-whelmingly superior in numbers, in strength, and in the confidence of complete success. Vijaya Rāghava therefore called his son and his servant, Agra Rāja, to proceed to the palace and communicate to the Zenana the news of his coming defeat and death. When the fatal message reached them, the queens and other women, who had, with drawn swords, awaited the signal killed themselves by mutual swordthrusts; and the work of destruction was made complete by the blowing up of the apartment where they had lived the last moments of their ill-fated lives. Not long after, Vijaya Rāghava and his son fell in battle,⁸⁷ and amidst the spoils of victory which Chokkanātha's Daḷavai brought to Trichinopoly, the things which gave superior gratifications to him were the heads and robes of the ill-fated monarch and his gallant son.

Other versions of the war.

Such is the account of the Tanjore War given by the *Tanjāvūr Raja Charitra*; but there are some other versions of it which, though not equally authoritative and accurate may be noticed here. The first of these is given by the historian Wheeler. He is wrong both in regard to the date and the causes of the war, for he attributes it to the very day of Chokkanātha's accession and to an alleged dispute between the peoples of Tanjore and

⁸⁵ The *Record of the Carn. Govts.* attributes this to the intercession of Daḷavai Rangappa. It says that the prince had been imprisoned in a fit of anger by his father. It does not say anything of Ranga's designs. The *Tanjāvūr Raja Charitra* gives more or less the same version. See *Tanj. Man.* and Taylor's *Catal.* III, p. 177.

⁸⁶ The *Record of the Carn. Govts.*

⁸⁷ When about to be killed he preferred to die by the sword and not cannon. See *Tanjāvūr Raja Char. Raj's Catal.* III, 177.

Trichinopoly in regard to a water-course. He⁸⁸ says, however, that immediately after this dispute, Chokkanātha sent an embassy to "Vijā Rāgunanda" of Tanjore, a man highly advanced in age, requesting the bestowal of his grand-daughter in marriage to him. But the latter dismissed the embassy with scorn on the ground that Chokkanātha's mother was "of mean extraction." On hearing this, the indignant ruler of the southern kingdom promptly assembled his army, and marched against Tanjore, but was utterly defeated by the grandson of the Tanjore king. Chokkanātha became so full of despair that he resorted to a curious device to inflame the pride and rouse the heroism of his soldiers. He enlisted 100 women warriors in his army and posted them in the rear so that his retreating soldiers might meet them and their taunts. Unable to brook the shame, the men of Madura fought with all their valour, entered, Tanjore, and burnt the palace, with the king, his wives, his daughters and grand-daughters.

Niccolao Manucci is equally inaccurate and vague. He gives neither the name of Chokkanātha nor of Vijaya Rāghava. "The Prince of Tanjore," he says, "had a daughter of rare beauty. Inflamed by reports about her the Prince of Madura asked her in marriage, saying they two united, would be able to resist the armies of the whole world. The Prince of Tanjore was much offended at this embassy, and replied that his daughter could not be given to him, seeing his great inferiority in blood and rank. He should remember how humble his forefathers were (referring to the Emperor Ram Raja having raised his ancestors from a lowly condition). He must not entertain such lofty ideas. Thrown into a great rage by this answer, the king of Madura gathered all his forces and "started in person to devastate the lands of Tanjore. The latter also made ready his whole army, and sent his general in advance to impede the progress of the Madura ruler. But such was the sagacity and astuteness of that prince that he brought the Tanjore general over to his side with all his troops. When the Tanjore Prince heard of his general's treason, he was greatly concerned, took the field himself with a strong army, and awaited the arrival of the Madura prince. In a few days the two forces were in sight of each other. But the Tanjore leaders, already tampered with by the Madura Prince or the traitorous general, gradually deserted their prince and sovereign;⁸⁹ by daybreak he found himself entirely abandoned, and was forced to retire into the city." He then tried "to collect the people to defend the place, but through the great confusion that existed, could not succeed; and in desperation he loaded his cannon with all his great store of precious stones, and scattered them over the country. When this had been done, he went to his magnificent palace, where, shutting up 700 wives that he had, together with his daughter and all his wealth, he blew them up by a powder-mine, reserving only his most cherished wife, who was anxious to die in his company." Manucci says that he liberated at this time 15,300 mistresses, picked from the most lovely women in his kingdom,—a number he

⁸⁸ See his *Ind. Hist.*, IV., pt. 2. p. 581-2.

⁸⁹ Later on, Manucci attributes the treason to the behaviour of the king who had seized the wives and daughters of the noblemen to be his mistresses (Manuc. III, p. 105). But this representation of Vijaya Rāghava is entirely against the traditional account of him as a saint. Manucci is positively wrong when he says that it was this "Prince of Tanjore" who gave permission to Robert de Nobilis to build churches and preach Christianity.

chose in imitation of Krishna, the Lord of the Gopis! Meanwhile, "the enemy, came and attacked the city. In order not to be made prisoner and be disgraced, the king decided to die bravely. He came out with 3 sons and 18 horsemen, his relations, bearing on his horse's hindquarters his beloved queen. She, at the approach of the enemy's mighty force, felt afraid, and spoke tender words to her husband, saying that as evil chance was so great a tyrant as to rob her of further delight in his society, she prayed to him to end her life with his own hand, so that she might not fall into the enemy's power." The king could not, in spite of her repeated supplications, steel himself to such cruelty. "Still, the arguments of the afflicted and determined princess were so strong that, finding the enemy already close upon them, he was forced at length to yield to her entreaties. Seizing his sword, he cut off her head, and, his blade all bare and crimson, galloped into the enemy's ranks, followed by his companions, and in a brief space ended his life."

It is unnecessary to enter into a criticism of these fables. It is enough if it is understood that all agree that the Nâik Dynasty of Tanjore ended on this occasion, and that with it, a highly romantic but tragical chapter of South Indian History. The annals of the world hardly furnish a finer example of a provocation so trivial and a result so disastrous and far reaching. Chokkanâtha himself must have been surprised at the turn the events had taken. When he ordered the invasion of Tanjore, he would hardly have hoped for a result so victorious to his arms, so disastrous to his rival, and so momentous in the history of South India. Wars without number had disturbed the peace and maintained the mutual hostility of the sister kingdoms; but never had any of them been attended with a consequence as startling as this. The lessons of past history, in short, proved unreliable, and the satisfaction of Chokkanâtha at the success of his arms and the acquisition of a dependency must have been mingled with a regret for the fate of a worthy, though misguided, monarch and the sudden termination of a dynasty in the midst of a prosperous and hopeful career. The effect of the catastrophe is felt even to-day. Any stranger who visits the palace at Tanjore can see a ruined and shattered tower at northern-western corner, and will feel a shudder at the sight, when he knows that that is the remnant of the ancient Nâik Zenana. If it had a mouth of its own, it could tell a tale which, though it concerns an eccentric king, is yet a tale which does not belong to one particular man or country, but for all the world that can feel and pity. The ignorant and superstitious servant who guides the visitor through the rambling building of the palace, points to the lonely and gloomy tower, and speaks with a suppressed voice and solemn face, of the gruesome tragedy enacted therein 200 years back. The place is haunted, says he, and none dare approach it lest a contagion of the gloom that surrounds it should seize them.

Aḷagiri's defection.

The Kingdom of Tanjore was now a dependency, an outlying province, of Madura, and Chokkanâtha lost no time in arranging for a settled and satisfactory government of it; but unfortunately the arrangement he made was not such as to strengthen his hold on the conquered kingdom. He dug the grave of his own authority by appointing as viceroy a foster-brother of his, Aḷagiri Nâiḍu by name, a man of ungrateful nature and unscrupulous conduct, who like a true upstart, assumed airs and proved a tyrant. A few months after his exaltation to his high office, Aḷagiri addressed a letter to his suzerain in terms of equality and in the spirit of an independent chief. He at the same

time ceased the remission of the surplus revenues :⁹⁰ and when Chokkanātha remonstrated and warned, he pleaded with a hypocritical ignorance of the change of circumstances, that he only adopted the precedent of the old Tanjore monarchs. The indignation of Chokkanātha at once ordered the punishment of the traitor; but the Dalavāi and the other ministers met in council, and after some deliberation regarding the course to be pursued, came to the conclusion that, as Alagiri's position was far stronger than that of Vijaya Rāhgava, it would be more advisable to be cautious and conciliatory. They therefore counselled their master to suppress his indignation and postpone the punitive expedition, till "the devices of Sāma, Dāna and Bhēda were tried," and found futile.

If Alagiri Nāik escaped the chastisement of his master, he did not escape from the fruits of his own behaviour. He seems to have been a tactless and imprudent ruler, entirely unable to conciliate the conquered. His avarice seized the estates of great men, and his arbitrary temper dismissed several men of eminence from their offices. A man who suffered much in this regime was the celebrated Veṅkaṇṇa, the Rāyasam, of the last Nāik king. Endowed by nature with an extraordinary amount of ability, tact and perseverance, Veṅkaṇṇa entertained the bold design of subverting the new dynasty and restoring that of his master.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

BANABHATTA'S GURU.

In the *Kādambarī* verse 4 of the introduction runs "नमामि भवोच्चरणाञ्जलयं सरोखरैर्मोक्षरिभिः कृतार्चनम्।" Hitherto भवोः was taken by most scholars as the 6th case dual of भवः meaning Viṣṇu and Śiva. This explanation is obviously erroneous, for Bāṇa has already saluted both Viṣṇu and Śiva in vs. 2-3. Besides, it is most unlikely that भवः means a dual-god with only two feet between them. According to मेदिनी the word has a meaning Śiva; but the fact of being "worshipped by the Maukharis and their feudatories" is conclusive against the word signifying any non-human being, whose greatness becomes only circumscribed by such an epithet. Moreover the line सरोखरैर्मोक्षरिभिः कृतार्चनम् has an exact parallel in the line अनेकगुणार्चितपादपङ्कजः of verse 10, where

Bāṇa's own ancestor कुबेर is described as being worshipped by the Guptas. It is thus clear that the commentator भानुचन्द्र alone is right when he says 'भस्वरिति गुरोर्नाम'. भवु or भस्व as भानुचन्द्र reads was then the guru of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and was presumably the spiritual guide of the great Maukharis. It is also probable that भवु was Bāṇa's teacher on poetry, for he is perhaps to be identified with a poet of the same name, who has been quoted in several anthologies¹ and whose antiquity is ensured by the fact that the verse आहूतोपि सहायैः found under his name in two of the anthologies, is quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 38). अभिनवगुप्त in his comment on the verse says 'शीतकृतार्चिरवहेतुरिति भट्टोद्भटः' showing that the verse was quoted even earlier in an unknown work of भट्टोद्भट, who lived Circa 800 A. D.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA.

⁹⁰ *Rec. of the Carn. Govts. and Tanj. Raj. Charit.*

¹ Vide Peterson's Introduction to *Subhāṣitāvalī* under Bhaṣchu. Altogether 4 verses are there collected, to which we should add another from *Sāktimuktāvalī* beginning with गौरीविभ्रनभूपधूनपदल-दयानाथनानोदरा :—Bhandarkar's *Sixth Report*, App.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

2. Interpreter as Shipping Clerk.

26 August 1662, Consultation in Surat. A Proposition was made by the President [Matthew Andrews] in the Behalfe of Ranchore Metta [Ranch Mehtā], a person Employed on the Marine for freighting of shippa, and receiving in the Money, being very useful also in the lading and unlading of Goods, and Writing our Persian

Letters, whose great care and diligence, with his Constant Attendance on the Company's Affaires for these 3 yeares past being well knowne to this Council, The President mooved, that hee might have a salary of 300 Mamoodoes [mahmūdīs = Rs. 150] Yearly allowed him, to commence from the 1st of September 1659, which was joyntly Concluded. (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 2)

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB, Vol. III. By Professor JADU NATH SARKAR, M.A. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 75-1-1, Harrison Road, Calcutta, 1916.

THE third volume of Professor Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* deals with the first half (1658-81) of that monarch's reign. Among the new sources of information utilised for this volume (beside those quoted at the end of volume II) the most important are:—*Mīr'at-i-Aḥmādī* (History of Gujrat), Muḥammad A'zam's *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Salīm'ullāh's *Tawārīkh-i-Bangala*, Muḥammad Ṣālih's *Bahār-i-Sakhun*, Izād Baksh Rāsh's *Riyāzu-l-Widād*, Nigār Nāmāh-i-Munshi, Chandar Bhan's *Chhār Chaman-i-Brahman*, Chatar Man's *Chhār Gulshan*, *Dawābit-i-Ālamgiri*, and *Dastūru-l-'Amal*.

The author has succeeded in gathering an epoch-making collection of material for his subject, and he has taken great pains to collate the evidence of writers of different creeds and nationalities; but the result in some cases is disappointing and, speaking critically, there is a lack of balanced judgment and correct historical perspective in the work. So far as the narration of undisputed facts is concerned Professor Sarkar may be followed implicitly; but in his discussions of subtle questions of state policy and religious dogma it is clear that he does not weigh the various aspects of the problem, and so the picture of events, as we get it in the book, is distorted. For instance, when speaking of Aurangzeb's bigotry, Professor Sarkar freely condemns the policy of the previous rulers also. He says:

"With every generous instinct of the soul crushed out of them, with intellectual culture merely adding a keen edge to their sense of humiliation, the Hindus could not be expected to produce the ut. most of which they were capable; their lot was to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters, to bring grist to the fiscal mill, to develop a low cunning and flattery as the only means of saving what they could of the fruits of their own labour The barrenness of the Hindu intellect and the meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnations of Muhammadan rule in India". Surely this is harsh judgment, especially when one remembers the liberal policy of Akbar, and of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān.

Again, when Professor Sarkar undertakes to pronounce against the tenets of Islam, a task for which he is by no means competent, he places himself at the point of ridicule. "It is not necessary" he says, "that he (Muslim) should tame his own passions or mortify his flesh; it is not necessary for him to grow a rich growth of spirituality. He has to slay a certain class of his fellow beings or plunder their lands and wealth and this act in itself would raise his soul to heaven". It is very evident here that Professor Sarkar has just arrived at 'fresh fields and pastures new'. An author who knows his limitations no better than that cannot expect to receive serious attention from his readers.

There are several mistakes in spelling Arabic and Persian terms, e. g. *Jizya* has been spelt *Jaziya*, etc.

G YAZDANI.



THE BOAR-INCARNATION VARAHAVATARA



THE DWARF-INCARNATION—VAMANAVATARA

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPUR.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR AVL., M.A.; MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

(Continued from p. 57.)

PLATE IV gives a view of the stele representing the boar incarnation (*varāhavatāra*) of Vishṇu. This is in a cave a little to the south of the Gaṇeśa Ratna. The relief exhibits the man-boar according to the Vaikānasa Āgama. Of the three kinds of boar-form, this is what is called the Ādivarāha type. This must be exhibited with four hands, two of them carrying the conch and the disc; the colour grass-green, left foot planted upon the hooded head of the king of serpents (*śeṣha*).

The figure of Bhūvarāha should have, according to the *Vaikānasa-āgama*, the face of a boar in association with the body of a man. It has four arms, two of which hold the *śankha* and *chakra* as usual. The right leg should be slightly bent and be made to rest upon the jewelled hood of the mythical serpent Ādisēsha, who must be sculptured as in company with his wife. Of the remaining two hands, the left hand should be shown as supporting the legs of Bhūmidēvi, seated on the god's bent right leg, with her own legs hanging down, while the right hand has to be thrown round the waist of the same goddess. The boar face of the god should be slightly tilted up so as to make the muzzle approach the bosom of the goddess as though he is engaged in smelling her.¹ The colour of the image of Varāha-Vishṇu is represented by the darkness of the twilight. The associated figure of Bhūmidēvi should have her hands in the *añjali* attitude. She should be decked with flowers and dressed in clothes and should be adorned with all suitable ornaments. Her complexion has to be black. Her face should be slightly lifted up and turned towards her lord, and should be expressive of shyness and joy. The top of her head should reach the chest of the figure of Varāha, and her image should be made in accordance with the *pūṇḍratāla* measure. Such is the description given in the *Vaikānasa-āgama*. (Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, p. 132-3).

The Trivikrama panel in the same cave.—The image of Trivikrama may be sculptured, it is said, in three different ways, namely, with the left foot raised up to the level of the (1) right knee, or (2) to the navel, or (3) the forehead. These three varieties are obviously intended to represent Trivikrama as striding over the earth, the mid-world and the heaven-world respectively; and are all exemplified in sculptures also. The image of Trivikrama, with the left foot lifted up only to the level of the right knee is, however, rarely met with among available pieces of sculpture. The rule is that Trivikrama images should be worked out in accordance with the *uttamadaśa-tāla* measure, and their total height should be 124 *angulas*. Trivikrama should have either four or eight hands. If there be only four arms, one of the right hands should be made to hold the *śankha* and one of the left hands the *chakra*; or it may even be that the left hand carries the *chakra* and the right hand the *śankha*. The other right hand should be held up with the palm upwards and the other left hand stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg; or this right hand may be in the *abhaya* or the *varada* pose. On the other hand, if Trivikrama is sculptured with eight arms, five of the hands should carry the *śankha*, *chakra*, *gada*, *sāṅga* (bow) and *hala* (plough), the other three being kept as in the previous instance. The

¹ This attitude of amorous dalliance is sometimes described, of course absurdly enough, as playing the baby at the breast.

right leg of Tṛvikrama is to be firmly planted upon the earth; and the left should be used in taking the stride of world-measure. The colour of the image is to be dark as that of the rain-cloud; it should be clothed in red garments and decorated with all ornaments. Behind it there should be sculptured the tree called *kalpaka*, and Indra should be shown holding over Tṛvikrama's head an umbrella. On either side Varuṇa and Vāyu should be made to wave *chāmara*s; and over them on the right and the left there should be the figures of Sūrya and Chandra respectively. Near these again there should be seen Sanyasa, Śaraka, Sanatkumāra. Brahma shou'd be made to take hold of the uplifted foot of the Tṛvikrama with one of his hands and wash it with water flowing from a *kamandalu* held in the other hand; and the water flowing down from the washed foot of Tṛvikrama should be shown as being of a snow-white colour. Siva should be sculptured with his hands in the *anjali* pose and as sitting somewhere in space above the height of the navel of Tṛvikrama. Near the leg upon which Tṛvikrama stands, there should be the figure of Namuchi, a *rākshasa*, in the attitude of bowing in reverence to the great god Tṛvikrama. On the left Garuḍa should be shewn as taking hold of Sukra, the *guru* of the *rākshasas*, with a view to belabour him for obstructing Bali in giving the gift asked for by the Brahmanical boy Vāmana; on the right Vāmana himself should be made to stand with an umbrella in his hand and ready to receive the promised grant of three feet of space. Near him and opposite to him Bali should be shown as standing golden in hue and adorned with ornaments and carrying in his hands a golden vessel to indicate that he is ready to pour the water ceremonially in proof of his gift. Behind the emperor Bali there should be his queen. Above the head of Tṛvikrama the figure of Jāmbavān should be shown as sounding the drum, called *bhēri* in Sanskrit, so as to exhibit the joy of the celestial beings at their coming delivery from the rule of the *asura* emperor Bali. So says, the *Vaikhāṇasāgama*. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 164-7)

Plate V represents a huge panel, about eight feet by six feet in size, carved on the north wall of the rock-cut shrine situated to the south of what is called Gaṇeśa Ratha at Mahābalipuram. In this group of images the central figure is that of Tṛvikrama. It has eight hands; three of the right hands carry the *chakra*, the *gada*, and the *khaḍga*, and the remaining right hand is held up with the palm turned upside, as required by the *Vaikhāṇasāgama*. Three of the left hands carry the *śankha*, the *lêḷaka*, and *dhanus*, and the fourth left hand is stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg. This leg itself is raised up to the level of the forehead. Near the foot of the leg stretched out to measure the heaven-world, Brahma is shown as seated on a *padmāsana* and as offering with one of his right hands *pūjā* to that foot. His image is given four hands and is made to wear the *jaṭā-makuṭa* and *karṇa-kundalas*. In the corresponding position to the right of Tṛvikrama we see Siva also seated on a *padmāsana*. His image also has four arms, one of which is held in the pose of praise. It is also adorned with the *jaṭā-makuṭa* and *kundalas*. Immediately below Siva is Sūrya, the sun-god, with a halo. The way in which the legs of this god and also of Chandra, the moon-god, are worked out, suggests that they are both residing up in the heavenly world without any terrestrial support. This sun-god has only a pair of hands, both of which he holds stretched out in the act of praising Tṛvikrama. Chandra is sculptured below the shield of Tṛvikrama, with a halo round the head, and is also shown to be in the attitude of praising Tṛvikrama. In the space between the head of Tṛvikrama and Brahma there may be noticed a peculiar figure turned towards Brahma. It has the face of a boar and is made to carry what is

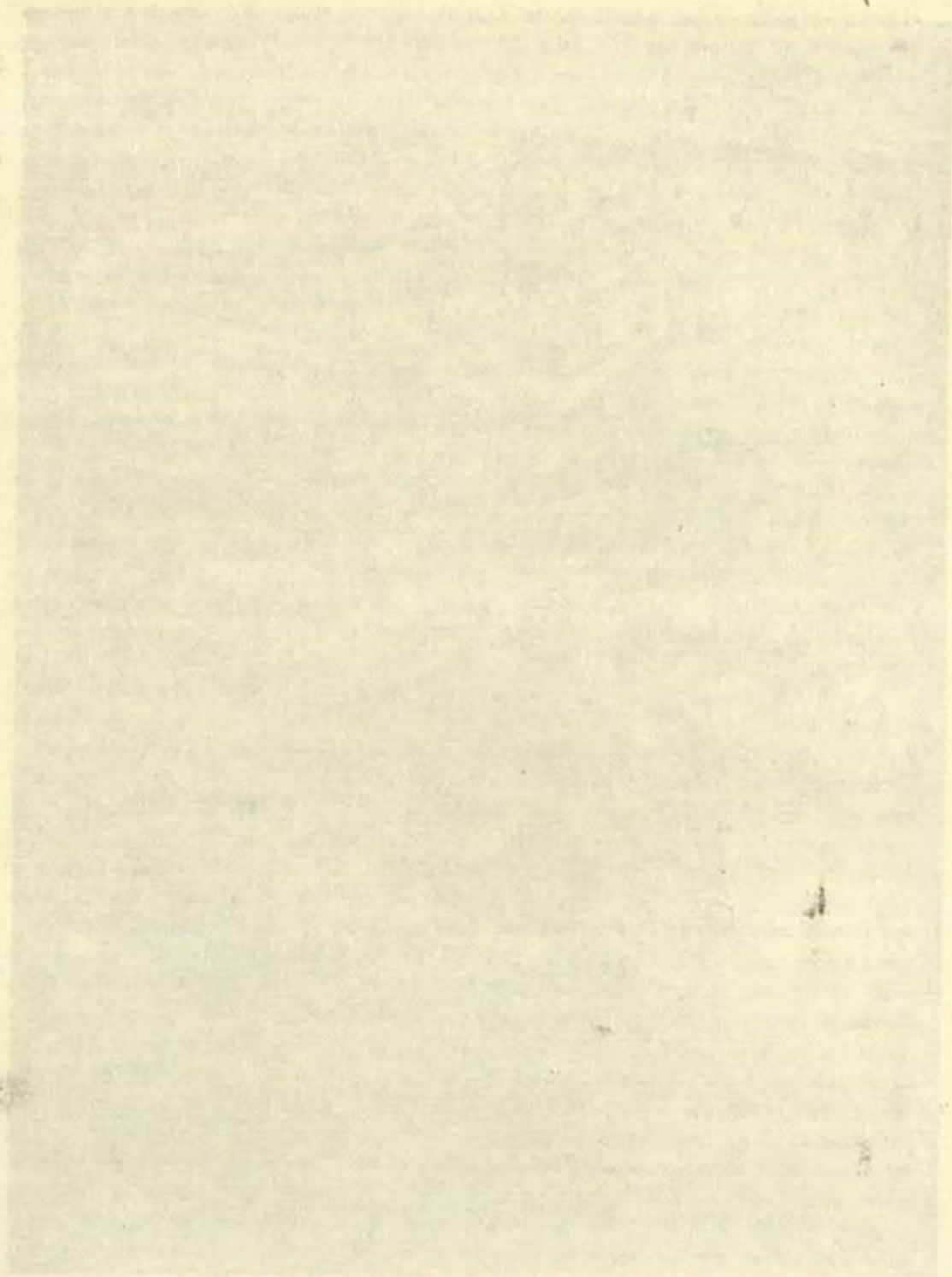
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KRISHNA MANTAPA : GOVARDHANA KRISHNA

evidently a drum. This figure is obviously that of old Jāmbavān, sounding the drum in joy due to the victory of the Dēvas over the Dānavas. At the foot of Tṛvikrama sits Namuchi to the right; and the other three figures, that are to be seen, are perhaps representations of Bali and some other prominent *asuras*. There is one other figure shown as if cutting somersaults in the air, and carrying something like a staff in the right hand. It is not possible to say whom this figure is intended to represent. The *Brahmāṇṣa-purāṇa* states that when Vāmana grew to be gigantic in size, and became Tṛvikrama, some of the Dānavas were hurled up into the air as if by a hurricane. This figure is perhaps one of the Dānavas so tossed up. This piece of sculpture belongs to the seventh century, that is, to the palmy days of Pallava supremacy in Conjeevaram. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 170-2).

These two, as also several others of the figures of gods and goddesses in the locality, conform to the norms of Iconography as laid down in the *Vaikāṇasā āgama* and shew marked differences of features from representations of the same icons in other localities and of other ages. This has to be noted carefully, as no conclusion in point of chronology can be drawn from these without regard to the school of architecture or sculpture.

Gōvardhana Krishna:—Plate VI represents Kṛishṇa as carrying the hill Gōvardhana to protect the cowherd settlement of Gōkulam where he was being brought up. When the annual feast intended for Indra, the Vedic god of rain, came round for celebration, Kṛishṇa accepted the offerings intended for Indra, and he in anger, rained stone and other destructive material upon the sacrilegious village. Thereupon Kṛishṇa performed this feat to save the villagers from the harm and exhibit to the wondering world that what was offered to Kṛishṇa is as good as offered to all the gods. Architecturally this piece of workmanship is rather crude in comparison with that of Arjuna's penance; but it seems none the less to belong to the same school of art. If it be so, this may be the first work of an artist or the first work of the school the work of which, in an advanced stage of its skill, is exhibited in the other bas-relief. Behind the Kṛishṇa in this relief, one will notice in the original a young shepherd boy playing upon the flute. This is sufficiently far away to indicate that it represents another of the many aspects of Kṛishṇa's life and refutes the theory that Vēnugōpāla (young Kṛishṇa playing on the flute) is not found represented before the 13th century A. D. One stanza of Tirumangai Ālvār of the 20 devoted to this place seems specifically to refer to this relief.¹⁸

Mahishāsuramardhani:—The goddess Durgā should have ten hands according to the *Śilparatna*, which describes her further as having three eyes; she should wear on her head a *jata-makuta* and in it there should be the *chandra-kalā* or the digit of the moon. The colour of her body should be like that of the *atasi* flower, and the eyes should resemble the *nilōtpala* or the blue lily; she should have high breasts and a thin waist and there should be three bends in her body (of the *tṛbhanga* variety). In her right hands she should carry the *triśūla*, *khaḍga*, *śakti-yudha*, *chakra*, and a stringed bow; and in the left hands the *pāśa*, *ankuśa*, *kēṭaka*, *paraśu*, and a bell. At her feet should lie a buffalo with its head cut off and with blood gushing from its neck. From within this neck should be visible the half-emerged real *asura* bound down by the *nāga-pāśa* of the Dēvi. The *asura* should be made to carry a sword and a shield, although the Dēvi has already plunged her *triśūla* into his neck and he is bleeding profusely. He should have a terrific look with knitted eye-brows. The right leg of the Dēvi should be placed on the back of her lion and her left leg should touch the buffalo-body of Mahishāsurā.

¹⁸ *Periya Tirumoli*, II. V. 4.

The *Vishṇudharmottara*, as quoted in the *Vāchaspatya*, describes Mahishāsūramardhani under the name of Chaudikā thus :—This Dēvi has the complexion of gold and is a very handsome youthful woman in a. angry mood, sitting on the back of a lion. She has twenty hands; the right ones carry, respectively, the *śūla*, *khadga*, *śankha*, *chakra*, *bāṇa*, *śakti*, *vajra*, *abhaya*, *damaru*, and an umbrella; while the left ones are seen to hold the *nāga-pāśa*, *khēṭaka*, *paraśu*, *ankuśa*, *dhanus*, *ghaṇṭa*, *dhvajagada*, a mirror and the *mudgara*. The buffalo-part of the *asura* is lying decapitated with the real *asura* proceeding out from the neck. His eyes, hair and brows are red and he vomits blood from his mouth. The lion of the Dēvi mauls him, and the Dēvi herself thrusts the *trīśūla* into his neck. The *asura*, who is bound down by the *nāga-pāśa*, carries a sword and a shield.¹⁹ The peculiar feature of the Mahishāsūramardhani here depicted is that the panel exhibits her as pressing back her enemy Andhakāsura in war. At this stage she has a benign aspect and shows nothing of the ferocity in combination with beauty which is usually associated with this aspect of the Goddess Durgā. (See Plate VII.)

The Shore Temple:—General view, Plate IX. This temple in general view shows a double *vimāna*, both parts shaped exactly alike, but of proportions that seem intended to serve the purpose of shutting off the smaller from view on one side. The shoreward tower is the smaller and seems the older. It has a hole in the middle of the pedestal stone to hold a stone image or *linga*. An image has since been recovered which is of the Sarvatōbhadrā²⁰ type. There is within the shrine a representation of Siva as Sōmaskanda²¹ in the central panel.

Beginning at the south end of this little shrine and at the back of it looking towards the sea is what now looks a comparatively dark chamber, holding a large-sized image of Vishṇu *au couchant*. (See plate VIII.)

Then comes the seaward shrine just covering this in front, and of proportions to shut off altogether from view on the seaside both the Vishṇu and Siva temples above described. This contains a huge *lingam*, with sixteen fluted faces. These three in Chola times were known as Jalāsāyana or Kshatriyasimha Pallavēśvaram, Paṭṭikondān and Rājasimha Pallavēśvaram, respectively, notwithstanding the statements of the epigraphists to the contrary.

The significance of this will follow :

The Atiraṣachandēśvara Cave in Sāluvanguppam: plate X. This Atiranachanda was taken to be Nadivarman, the last great Pallava. It looks, on paleographical grounds, to be a surname of Narasimhavarman II, Rājasimha.

Vishṇu in the lying posture as the Sthala-śāyanamūrti: plate VIII. 'This is a recumbent image of Vishṇu with only two hands; about a fourth of the body should be somewhat raised, and the remaining three-fourths should be lying flat upon the serpent bed. The right hand should be placed near the pillow, so as to touch the *kirita*; the other hand, bent at the elbow, should be held in the *kaṭaka* pose. Or, this left hand may be made to be parallel to the body, so as sometimes to touch the thigh. The right leg has to be stretched out, while the left should be slightly bent. The image itself should be adorned with various ornaments. The eyes must be somewhat opened. The colour of the image should be a mixture of black and yellow. By the side of this recumbent figure there should be Bhṛgu and Mārkaṇḍeya, and near the feet, the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, while on the lotus

¹⁹ T. A. G. *Iconography*, p. 357, et seq.

²⁰ A column with four faces, each face with a head of Siva, the top is surmounted by a head also.

²¹ Siva in the company of his consort Uma and their son Skandha (Subrahmanya).



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VARAHAVATARA CAVE
DURGA ATTACKING MAHĪṢASURA

Plate No. VIII

MAHABALIPUR

Indian Antiquary



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ANOTHER PANEL—VARAHA CAVE
NĀRĀYANA-STHALAŚAYANA

To face p. 68.



Madras Arch. Dept.

THE SHORE TEMPLE
(VIEW FROM NORTH-EAST)

To face p. 68.

issuing from the navel there should be Brahma. On the back wall of the shrine and above the level of the image of Vishṇu should be sculptured the images of the Āyudha-purushas, of Garuḍa, of Vishvaksēna, and of the Sapta-rishis, all standing with their hands in the *anjali* pose. On the south wall should be shown Brahma, and on the north wall Siva,—both in the sitting posture. Such a group constitutes the *uttama* class of Yōgaśayanamūrti. If the figures of the Saptarishis and Vishvaksēna are absent, the group belongs to the *madhyama* class; if the Pājakamunis and Madhu and Kaiṭabha are also absent, it is conceived to belong to the *adhama* class.²²

In regard to this Yōgaśayanamūrti in the Shore Temple, some of these features adjunct to such a representation are wanting. The omission is explained away by the tradition that the God was there himself alone and had to exhibit himself to Rishi Puṇḍarīka in the Yōgaśayana. Therefore the usual adjuncts are wanting. Of course the tradition is kept up in the modern temple, where the name of the goddess is Bhūdevī (the Earth). This tradition and the name of the goddess indicate some connection between the locality and the Varāhavatāra of Vishṇu. No definite statement of such a connection has so far come to my notice.

The Shore Temple is a feature of the antiquities of Mahābalipuram which has been a puzzle in Archæology. Being structural, it has been taken for granted that it must have been a late structure, at least later than the rock-cut ones. But material is now available to set these doubts at rest, although a more definite light would certainly be welcome. Before proceeding to an explanation, the following facts require to be noticed. The original structures seem to have been the smaller shrine and the Vishṇu chamber behind it with *very probably an apsidal vimānam surmounting the Vishṇu shrine*. As we have it at present, this last is covered in front by the larger shrine facing the sea. (See Plate XI.)

The Chola inscriptions found in Mahābalipuram published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 63-69, go to prove the existence of three shrines (1) Jalaśayana or Kshatriyasimha Pallavēivaram; (2) Palligon jaruḷiyadēva and (3) Rājasimha Pallavēivaram. According to these inscriptions Mīmallapuram belonged to Āmur Nāḍu of Āmūr-kōṭṭam. No. 40 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* uses the name Pudukkuḷaiyān Ēkadhiran,²³ Fifty as an alternative name for Āmur Nāḍu. Āmūr, a village near, gives the name both to the larger and the smaller divisions. Reverting to the names given, in these epigraphs, to the shrines we have no doubt about the Palligon jaruḷiyadēva. This can refer only to the god on his couch (Vishṇu). The names are not quite as clear in respect of the two others. Jalaśayana-Pallavēivara can have no direct significance, as there is nothing to connect Jalaśayanam (sleeping on the primeval waters) with Siva. This name can only mean the Pallavēivara of the place Jalaśayanam, which must have been an anterior name necessarily. This would apply more appropriately to the smaller temple looking shoreward than to the seaward-looking bigger shrine. Even so there is an error in the name, which was according to the almost contemporary authority of Tirumangal Ālvār, Talasayanam (Sthalasayanam) and not Jalaśayanam. The mere proximity to the sea cannot give a shrine this name, and the Siva shrine close to the sea has nothing of *śayanam* (couch) in it, containing as it does only a sixteen-sided prismatic *lingam*.

The Sea-ward Temple seems built with the design to shut off the Vishṇu Temple, which Tirumangal Ālvār describes as a Vishṇu temple 'where Vishṇu is in the company of

²² T. A. G., *Iconography*, pp. 90, &c.

²³ This name or title which means 'the unparalleled hero of the new umbrella' seems intended to designate Nandivarman Pallavarāṇa. The first word seems to contain a hint that the throne was to him a new acquisition and not one coming in hereditary descent. The Kavakūḷi plates of this Nandivarman call the village under gift by the new name Ēkalhramanḍalam which was probably in honour of the sovereign regent. If this interpretation is correct, it is clear that Nandivarman restored the temple to the *status quo ante*. (*S. Ind. Ins.* II. iii. p. 359.)

Siva, whose proper place is the crematorium.²⁴ The Talaśayanam must have got modified into Jalaśayanam by an error and assumed the alternative Kshatriyasimha Pallavēśvaram, if Kshatriyasimha made benefactions to the temple by extending and improving it.²⁵ Rājasimha Pallavēśvaram must be the sea-ward-looking temple, which is obviously of later construction from its own position. The prismatic *linga* is quite characteristic of Rājasimha's buildings, as a comparative study of Pallava monuments seems to indicate.²⁶ Rājasimha is further described 'a very pious prince, the illustrious Atyantakāma, the chief of the Pallavas, who crushed the multitude of his foes by his power (or spear), whose great statesmanship was well known, and who had got rid of all impurity (by walking) in the path of the Saiva doctrine.'²⁷

In his zeal for extension for the Siva shrine he might have consciously thrown the Viṣṇu shrine into the shade and might even have destroyed parts of it, as that must have faced the sea from the disposition of the image now, both in the shore-temple and in the more modern temple in the town. The tradition is living yet that this latter was built to house the god, left homeless by the pious vandalism possibly of the Pallava sovereign, it may even be, by his own successor Nandīvarman who was a Vaishṇava and in whose time Tirumangal Ālvār probably lived.

Māmallapuram is not mentioned as a Saiva holy place by either Sambandar or Appar, who have made hymns upon *Tirukkajukkunram*; nor even by *Sundaramūrti*, as far as I am at present able to make out. It is not mentioned among the recognised Saiva centres of worship even now. *Tirumangal Ālvār* celebrates it separately in two pieces of ten stanzas each, and makes other references besides. Another of these Ālvārs, believed to be much anterior to him in time and born in the town itself, refers to the temple. We have already referred to the primitive character of the bas-relief in the Krishnamantapam.

It seems, therefore, that before Naraśimhavarman I took it upon himself to beautify the place with the various rock-cut temples and other works of art, it must have been a place of Vaishṇava worship in some manner connected with one of the oldest Vaishṇava temples in Kānchi. In one of his verses, *Tirumangal Ālvār* refers to the god at Mallai, as 'he who was abed in Kachchi.'²⁸ This may be explained away in a general sense, but the reference seems to be specific, and there is some similarity in regard to the traditions of both. The shrine in Kānchi referred to is that of Yadōktakāri or Vekkā, the only temple referred to in the *Perumbāṇāruppadai*. This poem by Rudran Kannan has for its object the celebration of the liberality of *Tondaman*

²⁴ பிணங்களிடு காடதனுள் கடமாடு பிஞ்ஞகனோடு
இணங்கு திருச்சக்கரத் தெம்பெருமானார் இடம்விசும்பில்
கணங்களி யங்கும்மல்லைக் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்
வணங்கு மணத்தாவரை வணங்கென்றன் மடனெஞ்சே.
(*Periya Tirumoli*, II. vii, 9.)

²⁵ Para 9, *Epigraphist's Report* for 1913.

²⁶ Cf. Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara, the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchi.

²⁷ Tēśām vamsē prasūtāt Rājasika purōmmardhāna d (a)gradanāāt (u)
Subrahmanyāḥ kumarō Guha iva Pramādīśvarādātta janma
Śaktikṣunṇāri vargo viditabahunaya's Saiva siddhānta margē
Śrīmān Atyantakāmaḥ kshatasakalamalō dhūddharah Pallavānām
(*S. I. I.*, Vol. I., No. 24, verse 5).

²⁸ கச்சித் திடத்தனுர்த் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்.

I Iandirayan of Kanchi, and refers to a time certainly anterior to that of Simhavishnu, the founder of the great Pallava dynasty, and may go back to the 2nd century A. D. It must be remembered that this Simhavishnu himself was a Vaishnava, according to the Udayëndiram plates of Nandivarman I., Pallavamalla,²⁹ while Râjasimha is described in the same document as a devout worshipper of Siva (Paramamâhêśvara). A Vishnu temple in the locality seems quite possible, either of sufficient nearness or remoteness in point of time.

Was the place of sufficient importance to deserve this honour before the age of the great Pallavas, specifically before the date of Narasimhavarman I, Mahāmalla, whose name stuck on to the place even long after the fall of the dynasty. It is in point to notice here that it is not only the works of the Ālvārs that call the place Mallai, uniformly the same designation is given to it in the work *Nandikkalambakam*, a Tamil work celebrating the exploits of Nandivarman, Victor at Tellāru. The age of this monarch is not yet definitely fixed, but he came later, perhaps much later, than Nandivarman Pallavamalla. How far back the name Mallai goes we have not the means of deciding, but a coin of Theodosius has been discovered of date A. D. 371-395, which would indicate, although the evidence must be regarded as yet slender, that the place was a port of some importance commercially.³⁰ A recent article³¹ in the *Christian College Magazine* attempts to arrange the genealogy of the Pallavas of Kanchi and takes it to eight generations before Simhavishnu, the father of Mahendra, the monarch who excavated most of the caves of Southern India. If we can take the time occupied by these at about two centuries, this will take us to about A. D. 400 from the known dates of Narasimha I. There are three other names to be accommodated perhaps, before we come to Vishnugōpa of Kanchi, who suffered defeat at the hands of the 'Indian Napoleon' Samudragupta—about A. D. 350. One of these very early Pallavas, Simhavarman, is said, in the Amarāvati Pillar Inscription now in the Madras Museum, to have gone up to the Himalayas to imprint his 'lanchana' on its face, as symbolical of his universal sovereignty.³² This is in obvious imitation of the crowned kings of the Tamil land, the Chera, Chola and the Pandya. We have to look for the particular Pandya, Chola and Chera much anterior to his time—whatever that time be.

This would, under all legitimate canons of criticism, bring us to the earlier centuries of the Christian era and the geographical data of the classical writers ought to give us the clue.

We have already noted that the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tshang refers both to the capital and the port as if they both had either the same name, or as though they could be regarded as the capital and its port, so intimately connected with each other as to be confounded by even an eminently intelligent foreigner such as the enlightened 'Master of the Laws' was. Ptolemy, the geographer, writing in the middle of the 2nd century A. D. refers to a port, as well as an interior city, named Malange.³³ The *Periplus*, written about 80 A. D., refers to three ports and marts north of the Kavery; Camara,

²⁹ Simhavishnu—the grandfather of Narsimhavarman I, was a devout Vaishnava. (Udayëndiram Plates, S. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. iii, p. 370) 'Bhaktiyārādhitā Vishnub Simhavishnub.'

³⁰ *J. R. A. S.* 1904, pp. 609 and 636.

³¹ Vol. for 1913-14, pp. 239-374, by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Assistant Epigraphist.

³² *S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I., p. 27, ll. 33-34.

³³ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, pp. 333 and 368.

Poduka and Malanga.³⁴ Without going into the details of this geography here, we may take Malanga the port to be the Mahābalipuram that is at present. The description of Māvilangai we find in the *Śirupānārtuppaḍai* would answer to this very well, as well as in Hiuen Tshang's time, when it was the port of embarkation for Ceylon. The interior³⁵ Malange was, according to Ptolemy, the capital of Bassarnagos, which, on the analogy of Sorenagos of the same writer, must be the capital of the land of a people Bassar, which is a Greek modification of Vēṇar or Vēṭṭuvar, who constituted, if not the sole, at least an integral part of the population. This possibility requires to be worked up more fully.

It must be noted in this connection, however, that there is a place containing a Pallava cave temple near Tindivanam called, even now, Kilmāvilangai (i. e., East or Lower Māvilangai). Another Malingi (Kan. for Māvilangai) in Mysore is called in the 11th century A. D. Iḍaināṭṭu Māvilangai.³⁶ These adjuncts to the two names imply the existence of other places of the name in the neighbourhood or about the same region. As far as I am able to make out at present there is no authority for taking Māvilangai to mean a country as Mr. Kanakasabhai has taken it³⁷:—the passage of the *Śirupānārtuppaḍai* not lending itself to that interpretation. If then the capital and the port bore the same name, there is some reason for the careful Chinese traveller calling the two places by the same name, though different from this one, but well-known in his days. In fact, it is stated that to Ōymānāṭṭu Nalliyakkōḍan, the hero of the *Śirupānārtuppaḍai*, belonged the region comprising the cities and fortresses of Āmur, Vēlūr, Eyilpaṭṭinam, Māvilangai, Kiḍangil, &c., but Kānchi in the same region does not find mention as such. His time, I take it, is intermediate to those of Tondamān Iḍandirayan of Kānchi, and the Viṣṇugopa of Kānchi defeated by the famous Samudragupta.

This would take us to the vexed question of the origin of the Pallavas, and whether they were an indigenous dynasty or a dynasty of foreigners. The study of their monuments at Mahābalipuram makes it quite clear that their civilization at any rate, must have been Brahmanic; their architecture shews clear traces of its indigenous origin. These would support the contention of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,³⁸ that the Pallavas were a race of Kshatriyas, who fell from their high estate by giving up the Vaidic duties enjoined upon them, meaning perhaps that they had become Buddhists. When they come into view in South India, they seem bent upon making amends for their past remissness by an extraordinary amount of zeal for Hinduism. It would seem reasonable to infer that they had as little to do with the Pahlavas or Parthians, as their contemporaries the Chālukyas had to do with the Seleukians of Asia.

Having come so far, it would seem pertinent to ask the question whether these Pallavas, who present themselves to us through the antiquities of Mahābalipuram, are the same as those known in the locality from the earliest times, or whether these were new-comers. That these powerful Pallavas of the dynasty of Narasimhavarman were Aryans in culture must now seem clear. There is one particular motive in the buildings of these that strike one as a remarkable feature, and that is the lion-base for the pillars. This, with the maned lion upon their coins, seems to indicate unmistakably that these were the feudatories of the Andhras, who advanced southwards from across the Krishna River, both in the lower and

³⁴ W. Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 46, Section 60.

³⁵ *Epig. Carnāṭaca*. Mysore Pt. 1. T. N. 34 and 35.

³⁶ Bk. III. Ch. iii. Wilson's Translation. Original *ślokas* (15-21).

³⁷ *Pattupḍāṭṭu* I S. yer's Edition.

³⁸ *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*,

upper part of its course. There seems, therefore, some reason to distinguish between these Pallavas and the Pallavas or Kurumbars of the coins which have for their characteristic device a standing bull. On this subject the following remarks of Professor Rapson seem apposite. "In the same region lived the Kurumbars, a people of considerable importance before the 7th century A. D. Between the coins of these two peoples no accurate discrimination has yet been made. The coins of this region fall into two classes:— (i) Those which in style bear some resemblance to the coins of the Andhras (e.g., E. CSI. Pl II, 55-58, called Kurumbar; and perhaps also *id.* I, 31-38 called Pallava or Kurumbar), and may therefore possibly belong to the same period (2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.). The occurrence of the ship as a reverse type testifies to the foreign trade for which the Pallavas were famous. (2) The other class is of gold and silver and undoubtedly later; but here again there seems to be no evidence from which to determine the exact date. These coins all bear the Pallava emblem, the maned lion, together with Canarese or Sanskrit inscription."³⁸

That the Kurumbars were different from the Pallavas, and that the Pallavas were northerners, seems to find an echo in Tamil literature. There are two or three poems, which are ascribed to different authors, who must be allotted, on very substantial evidence, to the first century, or a little later, of the Christian era. Among them a certain chief by name Nannan had for his territory the region called, in Tamil literature, *Pālināḍu*³⁹ round about the region of Cannanore now. One of the hill forts belonging to that chief was called *Ēḷi Malai* (a hill about 18 miles north of Cananore now). That hill-fort had fallen into the possession of the northerners, as the Tamils called them (*Vaḍukar*), and the territory was recovered by a certain Chola King, by name *Ilanjētehenni*, victor at *Seruppāḷi* or *Iāḷi* over these northerners (*Vaḍukar*).⁴⁰ The same incident is referred to in connection with the same king in *Puram* 378. That is for the west coast. In regard to the east, the Tamil chief *Kāri*, ruler of *Malai Nāḍu* round about *Tirukkovilur* in the South Arcot District, is said similarly to have beaten back an Aryan force which laid siege to his hill fort of *Mullār*.⁴¹ These references in classical Tamil literature make it quite clear, that at the commencement of the Christian era, there was a general forward movement of the northerners (Aryans or *Vaḍukar*), into South India which was resisted with all their power by the Tamilians across the whole width of the peninsula. The boast, therefore, of the Pandian ruler, who figures prominently in the *Silappadhikaram*, that he defeated an Aryan army, and the various northern achievements of *Senguṭṭuvan* seem founded on a basis of fact. The native Kurumbars, therefore, who must have figured in this general opposition, must have been gradually overcome by the invaders and their territory occupied completely by the Pallavas, who figured prominently in South Indian history at least from the commencement of the 4th century A. D. This would satisfactorily account for the hiatus between the Tamilian rulers of *Kānchi*, generally known as *Tonḍaimān*, and the later rulers of the same region, usually known by the Sanskrit name *Pallava*, though this is but a translation of the word *Tonḍaimān*.

³⁸ *Indian Coins* by E. J. Rapson, Plate V. 16 and p. 37.

³⁹ This is also called in Tamil *Koṅkānam* (Konkan).

⁴⁰ Akam 375 or 374 in the Ms. copy in the Govt. MSS. Library at Madras.

⁴¹ *Narṇai* 170.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.; MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 63.)

His tyranny and Veṅkannah's rebellion.

He came to learn that, at the time when the zenana of Vijaya Rāghava was about to be destroyed, the queen had handed over a child of 4 years, the only remnant of the family, to a faithful nurse, so that it at least might survive the catastrophe; and that that child, Seṅgamala Dās by name, was growing up in safe obscurity under the tender care of his foster-mother and of a poor merchant of Negapatam.⁸¹ He therefore proceeded thither, and after a few years' sojourn with the prince, took him, when he reached the age of twelve,⁸² to Sikandar Shah (1659-86), the reigning Sultan of Bijapur and the nominal suzerain of South India. He placed before him the pathetic story of Seṅgamala Dās, and described, we may be certain, in highly coloured and persuasive language, to what station he had been born, and to what station the vicissitudes of time and the ambition of the Madura Nāiks had reduced him. The astute Brahmin then pleaded for the Sultan's help, promising in return a faithful allegiance on his part. Sikandar was, on his part, readily willing to undertake an expedition, which promised a firmer hold on the South Indian kingdoms. He could not, however, directly take the field, as he had enough trouble with the Mughals; and therefore ordered Ekoji, the second son of his minister Shahji, then in his province of Bangalore, to march with 1200 cavalry and 1000 infantry to the south, and place Seṅgamala Dās on the throne of his ancestors.

The First Maratha Invasion in favour of Seṅgamala Das.

Thus it was that a Maratha army was, for the first time in Indian History, on its way to the banks of the Kāveri. The necessity of safety and the prudence of statesmanship demanded the relinquishment by Chokkanātha of petty jealousy, and a cordial co-operation with his vassal. An ample facility⁸³ for such a behaviour was afforded, at this time, by a repentant and submissive letter from Aḷagiri Nāik. But Chokkanātha's small mind could not see that the help rendered to Aḷagiri was self-help; that, whatever might be the internal affairs of the kingdom, it ought to present a united front to foreign enemies. Left to his own resources, Aḷagiri met Ekoji at Aiyampet, a village about ten miles from Tanjore and at present a railway station, and in the battle which ensued he sustained such a disastrous defeat that he had not the presence of mind to even defend his capital. He fled to Mysore, and Ekoji seated Seṅgamala Dās on the throne. The restored monarch paid generous donations to his benefactors. Besides paying the revenues of the Taluks of

⁸¹ It was now a Dutch possession. It was the earliest Portuguese settlement on the Coromandel coast and taken from them by the Dutch in 1660, i.e., immediately after Chokkanātha's accession. Nelson does not mention the story of the Negapatam merchant, etc.

⁸² This is the version given in the *Tanj. Raj. Chari*. It is evident that it implies that the advent of the Marathas took place 12 years after the Madura conquest. Mr. Venkasaami Rao, the author of the *Tanjore Manual*, says that Chokkanātha's conquest must have taken place in 1662 and the Maratha occupation in 1674. Duperron puts it at 1674-5 and Burnell agrees with him. (See *S. Ind. Palaeo.*, p. 56 and *Antiquities*, II, p. 193.) That Ekoji came south after 1670 is clear from the fact that in 1669 (Saumya) he was at Bangalore and made a grant of land for the god Mallikārjuna of Mallapura.—*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1909, p. 25.

⁸³ According to Nelson Venkaji had to wait for a year before he was able to take advantage of the unfortunate rupture between Aḷagiri and Chokka, in 1675.

Kumbakōṇam, Pāpanāsam and Mannārguḍi, to meet the expenses of the Bijapur army, he gave a reward of 15 lakhs of pagodas ⁹⁴ to Ekoji and an equal amount to his followers.

Ekoji's usurpation.

Unfortunately for Seṅgamala Dās, he had to do at the outset of his reign an act which undid the position he had attained with so much difficulty. A dispute arose as to who should be his minister. Veṅkaṇṇa claimed the dignity as a reward for his past service, but the foster-mother of the prince urged the claims of the merchant who had been a second father to him. Seṅgamala Dās, much indebted to both, preferred the latter, and so invested him with the dignity and robes of the Daḷavāi. Veṅkaṇṇa was indignant, and with characteristic vindictiveness of temper, vowed to cut down the tree which he himself had reared. He proceeded to the Maratha camp at Kumbakōṇam, and commenced to sow treason in the honest mind of Ekoji.⁹⁵ Why could not Ekoji, the brother of the illustrious Sivaji, imitate his brother, depose Seṅgamala Dās, seize the crown and at the same time cease to pay tribute to his Muhammadan suzerain? Why could he not thus obtain two victories at one stroke? The one was a weak stripling, already grown, like his father, too religious and unworldly to present a stout opposition. The other was an infidel who lived hundreds of miles off and whose enmity was an honour to the Bhonsle family. When the circumstances were so favourable, when providence had smoothed the way to power and to greatness, would it not be folly, would it not be cowardice, to kick the fortune that came voluntarily in his way? Ekoji struggled with his conscience, and resisted the dictates of self-interest for a space of six months. But some time in 1675, the Sultan died, and all fear from above vanished. He therefore succumbed to the counsels of Veṅkaṇṇa, promptly marched to Tanjore, and seized the crown. The unfortunate son of Vijaya Rāghava had already abandoned the throne on which he had mounted only a few months back and had gone for refuge to the Polygar of Ariyalur. With the help of the Sēṭupati he then tried to win back his crown by force of arms, but failed ⁹⁶ and lived the rest of his life in obscurity.

⁹⁴ From the money and jewels which his father had buried and which his foster-mother now secured.

⁹⁵ According to Wilks, the views of ambition which Veṅkaṇṇa placed before Ekoji had not been entirely absent from the latter's mind. He points out that the very object of Ekoji's expedition was "a conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Vijayapoor." After the defeat of Madura, continues Wilks, Ekoji demanded an extravagant war indemnity from Tanjore, quarrelled with its king on that account, accused him of treachery and seized the kingdom. See Wilks I, 49.

⁹⁶ The story is that he took refuge with the Topjamān of Pudukkōṭṭai, and lived there. He had later on the satisfaction to see his grand-daughters by his son (Vijaya Mannāru Nāiḍu) married to the king of Ceylon and his grandson Vijaya Rāghavulu adopted by that king, as he was childless. See *Tanj-Raj-Chari*, for details. The *Śiṅgaḷadēpakatha* also mentions these marriages. After the fall of the dynasty the Madura dynasty, besides others, gave some grants for the maintenance of the unfortunate family. At the time when the *Tanjavarvaru Charitram* was written, a member was living at Jaabukēśvaram. See *Tanjore Manual*, p. 758.

Ekoji's raid into the Madura kingdom.

The Maratha conquest of Tanjore was followed by the Maratha invasion of Madura. To the ambition of Ekoji the acquisition of a tract of territory was an incentive to further acquisition. The spoils of Tanjore inspired therefore a longing for the spoils of Trichinopoly. Great as the mutual enmity of the Naiks had been, they had belonged to the same nationality, and had some sympathy towards each other. They had been, moreover, equally strong and equally weak, and none could thoroughly beat the other. Very different was the case with the Marathas. The occupation of Tanjore was in their eyes, a step to the occupation of the other parts of South India. It is not surprising, therefore, that immediately after the pacification of Tanjore, Ekoji marched against Trichinopoly. The vigilance of Chokkanātha, however, frustrated his attempt. He therefore diverted his forces on the people.⁹⁷ The ravages of the Marathas were not less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the Muhammadans. Without making the least endeavour to varnish their proceedings with the colour of fairness or moderation, they stained every moment of their invasion by acts of cruelty and rapine, which made the atrocity of the Muhammadans mildness itself. The masses were harassed by a repetition of claims, plunders and inroads. The sword of destruction was unsheathed on the peaceful villagers, and all limit was transcended in the demand of the surrender of their riches.

The Mysore conquest of the North-west.

The irruption of the Marathas was, however, only one of the causes which afflicted the kingdom of Madura at this time. Early in 1676 an army⁹⁸ of Mysoreans descended, on a sudden, from their mountains and seized at one blow the whole province of Satyamagalām. The soul of this movement was king Chikka Dēva⁹⁹ (1672-1704), the successor of Dēva Raja, a king of singular valour and ambition. Inspired by him, we are told, his general, Arasumalai, promptly accomplished his purpose, and carrying everything before him, reached Madura itself and captured it. We do not know whether this was the fact, but there is no question that the whole kingdom between the frontier passes leading to Mysore and Coimbatore was now under the occupation of the Mysoreans,¹⁰⁰ as an inscription at Davaḷagiri (near Satyamagalām) dated 1676 (Naḷa) testifies. The Mysoreans, we are told, followed up their success with an attack on their Maratha rivals on the one hand and the city of Trichinopoly, the only remnant of Chokkanātha's kingdom, on the other. An inscription of Chikka Dēva¹, dated 1674, distinctly claims that he vanquished "Sambhu, Kutapa Sahu-Basava of Ikkēre, Ekoji, Dadōji, Jaitaji and Jasavant."

⁹⁷ Nelson's *Madur. Man.*

⁹⁸ Wilks does not refer to this in detail. The date he gives also seems to be very late. See his *Mysore*, I. p. 58. That Chikka Dēva began his southward movement even earlier seems to be demonstrated by the fact that his Daḷavai Kumāra Rāya built an anicut at Belūr, 10 miles south of Hoaur, in 1673. See *Antiquities*, I., 194.

⁹⁹ For the circumstances of Chikka Dēva's accession, his dealings with the Ellandur Pandit, his early reforms in the administration, his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism at the instance of Tirumalaiyāgar, see Wilks I, 53-56.

¹⁰⁰ Inscriptions 291 and 299 of 1909. Vide *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 116.

¹ See *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 57.

The advent of Sivaji.

And as if these troubles were not enough, Providence sent into the ruined kingdom a third scourge. In 1677 the great Maratha Sivaji, whose career the Suitans of Bijapur and the Great Mughal had in vain tried to check, marched to the Southern Carnatic. Ostensibly he came to acquire from his brother Ekoji half of the Tanjore *jaghir* and of his father's property.² In reality, his object was to bring the Carnatic under the Maratha supremacy in place of Bijapur sovereignty. With characteristic duplicity, he came as the ally and servant of Golkonda, saying that the benefit of his conquests would go to that State. Like a dexterous falcon he fell on the disunited inters of the Carnatic and swept them² off. He first seized the important fortress of Gingi⁴, the headquarters of the Bijapur Viceroyalty, by treachery, and conquered the whole country down to the Coleroon. Organising this into a Maratha province with Gingi as capital, he took steps to exact the allegiance of the southern kingdoms. It is difficult to describe clearly the movements of Sivaji after this. The authorities are so contradictory and confusing. The version of Duff is this. Sivaji's object was to make his brother, Ekoji, acknowledge his supremacy and pay half of his revenues. Ekoji, as shrewd and greedy as his brother, had anticipated this, and approached Chokkanatha with an offer of alliance, both offensive and defensive. The ruler of Trichinopoly agreed, and the alliance was concluded. But, at this stage, we are told, the skilful diplomacy⁵ of Sivaji broke the league. He sent his agent Raghunatha Nārāyan to Trichinopoly, and persuaded Chokkanatha, by arguments, of the nature of which we are unaware and unable to ascertain, to withdraw from his recent agreement. Disappointed and sulky, Ekoji had now no other alternative than to agree to an interview with his brother for discussing the questions of dispute. The interview took place on the northern banks of the Coleroon. "Sivajee received him kindly, but failed, in spite of his earnest representations, to persuade him to his views." He "at first thought of making him a prisoner, and compelling him to give up half of Tanjore, of the *jaghir* districts, and of the money and jewels"; but on further consideration felt that such an act was inconsistent with his own character as a brother and a prince. He therefore permitted him to turn⁶ to Tanjore. Sivaji however did not keep quiet. He frequently pressed his brother with his demands. He at the same time took by force his *jaghir* districts in Mysore. Venkaji was still obstinate. Leaving therefore his half-brother Santaji to look after his conquests and to subdue Ekoji by arms, Sivaji returned to the Maharashtra,

² Duff's *Mahrattas*, I.

³ For the alarm which the advent of Sivaji caused among the English in Madras, see Wheeler's *Early Rec. Brit. Ind.* p. 73; his *History*, IV, p. 371. Wilks I, p. 51. For the real objects of Sivaji, see Grant Duff and Wilks; Ferishta's *Deccan* II, p. 31.

⁴ *S. Arcot, Gazr.*, p. 350; Duff, I, p. 278; Wilks I, p. 51.; Scott, II, 31.

Thus there came into existence "the Moghul Carnatic" in place of the old Golkonda Carnatic, and the Maratha Carnatic in place of Bijapur's. The Marathas, however, encroached into the Mughal Carnatic, and the feudatories there were as much interested in conciliating the Marathas as the Mughals. The attitude and policy of the English illustrates this best. See Wheeler's *Early Rec.* p. 98.

⁵ Duff, I, p. 277. The Bondela officer, it is curious, does not mention this. He says that Sivaji met his brother 'Angojee' at Gingi, and not on the banks of the Coleroon as Duff says. It was from Gingi that Ekoji fled to Tanjore. See Scott's *Deccan* II, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cf. the Bondela officer's account given above.

where the pressure of Mughal ravages required his presence. Immediately after his return, Ekoji attacked Santaji, only to be repulsed. This aggression brought forth a long letter of rebuke from Sivaji, which reconciled Venkaji to the payment of tribute in return for the restoration of the *jaghir* districts.

The account of Wilks⁷ is slightly different. He agrees with Duff in regard to the alliance between Chokkanātha and Ekoji and its breach by the embassy of Raghunatha Narayan, but differs in the representation of affairs at the interview between the two brothers. Sivaji, he says, was so inimical that Ekoji spied danger and imprisonment, and so escaped during night to Tanjore and recommenced hostilities. Sivaji soon left for the north, and his general Santaji, who was left behind, eventually succeeded in inflicting such a crushing defeat on Ekoji that, early in 1678, he concluded peace.

Chokkanātha and Ekoji.

Both the authorities thus agree in attributing the pacific attitude of Ekoji in 1678 to purely Maratha affairs. But Nelson⁸ gives a different version, which clearly attributes it to the activities of Chokkanātha. Nelson does not mention the Tanjore-Madura alliance, which had preceded the interview between Sivaji and Ekoji. He is unaware of the part played by Madura then. His account of the relations between the Maratha brothers is also different. He says that the obstinacy of Ekoji so much exasperated his brother during their interview that he actually seized him and put him in prison; that the latter escaped by swimming across the Coleroon, and reached his kingdom; that the floods of the Coleroon prevented Sivaji from the pursuit of his brother; and that he therefore left the command of his troops and the charge of the newly conquered province in the hands of his brother Santaji, and proceeded home, leaving a chain of military posts all along the line of the road through Mysore. The floods subsiding, he continues, Santaji crossed the river and meeting the forces of Ekoji on the route to Tanjore, gained, with his superior strategy, a victory which laid the Southern Maratha capital open to his advance.⁹ It seems that at this stage, Chokkanātha Naik approached Santaji with the offer of tribute, money and men, in case he was placed in possession of Tanjore. It was a very clever move, and if attended with success, would have restored the political condition of the South to what it was before the ill-fated defection of Alagiri Nāidu and the ominous restoration of the unfortunate Sengamala Dās. But in his eagerness for diplomacy he forgot the character of Ekoji. The shrewd Maratha saw that affairs were taking a serious turn, and so prudently submitted, early in 1678, to his brother's general. He never forgot the capacity or inclination of Chokkanātha to do mischief. To ambition he now added the feeling of revenge, and from this time onward always carried on raids into the kingdom of Madura, or rather the city of Trichinopoly. The men of Mysore, Tanjore and Ginji were jealous of one another, and carried on a contest among themselves; but they combined in the humiliation and subjugation of Chokkanātha.

(To be continued.)

⁷ See his *Mysore*, I, 50-54.

⁸ *Madur. Man.*, 195 f.

⁹ *Madur. Man.*, p. 199; Wilks, I, p. 53. The *Bondela Jour.* does not mention this.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

3. A new version of Hobson Jobson—Jacey Bocey—Joicey Boicy.

21 December 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. The Governour of this towne Maumhd : Alley Beague [Mahmūd 'Alī Bēg] haveing occasion for 4 Cases spiritts and two Cheeses for his master (being Jacey bocey time when they drinke much sherbatt) and for him selfe two bales Sugar, sent to the Factory for same, The Councell therefore thinke it Convenient, and order that he be presented with the same being requisite to oblige him

with such things at this season of the year, that our business may not meet with any interruption and that in case an Interloper should come in he may not have any pretence to favour him or his business. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam, Vol. 4.*)

Note.—The copy of this Consultation now at Madras has "Joicey boicy," but that at the India Office has the spelling "Jacey bocey." Either gives us a new form for this much tortured expression.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

KALIDASA'S MEGHADUTA OR THE CLOUD-MESSENGER (as embodied in the *Pārsadvhyudaya*) with the Commentary of Mallinātha, literal English translation, variant readings, critical notes, appendixes and introduction, determining the date of Kālidāsa from latest antiquarian researches, edited by KASHINATH BAFU PATHAK, B.A. Second Edition, Poona, 1916.

The *Pārsadvhyudaya* is too well-known to Sanskrit scholars to need an introduction. An edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* based on this metrical biography of Pārśvanātha by Jinanāthārya is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to Indology.

The first edition of Prof. Pathak's book, which appeared in 1894, was characterised by a rather indiscriminate use—or misuse—of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Indian words in the preface and notes accompanying the text. The present edition marks a slight improvement in this respect. Even in this edition, however, the number of the "errata" (printed at the bottom of p. vi) has been considerably underestimated by the author, and the little booklet would have proved much better reading for a thorough revision of the spelling, which in many instances is quite unconventional. From the literal translation and the elaborate exegetical and explanatory apparatus accompanying the reprint of the Sanskrit text, it is evident that the edition is intended chiefly for the use of school-boys and junior college students: and there is no doubt that

it will be greatly in demand with this class of readers. The more is the pity that sufficient attention has not been paid to typographical matters; for, this example of inaccuracy in minor details set by a veteran is likely to be unconsciously copied by the inexperienced young scholar in whose hands the book falls. No doubt the press comes in for its legitimate share of reproof; but it must be understood that the responsibility of checking instances of such negligence lies entirely with the author.

At p. vii, the subject-matter of the introduction is indicated by a head-line to be "the date of Kālidāsa." This is indeed a very modest description of the contents of the introduction which treats of a great many things besides; so much so, that the reader experiences some difficulty in threading his way through the maze of (more or less interesting) digressions. The cannonade of diatribe running through the analysis of the 'critical acumen' of Dr. Hultzsch (pp. xvii-xix) is distinctly one of the less interesting digressions, and might have been with advantage omitted in its entirety.

The remarks bearing on the date of Kālidāsa have been reprinted with slight alterations from the author's article on the subject entitled "Kālidāsa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 265), where an attempt is made to synchronise the composition of the *Raghuvamśa* with the advent of the Ephthalites in the Oxus Valley. To quote Prof. Pathak's own words (p. x of the

book under review): "Kālidāsa must have written his verses about the Hūnas shortly after 450, the date of the establishment of the Hūna empire in the Oxus Basin, but before their first defeat (A. D. 450—455), when they were still in the Oxus Valley and considered the most invincible warriors of their age"; and all this, because it was on the banks of the Oxus (Vanāshu) that Raghu during the course of his *digvijaya* is represented by Kālidāsa (anachronistically, adds Prof. Pathak) to have encountered the Hūna hordes. It is no doubt possible to argue in this way; but the conclusion of the Professor is by no means inevitable. The Hūnas are evidently introduced as a type of people who had impressed the minds of Indians as formidable foes on the battlefield; and Prof. Pathak is perfectly right in implying that the Ephthalites belong to a category different from that of the classical enemies of the conquering hero, such as the kings of the Chola, Pāṇḍya, Kalinga and other kingdoms. But this estimation of their fighting qualities was hardly possible to be formed, unless the Indians of Kālidāsa's time had known the nomadic hordes nearer at hand than from the remote Oxus Valley. To the same conclusion points the use of the phrase *kapalapāṇādeśi* by Kālidāsa, in the same work (canto 4, verse 68), which discloses close intimacy with the customs and manners peculiar to the White Huns. It would be, therefore, equally legitimate to assign Kālidāsa to an epoch of Indian history following shortly on the expulsion of the Hūna hordes from the confines of India proper. This would be a time when the picture of their ferocious barbarity was still vividly present to the minds of the poet's contemporaries, and a reference to the rout of the Hūnas would have immediately and strikingly appealed to the imagination of the readers. Thus, even under these circumstances there would be nothing incongruous in the fact of the poet making Raghu encounter the retreating Hūnas in their 'epic' home of the Vanāshu Valley. The upshot of this antinomian argumentation seems to be to exclude the possibility of referring Kālidāsa to the period in which the Ephthalites occupied the position of paramount sovereigns within the limits of India. For, on the contrary supposition, with the Hūnas actually holding their own in the Panjab and parts of Central India, the statement that Raghu fought with these

same people on the banks of the Oxus and defeated them there, would have been incomprehensible to Kālidāsa's contemporaries. The reference is, in any case, too vague to admit of exact chronological computations like those which Prof. Pathak attempts.

The determination of the date of Kālidāsa is, as remarked above, only one of the questions dealt with in the introduction. Another topic discussed there is the value of Vallabha's Commentary on the *Meghadūta* in settling the question of the spurious verses. The verdict of Prof. Pathak is not favourable to the commentator. Dr. Hultzsch, it would appear, misguided by the opinion of the Pandits Durgaprasad and Parab regarding the age of Vallabha, identifies him with Kaiyata's grandfather of that name and assigns him therefore to the first half of the tenth century (see Hultzsch's edition of the *Meghadūta*, Preface, p. ix). Prof. Pathak would rather place him two centuries later, and the reasons adduced by him in support of his opinion are worthy of careful consideration. If it turn out that the Professor's surmise of the age of Vallabhadeva is correct, this circumstance would detract considerably from the value to which the commentary might otherwise be entitled on grounds of its supposed antiquity. In any event, Prof. Pathak attaches far too much importance to this fact; for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pārsadhya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kālidāsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kāśmīr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. Pathak's estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee of the entire purity of the respective texts.

In reprinting the text of Mallinātha's commentary Prof. Pathak has introduced an innovation. He has expunged the remarks of the commentator regarding the spuriousness of certain verses, a procedure which, being misleading, is not commendable.

CASTES IN INDIA.

Their mechanism, genesis and development.¹

BY BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR, M.A.

MANY of us, I dare say, have witnessed local, national, or international expositions of material objects that make up the sum total of human civilization. But few can entertain the idea of there being such a thing as an exposition of human institutions. Exhibition of human institutions is a strange idea; some might call it the wildest of ideas. But as students of Ethnology I hope you will not be hard on this innovation, for it is not so, and to you at least it should not be strange.

You all have visited, I believe, some historic place like the ruins of Pompeii, and listened with curiosity to the history of the remains as it flowed from the glib tongue of the guide. In my opinion a student of Ethnology, in one sense at least, is much like the guide. Like his prototype, he holds up (perhaps with more seriousness and desire of self-instruction) the social institutions to view, with all the objectiveness humanly possible, and inquires into their origin and function.

Most of our fellow students in this Seminar, which concerns itself with Primitive *versus* Modern Society, have ably acquitted themselves along these lines by giving lucid expositions of the various institutions, modern or primitive, in which they are interested. It is my turn now, this evening, to entertain you, as best I can, with a paper on "Castes in India: their mechanism, genesis and development."

I need hardly remind you of the complexity of the subject I intend to handle. Subtler minds and abler pens than mine have been brought to the task of unravelling the mysteries of Caste; but unfortunately it still remains in the domain of the "unexplained," not to say of the "un-understood." I am quite alive to the complex intricacies of a hoary institution like Caste, but I am not so pessimistic as to relegate it to the region of the unknowable, for I believe it can be known. The caste problem is a vast one, both theoretically and practically. Practically, it is an institution that portends tremendous consequences. It is a local problem, but one capable of much wider mischief, for "as long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem."² Theoretically, it has defied a great many scholars who have taken upon themselves, as a labour of love, to dig into its origin. Such being the case, I cannot treat the problem in its entirety. Time, space and acumen, I am afraid, would all fail me, if I attempted to do otherwise than limit myself to a phase of it, namely, the genesis, mechanism and spread of the caste system. I will strictly observe this rule, and will dwell on extraneous matters only when it is necessary to clarify or support a point in my thesis.

To proceed with the subject. According to well-known ethnologists, the population of India is a mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. All these stocks of people came into India from various directions and with various cultures, centuries ago, when they were in a tribal state. They all in turn elbowed their entry into the country by fighting with their predecessors, and after a stomachful of it settled down as peaceful neighbours. Through constant contact and mutual intercourse they evolved a common

¹ A paper read before the Anthropology Seminar (9th May 1916) of Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Columbia University, New York.

² Ketkar, *Caste*, p. 4.

culture that superseded their distinctive cultures. It may be granted that there has not been a thorough amalgamation of the various stocks that make up the peoples of India, and to a traveller from within the boundaries of India the East presents a marked contrast in physique and even in colour to the West, as does the South to the North. But amalgamation can never be the sole criterion of homogeneity as predicated of any people. Ethnically all peoples are heterogeneous. It is the unity of culture that is the basis of homogeneity. Taking this for granted, I venture to say that there is no country that can rival the Indian Peninsula with respect to the unity of its culture. It has not only a geographic unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and a much more fundamental unity—the indubitable cultural unity that covers the land from end to end. But it is because of this homogeneity that Caste becomes a problem so difficult to be explained. If the Hindu Society were a mere federation of mutually exclusive units, the matter would be simple enough. But Caste is a parcelling of an already homogeneous unit, and the explanation of the genesis of Caste is the explanation of this process of parcelling.

Before launching into our field of enquiry, it is better to advise ourselves regarding the nature of a caste. I will therefore draw upon a few of the best students of caste for their definitions of it.

(1) M. Senart, a French authority, defines a caste as "a close corporation, in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary: equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council, meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority and joining together at certain festivals: bound together by common occupations, which relate more particularly to marriage and to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction, the extent of which varies, but which succeeds in making the authority of the community more felt by the sanction of certain penalties and, above all, by final irrevocable exclusion from the group."

(2) Mr. Nesfield defines a caste as "a class of the community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither intermarry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community."

(3) According to Sir H. Risley, "a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."

(4) Dr. Ketkar defines caste as "a social group having two characteristics: (1) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (2) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group."

To review these definitions is of great importance for our purpose. It will be noticed that taken individually the definitions of three of the writers include too much or too little: none is complete or correct by itself and all have missed the central point in the mechanism of the Caste system. Their mistake lies in trying to define caste as an isolated unit by itself, and not as a group within, and with definite relations to, the system of caste as a whole. Yet collectively all of them are complementary to one another, each one emphasising what has been obscured in the other. By way of criticism, therefore, I will take only those points common to all Castes in each of the above definitions which are regarded as peculiarities of Caste and evaluate them as such.

To start with M. Senart. He draws attention to the "idea of pollution" as a characteristic of Caste. With regard to this point it may be safely said that it is by no means a peculiarity of Caste as such. It usually originates in priestly ceremonialism and is a particular case of the general belief in purity. Consequently its necessary connection with Caste may be completely denied without damaging the working of Caste. The "idea of pollution" has been attached to the institution of Caste, only because the Caste that enjoys the highest rank is the priestly Caste: while we know that priest and purity are old associates. We may therefore conclude that the "idea of pollution" is a characteristic of Caste only in so far as Caste has a religious flavour. Mr. Nesfield in his way dwells on the absence of messing with those outside the Caste as one of its characteristics. In spite of the newness of the point we must say that Mr. Nesfield has mistaken the effect for the cause. Caste, being a self-enclosed unit naturally limits social intercourse, including messing etc., to members within it. Consequently this absence of messing with outsiders is not due to positive prohibition, but is a natural result of Caste, i. e., exclusiveness. No doubt this absence of messing, originally due to exclusiveness, acquired the prohibitory character of a religious injunction, but it may be regarded as a later growth. Sir H. Risley, makes no new point deserving of special attention.

We now pass on to the definition of Dr. Ketkar, who has done much for the elucidation of the subject. Not only is he a native, but he has also brought a critical acumen and an open mind to bear on his study of Caste. His definition merits consideration, for he has defined Caste in its relation to a system of Castes, and has concentrated his attention only on those characteristics which are absolutely necessary for the existence of a Caste within a system, rightly excluding all others as being secondary or derivative in character. With respect to his definition it must, however, be said that in it there is a slight confusion of thought, lucid and clear as otherwise it is. He speaks of **Prohibition of Inter-marriage and Membership by Autogeny** as the two characteristics of Caste. I submit that these are but two aspects of one and the same thing, and not two different things as Dr. Ketkar supposes them to be. If you prohibit inter-marriage the result is that you limit membership to those born within the group. Thus the two are the obverse and the reverse sides of the same medal.

This critical evaluation of the various characteristics of Caste leaves no doubt that prohibition, or rather the absence of inter-marriage—endogamy, to be concise—is the only one that can be called the essence of Caste when rightly understood. But some may deny this on abstract anthropological grounds, for there exist endogamous groups without giving rise to the problem of Caste. In a general way this may be true, as endogamous societies, culturally different, making their abode in localities more or less removed, and having little to do with each other, are a physical reality. The negroes and the whites and the various tribal groups that go by the name of American Indians in the United States may be cited as more or less appropriate illustrations in support of this view. But we must not confuse matters, for in India the situation is different. As pointed out before, the peoples of India form a homogeneous whole. The various races of India occupying definite territories have more or less fused into one another and do possess a cultural unity, which is the only criterion of a homogeneous population. Given this homogeneity as a basis, Caste becomes a problem altogether new in character and wholly absent in the situation constituted by the mere propinquity of endogamous social or tribal

groups. Caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that **endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to Caste**, and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of Caste.

It may not be quite easy for you to anticipate why I regard endogamy as a key to the mystery of the Caste system. Not to strain your imagination too much, I will proceed to give you my reasons for it.

It may not also be out of place to emphasize at this moment that no civilized society of to-day presents more survivals of primitive times than does the Indian society. Its religion is essentially primitive and its tribal code, in spite of the advance of time and civilization, operates in all its pristine vigour even to-day. One of these primitive survivals, to which I wish particularly to draw your attention, is the **custom of exogamy**. The prevalence of exogamy in the primitive world is a fact too well known to need any explanation. With the growth of history, however, exogamy has lost its efficacy and, excepting the nearest blood-kins, there is usually no social bar restricting the field of marriage. But regarding the peoples of India the law of exogamy is a positive injunction even to-day. Indian society still savours of the clan system, even though there are no clans: and this can be easily seen from the law of matrimony which centres round the principle of exogamy, for it is not that *sapindas* (blood-kins) cannot marry, but a marriage even between *sagotras* (of the same class) is regarded as a sacrilege.

Nothing is therefore more important for you to remember than the fact that endogamy is foreign to the people of India. The various *gotras* of India are and have been exogamous: so are the other groups with totemic organization. It is no exaggeration to say that with the people of India exogamy is a creed and none dare infringe it, so much so that, in spite of the endogamy of the Castes within them, exogamy is strictly observed and that there are more rigorous penalties for violating exogamy than there are for violating endogamy. You will, therefore, readily see that with exogamy as the rule there could be no Castes, for exogamy means fusion. But we *have* Castes; consequently in the final analysis creation of Castes, so far as India is concerned, means the superposition of endogamy on exogamy. However, in an originally exogamous population an easy working out of endogamy (which is equivalent to the creation of Caste) is a grave problem, and it is in the consideration of the means utilized for the preservation of endogamy against exogamy that we may hope to find the solution of our problem.

Thus the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of Caste. But this is not an easy affair. Let us take an imaginary group that desires to make itself into a Caste and analyse what means it will have to adopt to make itself endogamous. If a group desires to make itself endogamous a formal injunction against intermarriage with outside groups will be of no avail, especially if prior to the introduction of endogamy, exogamy had been the rule in all matrimonial relations. Again, there is a tendency in all groups lying in close contact with one another to assimilate and amalgamate, and thus consolidate into a homogenous society. If this tendency is to be strongly counteracted in the interest of Caste formation, it is absolutely necessary to circumscribe a circle outside which people should not contract marriages.

Nevertheless, this encircling to prevent marriages from without creates problems from within which are not very easy of solution. Roughly speaking, in a normal group the

two sexes are more or less evenly distributed, and generally speaking there is an equality between those of the same age. The equality is, however, never quite realized in actual societies. At the same time to the group that is desirous of making itself into a caste the maintenance of equality between the sexes becomes the ultimate goal, for without it endogamy can no longer subsist. In other words, if endogamy is to be preserved conjugal rights from within have to be provided for, otherwise members of the group will be driven out of the circle to take care of themselves in any way they can. But in order that the conjugal rights be provided for from within, it is absolutely necessary to maintain a numerical equality between the marriageable units of the two sexes within the group desirous of making itself into a Caste. It is only through the maintenance of such an equality that the necessary endogamy of the group can be kept intact, and a very large disparity is sure to break it.

The problem of Caste, then, ultimately resolves itself into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes within it. Left to nature, the much needed parity between the units can be realized only when a couple dies simultaneously. But this is a rare contingency. The husband may die before the wife and create a *surplus woman*, who must be disposed of, else through intermarriage she will violate the endogamy of the group. In like manner the husband may survive his wife and be a *surplus man*, whom the group, while it may sympathise with him for the sad bereavement, has to dispose of, else he will marry outside the Caste and will break the endogamy. Thus both the *surplus man* and the *surplus woman* constitute a menace to the Caste if not taken care of, for not finding suitable partners inside their prescribed circle (and left to themselves they cannot find any, for if the matter be not regulated there can only be just enough pairs to go round) very likely they will transgress the boundary, marry outside and import offspring that is foreign to the Caste.

Let us see what our imaginary group is likely to do with this *surplus man* and *surplus woman*. We will first take up the case of the *surplus woman*. She can be disposed of in two different ways so as to preserve the endogamy of the Caste.

First: burn her on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband and get rid of her. This, however, is rather an impracticable way of solving the problem of sex disparity. In some cases it may work, in others it may not. Consequently every *surplus woman* cannot thus be disposed of, because it is an easy solution but a hard realization. And so the *surplus woman* (= widow), if not disposed of, remains in the group: but in her very existence lies a double danger. She may marry outside the Caste and violate endogamy, or she may marry within the Caste and through competition encroach upon the chances of marriage that must be reserved for the potential brides in the Caste. She is therefore a menace in any case, and something must be done to her if she cannot be burned along with her deceased husband.

The second remedy is to enforce widowhood on her for the rest of her life. So far as the objective results are concerned, burning is a better solution than enforcing widowhood. Burning the widow eliminates all the three evils that a *surplus woman* is fraught with. Being dead and gone she creates no problem of remarriage either inside or outside the Caste. But compulsory widowhood is superior to burning because it is more practicable. Besides being comparatively humane it also guards against the evils of remarriage as does burning: but it fails to guard the morals of the group. No doubt under compulsory widowhood the woman remains, and just because she is deprived of her natural right of being a legitimate wife in future, the incentive to immoral conduct is increased. But

this is by no means an insuperable difficulty. She can be degraded to a condition in which she is no longer a source of allurements.

The problem of *surplus man* (= widower) is much more important and much more difficult than that of the *surplus woman* in a group that desires to make itself into a Caste. From time immemorial man as compared with woman has had the upper hand. He is a dominant figure in every group and of the two sexes has greater prestige. With this traditional superiority of man over woman his wishes have always been consulted. Woman, on the other hand, has been an easy prey to all kinds of iniquitous injunctions, religious, social or economic. But man as a maker of injunctions is most often above them all. Such being the case, you cannot accord the same kind of treatment to a *surplus man* as you can to a *surplus woman* in a Caste.

The project of burning him with his deceased wife is hazardous in two ways: first of all it cannot be done, simply because he is a man. Secondly, if done, a sturdy soul is lost to the Caste. There remain then only two solutions which can conveniently dispose of him. I say conveniently, because he is an asset to the group.

Important as he is to the group, endogamy is still more important, and the solution must assure both these ends. Under these circumstances he may be forced, or I should say induced, after the manner of the widow, to remain a widower for the rest of his life. This solution is not altogether difficult, for without any compulsion some are so disposed as to enjoy self-imposed celibacy, or even to take a further step of their own accord and renounce the world and its joys. But, given human nature as it is, this solution can hardly be expected to be realized. On the other hand, as is very likely to be the case, if the *surplus man* remains in the group as an active participator in group activities, he is a danger to the morals of the group. Looked at from a different point of view celibacy, though easy in cases where it succeeds, is not so advantageous even then to the material prospects of the Caste. If he observes genuine celibacy and renounces the world, he would not be a menace to the preservation of Caste endogamy or Caste morals as he undoubtedly would be if he remained a secular person. But as an ascetic celibate he is as good as burned, so far as the material well-being of his Caste is concerned. A Caste, in order that it may be large enough to afford a vigorous communal life, must be maintained at a certain numerical strength. But to hope for this and to proclaim celibacy is the same as trying to cure atrophy by bleeding.

Imposing celibacy on the *surplus man* in the group, therefore, fails both theoretically and practically. It is in the interest of the Caste to keep him as a *grahastha* (one who raises a family), to use a Sanskrit technical term. But the problem is to provide him with a wife from within the Caste. At the outset this is not possible, for the ruling ratio in a caste has to be one man to one woman and none can have two chances of marriage, for in a Caste thoroughly self-enclosed there are always just enough marriageable women to go round for the marriageable men. Under these circumstances the *surplus man* can be provided with a wife only by recruiting a bride from the ranks of those not yet marriageable in order to tie him down to the group. This is certainly the best of the possible solutions in the case of the *surplus man*. By this, he is kept within the Caste. By this means numerical depletion through constant outflow is guarded against, and by this endogamy and morals are preserved.

It will now be seen that the four means by which numerical disparity between the two sexes is conveniently maintained are: (1) Burning the widow with her deceased

husband; (2) Compulsory widowhood—a milder form of burning; (3) Imposing celibacy on the widower; (4) Wedding him to a girl not yet marriageable. Though, as I said above, burning the widow and imposing celibacy on the widower are of doubtful service to the group in its endeavour to preserve its endogamy, all of them operate as *means*. But means, as forces, when liberated or set in motion create an end. What then is the end that these means create? They create and perpetuate endogamy, while caste and endogamy, according to our analysis of the various definitions of caste, are one and the same thing. Thus the existence of these means is identical with caste and caste involves these means.

This, in my opinion, is the general mechanism of a caste in a system of castes. Let us now turn from these high generalities to the castes in Hindu society and inquire into their mechanism. I need hardly premise that there are a great many pitfalls in the path of those who try to unfold the past, and caste in India to be sure is a very ancient institution. This is especially true where there exist no authentic or written records, or where the people, like the Hindus, are so constituted that to them writing history is a folly, for the world is an illusion. But institutions do live, though for a long time they may remain unrecorded and as often as not customs and morals are like fossils that tell their own history. If this is true, our task will be amply rewarded if we scrutinize the solution the Hindus arrived at to meet the problems of the *surplus man* and *surplus woman*.

Complex though it be in its general working the Hindu Society, even to a superficial observer, presents three singular uxorial customs, namely:—

- (i) *Sati* or the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband.
- (ii) Enforced widowhood by which a widow is not allowed to remarry.
- (iii) Girl marriage.

In addition, one also notes a great hankering after *sannyasa* (renunciation) on the part of the widower, but this may in some cases be due purely to psychic disposition.

So far as I know, no scientific explanation of the origin of these customs is forthcoming even to-day. We have plenty of philosophy to tell us why these customs were honoured, but nothing to tell us the causes of their origin and existence. *Sati* has been honoured (Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Sati: a Defence of the Eastern Woman* in the *British Sociological Review*, Vol. VI. 1913) because it is a "proof of the perfect unity of body and soul" between husband and wife and of "devotion beyond the grave;" because it embodied the ideal of wifedom, which is well expressed by Umâ when she said "Devotion to her Lord is woman's honour, it is her eternal heaven: and O Maheshvara," she adds with a most touching human cry, "I desire not paradise itself if thou art not satisfied with me!" Why compulsory widowhood is honoured I know not, nor have I yet met with any one who sang in praise of it, though there are a great many who adhere to it. The eulogy in honour of girl marriage is reported by Dr. Ketkar to be as follows: "A really faithful man or woman ought not to feel affection for a woman or a man other than the one with whom he or she is united. Such purity is compulsory not only after marriage, but even before marriage, for that is the only correct ideal of chastity. No maiden could be considered pure if she feels love for a man other than the one to whom she might be married. As she does not know to whom she is going to be married, she must not feel affection for any man at all before marriage. If she does so, it is a sin. So it is better for a girl to know whom she has to love, before any sexual consciousness has been awakened in her."³ Hence girl marriage.

³ *History of Caste in India*, 1909, pp. 32-33.

This high-flown and ingenious sophistry indicates why these institutions were honoured, but does not tell us why they were practised. My own interpretation is that they were honoured because they were practised. Any one slightly acquainted with rise of individualism in the 18th century will appreciate my remark. At all times, it is the movement that is most important; and the philosophies grow around it long afterwards to justify it and give it a moral support. In like manner I urge that the very fact that these customs were so highly eulogized proves that they needed eulogy for their prevalence. Regarding the question as to why they arose, I submit that they were needed to create the structure of caste and the philosophies in honour of them were intended to popularize them, or to gild the pill, as we might say, for they must have been so abominable and shocking to the moral sense of the unsophisticated that they needed a great deal of sweetening. These customs are essentially of the nature of *means*, though they are represented as ideals. But this should not blind us from understanding the *results* that flow from them. One might safely say that idealization of means is necessary and in this particular case was perhaps motivated to endow them with greater efficacy. Calling a means an end does no harm, except that it disguises its real character; but it does not deprive it of its real nature, that of a means. You may pass a law that all cats are dogs, just as you can call a means an end. But you can no more change the nature of means thereby than you can turn cats into dogs; consequently I am justified in holding that, whether regarded as ends or as means, *Sati*, *enforced widowhood* and *girl marriage* are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of the *surplus man* and *surplus woman* in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs, while caste without endogamy is a fake.

Having explained the mechanism of the creation and preservation of Caste in India, the further question as to its genesis naturally arises. The question of origin is always an annoying question and in the study of Caste it is sadly neglected: some have connived at it, while others have dodged it. Some are puzzled as to whether there could be such a thing as the origin of caste and suggest that "if we cannot control our fondness for the word 'origin', we should better use the plural form, viz., 'origins of caste'." As for myself I do not feel puzzled by the Origin of Caste in India, for, as I have established before, endogamy is the only characteristic of Caste and when I say origin of caste I mean the origin of the mechanism for endogamy.

The atomistic conception of individuals in a Society so greatly popularised—I was about to say vulgarized—in political orations is the greatest humbug. To say that individuals make up society is trivial; society is always composed of classes. It may be an exaggeration to assert the theory of class-conflict, but the existence of definite classes in a society is a fact. Their basis may differ. They may be economic or intellectual or social, but an individual in a society is always a member of a class. This is a universal fact and early Hindu society could not have been an exception to this rule, and, as a matter of fact, we know it was not. If we bear this generalization in mind, our study of the genesis of caste would be very much facilitated, for we have only to determine what was the class that first made itself into a caste, for class and caste, so to say, are next door neighbours, and it is only a span that separates the two. **A caste is an enclosed class.**

The study of the origin of caste must furnish us with an answer to the question—what is the class that raised this "enclosure" around itself? The question

may seem too inquisitorial, but it is pertinent, and an answer to this will serve us to elucidate the mystery of the growth and development of castes all over India. Unfortunately a direct answer to this question is not within my power. I can answer it only indirectly. I said just above that the customs in question were current in the Hindu society. To be true to facts it is necessary to qualify the statement, as it connotes universality of their prevalence. These customs in all their strictness are obtainable only in one caste, namely the Brahmans, who occupy the highest place in the social hierarchy of the Hindu society; and as their prevalence in Non-Brahman castes is derivative their observance is neither strict nor complete. This important fact can serve as a basis of an important observation. If the prevalence of these customs in the non-Brahman Castes is derivative, as can be shown very easily, then it needs no argument to prove what class is the father of the institution of caste. Why the Brahman class should have enclosed itself into a caste is a different question, which may be left as an employment for another occasion. But the strict observance of these customs and the social superiority arrogated by the priestly class in all ancient civilizations are sufficient to prove that they were the originators of this "unnatural institution" founded and maintained through these unnatural means.

I now come to the third part of my paper regarding the question of the growth and spread of the caste system all over India. The question I have to answer is: How did the institution of caste spread among the rest of the non-Brahman population of the country? The question of the spread of the castes all over India has suffered a worse fate than the question of genesis. And the main cause, as it seems to me, is that the two questions of spread and of origin are not separated. This is because of the common belief among scholars that the caste system has either been imposed upon the docile population of India by a law-giver as a divine dispensation, or that it has grown according to some law of social growth peculiar to the Indian people.

I first propose to handle the law-giver of India. Every country has its law-giver, who arises as an incarnation (*avatar*) in times of emergency to set right a sinning humanity and give it the laws of justice and morality. Manu, the law-giver of India, if he did exist, was certainly an audacious person. If the story that he gave the law of caste be credited, then Manu must have been a dare-devil fellow and the humanity that accepted his dispensation must be a humanity quite different from the one we are acquainted with. It is unimaginable that the law of caste was *given*. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Manu could not have outlived his law, for what is that class that can submit to be degraded to the status of brutes by the pen of a man, and suffer him to raise another class to the pinnacle? Unless he was a tyrant who held all the population in subjection it cannot be imagined that he could have been allowed to dispense his patronage in this grossly unjust manner, as may be easily seen by a mere glance at his "Institutes." I may seem hard on Manu, but I am sure my force is not strong enough to kill his ghost. He lives, like a disembodied spirit and is appealed to, and I am afraid will yet live long. One thing I want to impress upon you is that Manu did not *give* the law of Caste and that he could not do so. Caste existed long before Manu. He was an upholder of it and therefore philosophised about it, but certainly he did not and could not ordain the present order of Hindu Society. His work ended with the codification of existing caste rules and the preaching of Caste *Dharma*. The spread and growth of the Caste system is too

gigantic a task to be achieved by the power or cunning of an individual or of a class. Similar in argument is the theory that the Brahmans created the caste. After what I have said regarding Manu, I need hardly say anything more, except to point out that it is incorrect in thought and malicious in intent. The Brahmans may have been guilty of many things, and I dare say they are, but the imposing of the caste system on the non-Brahman population was beyond their mettle. They may have helped the process by their glib philosophy, but they certainly could not have pushed their scheme beyond their own confines. To fashion society after one's own pattern! How glorious! How hard! One can take pleasure and eulogize its furtherance, but cannot further it very far. The vehemence of my attack may seem to be unnecessary: but I can assure you that it is not uncalled for. There is a strong belief in the mind of orthodox Hindus that the Hindu Society was somehow moulded into the frame work of the Caste System, and that it is an organization consciously created by the *Shâstras*. Not only does this belief exist, but it is being justified on the ground that it cannot but be good, because it is ordained by the *Shâstras* and the *Shâstras* cannot be wrong. I have urged so much on the adverse side of this attitude, not because the religious sanctity is grounded on scientific basis, nor to help those reformers who are preaching against it. Preaching did not make the caste system, neither will it unmake it. My aim is to show the falsity of the attitude that has exalted religious sanction to the position of a scientific explanation.

Thus the great man theory does not help us very far in solving the spread of castes in India. Western scholars, probably not much given to hero-worship, have attempted other explanations. The nuclei, round which have "formed" the various castes in India, are, according to them:—(1) occupation; (2) survivals of tribal organizations, etc.; (3) the rise of new belief; (4) cross-breeding and (5) migration.

The question may be asked whether these nuclei do not exist in other societies and whether they are peculiar to India. If they are not peculiar to India, but are common to the world, why is it that they did not "form" caste on other parts of this planet? Is it because those parts are holier than the land of the Vedas, or that the professors are mistaken? I am afraid that the latter is the truth.

In spite of the high theoretic value claimed by the several authors for their respective theories, based on one or other of the above nuclei, one regrets to say that on close examination they are nothing more than filling illustrations—what Matthew Arnold means by "the grand name without the grand thing in it." Such are the various theories of caste advanced by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, M. Senart and Sir H. Risley. To criticise them in a lump would be to say that they are a disguised form of the *Petitio Principii* of formal logic. To illustrate: Mr. Nesfield says that "function and function only . . . was the foundation upon which the whole system of castes in India was built up." But he may rightly be reminded that he does not very much advance our thought by making the above statement, which practically amounts to saying that castes in India are functional or occupational, which is a very poor discovery! We have yet to know from Mr. Nesfield why is it that an occupational group turned into an occupational caste? I would very cheerfully have undertaken the task of dwelling on the

theories of other ethnologists, had it not been for the fact that Mr. Nesfield's is a typical one.

Without stopping to criticize those theories that explain the caste system as a natural phenomenon occurring in obedience to the law of disintegration, as explained by Herbert Spencer in his formula of evolution, or as natural as "the structural differentiation within an organism"—to employ the phraseology of orthodox apologists—or as an early attempt to test the laws of eugenics—as all belonging to the same class of fallacy which regards the caste system as inevitable, or as being consciously imposed in anticipation of these laws on a helpless and humble population, I will now lay before you my own view on the subject.

We shall be well advised to recall at the outset that the Hindu society, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest known are the (1) Brahmins or the priestly class: (2) the Kshatriya, or the military class: (3) the Vaisya, or the merchant class: and (4) the Sudra, or the artisan and menial class. Particular attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed-door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute groups. The Vaisya and Sudra classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of the numerous castes of to-day. As the military occupation does not very easily lend itself to very minute sub-division, the Kshatriya class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators.

This sub-division of a society is quite natural. But the unnatural thing about these sub-divisions is that they have lost the open door character of the class system and have become self-enclosed units called castes. The question is, were they compelled to close their doors and become endogamous, or did they close them of their own accord? I submit that there is a double line of answer: **Some closed the door: others found it closed against them.** The one is a psychological interpretation and the other is mechanistic, but they are complementary and both are necessary to explain the phenomena of caste-formation in its entirety.

I will first take up the psychological interpretation. The question we have to answer in this connection is: Why did these sub-divisions or classes, if you please, industrial, religious or otherwise, become self-enclosed or endogamous? **My answer** is because the Brahmins were so. Endogamy, or the closed-door system, was a fashion in the Hindu Society, and as it had originated from the Brahman caste it was whole-heartedly imitated by all the non-Brahman sub-divisions or classes, who, in their turn, became endogamous castes. It is "the infection of imitation" that caught all these sub-divisions on their onward march of differentiation and has turned them into castes. The propensity to imitate is a deep-seated one in the human mind and need not be deemed an inadequate explanation for the formation of the various castes in India. It is so deep-seated that Walter Bagehot argues that "we must not think of . . . imitation as voluntary, or even conscious. On the contrary it has its seat mainly in very obscure parts of the mind, whose notions, so far from being consciously produced, are hardly felt to exist; so far from being conceived beforehand, are not even felt at the time. The main seat of the imitative part of our nature is our belief, and the causes predisposing us to believe this or disinclining us to believe that are among the obscurest parts of our nature. But as to the imitative natur-

of credulity there can be no doubt."⁴ This propensity to imitate has been made the subject of a scientific study by Gabriel Tarde, who lays down three laws of imitation. One of his three laws is that imitation flows from the higher to the lower or, to quote his own words, "Given the opportunity, a nobility will always and everywhere imitate its leaders, its kings or sovereigns, and the people likewise, given the opportunity, its nobility."⁵ Another of Tarde's laws of imitation is: that the extent or intensity of imitation varies inversely in proportion to distance, or in his own words "the thing that is most imitated is the most superior one of those that are nearest. In fact, the influence of the model's example is efficacious inversely to its *distance* as well as directly to its superiority. Distance is understood here in its sociological meaning. However distant in space a stranger may be, he is close by, from this point of view, if we have numerous and daily relations with him and if we have every facility to satisfy our desire to imitate him. This law of the imitation of the nearest, of the least distant, explains the gradual and consecutive character of the spread of an example that has been set by the higher social ranks."⁶

In order to prove my thesis—which really needs no proof—that some castes were formed by imitation, the best way, it seems to me, is to find out whether or not the vital conditions for the formation of castes by imitation exist in the Hindu Society. The conditions for imitation, according to this standard authority are: (1) That the source of imitation must enjoy prestige in the group and (2) that there must be "numerous and daily relations" among members of a group. That these conditions were present in India there is little reason to doubt. The Brahman is a semi-god and very nearly a demi-god. He sets up a mode and moulds the rest. His prestige is unquestionable and is the fountain-head of bliss and good. Can such a being, idolised by Scriptures and venerated by the priest-ridden multitude, fail to project his personality on the suppliant humanity? Why, if the story be true, he is believed to be the very end of creation. Such a creature is worthy of more than mere imitation, but at least of imitation; and if he lives in an endogamous enclosure, should not the rest follow his example? Frail humanity! Be it embodied in a grave philosopher or a frivolous housemaid, it succumbs. It cannot be otherwise. Imitation is easy and invention is difficult.

Yet another way of demonstrating the play of imitation in the formation of castes is to understand the attitude of non-Brahman classes towards those customs which supported the structure of caste in its nascent days until, in the course of history, it became embedded in the Hindu mind and hangs there to this day without any support—for now it needs no prop but belief—like a weed on the surface of a pond. In a way, but only in a way, the status of a caste in the Hindu Society varies directly with the extent of the observance of the customs of *sati*, enforced widowhood, and girl marriage. But observance of these customs varies directly with the *distance* (I am using the word in the Tardian sense) that separates the caste. Those castes that are nearest to the Brahmans have imitated all the three customs and insist on the strict observance thereof. Those that are less near have imitated enforced widowhood and girl marriage; others, a little further off, have only girl marriage, and those furthest off have imitated only the belief in the caste principle. This imperfect imitation, I dare say, is due partly to what Tarde calls "distance" and partly to the barbarous character of these customs. This

⁴ *Physics and Politics* 1915, p. 60.

⁵ *Laws of Imitation*, Tr. by E. C. Parsons, 2nd ed. p. 217.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

phenomenon is a complete illustration of Tarde's law and leaves no doubt that the whole process of caste-formation in India is a process of imitation of the higher by the lower. At this juncture I will turn back to support a former conclusion of mine, which might have appeared to you as too sudden or unsupported. I said that the Brahman class first raised the structure of caste by the help of those three customs in question. My reason for that conclusion was that their existence in other classes was derivative. After what I have said regarding the rôle of imitation in the spread of these customs among the non-Brahman castes, as means or as ideals, though the imitators have not been aware of it, they exist among them as derivatives; and, if they are derived, there must have been prevalent one original caste that was high enough to have served as a pattern for the rest. But in a theocratic society, who could be the pattern but the servant of God?

This completes the story of those that were weak enough to close their doors. Let us now see how others were closed in as a result of being closed out. This I call the mechanistic process of the formation of caste. It is mechanistic because it is inevitable. That this line of approach, as well as the psychological one, to the explanation of the subject has escaped my predecessors is entirely due to the fact that they have conceived Caste as a unit by itself and not as one within a System of Caste. The result of this oversight or lack of sight has been very detrimental to the proper understanding of the subject matter and therefore its correct explanation. I will proceed to offer my own explanation by making one remark which I will urge you to bear constantly in mind. It is this: that caste in the singular number is an unreality. Castes exist only in the plural number. There is no such thing as a caste: there are always castes. To illustrate my meaning: while making themselves into a caste, the Brahmans, by virtue of this, created a non-Brahman caste; or, to express it in my own way, while closing themselves in they closed others out. I will clear my point by taking another illustration. Take India as a whole with its various communities designated by the various creeds to which they owe allegiance, to wit, the Hindus, Muhammadans, Jews, Christians and Parsis. Now, barring the Hindus, the rest within themselves are non-caste communities. But with respect to each other they are castes. Again, if the first four enclose themselves, the Parsis are directly closed out, but are indirectly closed in. Symbolically, if group A. wants to be endogamous, group B. has to be so by sheer force of circumstances.

Now apply the same logic to the Hindu society and you have another explanation of the "fissiparous" character of caste, as a consequence of the virtue of self-duplication that is inherent in it. Any innovation that seriously antagonises the ethical, religious and social code of the Caste is not likely to be tolerated by the Caste, and the recalcitrant members of a Caste are in danger of being thrown out of the Caste, and left to their own fate without having the alternative of being admitted into or absorbed by other Castes. Caste rules are inexorable and they do not wait to make nice distinctions between kinds of offence. Innovation may be of any kind, but all kinds will suffer the same penalty. A novel way of thinking will create a new Caste for the old ones will not tolerate it. The noxious thinker respectfully called Guru (Prophet) suffers the same fate as the sinners in illegitimate love. The former creates a caste of the nature of a religious sect and the latter a type of mixed caste. Castes have no mercy for a sinner who has the courage to violate the code. The penalty is excommunication and the result is a new caste. It is not peculiar Hindu psychology that induces the excommunicated to form themselves into a caste: far from it. On the contrary, very often they have been quite

willing to be humble members of some caste (higher by preference) if they could be admitted within its fold. But castes are enclosed units and it is their conspiracy with clear conscience that compels the excommunicated to make themselves into a caste. The logic of this obdurate circumstance is merciless, and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves enclosed, because others in enclosing, themselves have closed them out, with the result that new groups (formed on any basis obnoxious to the caste rules) by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into castes to a bewildering multiplicity. Thus is told the second tale in the process of Caste formation in India.

Now to summarise the main points of my thesis. In my opinion there have been several mistakes committed by the students of Caste, which have misled them in their investigations. European students of Caste have unduly emphasised the rôle of colour in the caste-system. Themselves impregnated by colour prejudices, they very readily imagined it to be the chief factor in the Caste problem. But nothing can be farther from the truth, and Dr. Ketkar is correct when he insists that "All the princes whether they belonged to the so-called Aryan race, or the so-called Dravidian race, were Aryas. Whether a tribe or a family was racially Aryan or Dravidian was a question which never troubled the people of India, until foreign scholars came in and began to draw the line. The colour of the skin had long ceased to be a matter of importance."† Again, they have mistaken mere descriptions for explanation and fought over them as though they were theories of origin. There are occupational, religious, etc. castes, it is true, but it is by no means an explanation of the origin of Caste. We have yet to find out why occupational groups are castes; but this question has never even been raised. Lastly they have taken Caste very lightly as though a breath had made it. On the contrary, Caste, as I have explained it, is almost impossible to be sustained: for the difficulties that it involves are tremendous. It is true that Caste rests on belief, but before belief comes to be the foundation of an institution, the institution itself needs to be perpetuated and fortified. My study of the Caste problem involves four main points: (1) That in spite of the composite make-up of the Hindu population, there is a deep cultural unity. (2) That Caste is a parcelling into bits of a larger cultural unit. (3) That there was one Caste to start with. (4) That classes have become Castes through imitation and excommunication.

Peculiar interest attaches to the problem of Caste in India to-day, as persistent attempts are being made to do away with this unnatural institution. Such attempts at reform, however, have aroused a great deal of controversy regarding its origin, as to whether it is due to the conscious command of a Supreme Authority, or is an unconscious growth in the life of a human society under peculiar circumstances. Those who hold the latter view will, I hope, find some food for thought in the standpoint adopted in this paper. Apart from its practical importance the subject of Caste is an all absorbing problem and the interest aroused in me regarding its theoretic foundations has moved me to put before you some of the conclusions, which seem to me well founded, and the grounds upon which they may be supported. I am not, however, so presumptuous as to think them in any way final, or anything more than a contribution to a discussion of the subject. It seems to me that the car has been shunted on wrong lines, and the primary object of the paper is to indicate what I regard to be the right path of investigation, with a view to arrive at a serviceable truth. We must, however, guard against approaching the subject with a bias.

† *History of Caste* p. 82.

Sentiment must be outlawed from the domain of science and things should be judged from an objective standpoint. For myself I shall find as much pleasure in a positive destruction of my own ideology, as in a rational disagreement on a topic, which, notwithstanding many learned disquisitions is likely to remain controversial for ever. To conclude, while I am ambitious to advance a Theory of Caste, if it can be shown to be untenable I shall be equally willing to give it up.

SOME REMARKS SUPPLEMENTING "THE MANUSMRITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS"¹.

BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, Esq., BOMBAY.

IN the *Mahābhārata*, (Bombay University ed. 1914), Droṇap^o VII. 1 (p. 283), Droṇāchārya speaks of his qualifications as a general before the Kauravas gathered together to elect a generalissimo in the place of Bhishma. He tells us:—

“ वेदं षडङ्गं वेदाहमर्थविद्यां च मानवीम्
वैद्यम्वकमयेष्वहं स(अ)स्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥ ”

“I know the Vedas with their six branches (of sciences), the *Arthavidyā* of Manu, the science of discharging the arrows presided over by Siva, and various other *śāstras* (weapons).”

This passage of the *Mahābhārata* may help us in concluding that there must be, or, at least, have been, a great book on politics and military affairs composed by Manu. It may form an independent treatise, or it may form a large section in the *Mānavadharmasūtra*. In the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (Mysore, *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* No. 37), we find in its latter portion, consisting of about two hundred pages, Chāṇakya's thoughts on, and the rules worked out for, military purposes. When we compare the portion of the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya with what is said in the *Manusmṛiti*, ch. VII, we discover a vast difference between the two. The *Manusmṛiti* enunciates only general principles of warfare. We cannot think that the study of these verses of the seventh chapter will ever qualify a man for the command of a big army, or entitle him to boast of his proficiency in military matters. Hence, we think, that the “*Mānavi Arthavidyā*” must be on a scale similar to that of the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya and, that *Manusmṛiti* VII is an abridgment of the rules therein.

Perhaps some may take the term “अर्थविद्यां च मानवीम्” in other senses than we have taken it. It might be translated as the “*Arthavidyā* of human beings.” There is no particular reason to prefer this translation, because Droṇāchārya has not spoken of any science or *vidyā* belonging to some other (say, heavenly) beings.

Believing then that the *Arthasāstra* of Manu is referred to by Droṇāchārya, we would point out here one or two confirmations of this conclusion.

Some of the quotations, standing against the name of the followers of Manu (“इति मानवाः”) in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, cannot be traced to the present *Manusmṛiti*. May it not be that they are to be found in the *Dharmasāstra* (or perhaps in the *Dharmasūtras*) of Manu which yet lies somewhere hidden away unprinted? Nārada and Bṛhaspati claim allegiance to Manu. They differ much from the *Manusmṛiti*. Hence it may be that the source of some of their rules may prove to be the *Dharmasāstra* of Manu, which may include also the *Arthavidyā*, proudly mentioned by Droṇāchārya before the Kaurava warriors.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XLV., pp. 112-115; 125-129.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA,

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 78.)

The usurpation of Rustam Khan.

In the midst of all this danger and distress, Chokkanātha behaved like a fool and a weakling. He employed his time in the reading of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other sacred books. He ignored the duties and responsibilities of royalty and became for all intents and purposes, a recluse. Either his recklessness and incapacity or the discontent¹⁰ of his ministers led to the entrusting of the administration in the hands of his brother Muttu Alakādrī. Alakādrī, however, was an incompetent man. He had at the same time a fatal proneness to the company of doubtful persons and dangerous favourites. He raised to power and prominence a Muhammadan, Rustam Khan¹¹ by name, who had entered his service under circumstances of dire poverty. Entrusting all the affairs of administration in his hands, Muttu Alakādrī, like his brother, spent his time in culpable indolence or active oppression; and Rustam paid his master's generosity with treachery. A sudden access to power, instead of gratifying his desires, increased his ambition, and aimed at the mastery and possession of the kingdom. He first strengthened himself by inviting and engaging a number of Muhammadans, on whose faith he could thoroughly rely, in the service of the State. The fort of Trichinopoly came in this way to be guarded by his men. He then boldly demanded the withdrawal of his benefactor from his kingdom or his death. The timidity of Muttu Alakādrī yielded to the Musalman's threat, and he became an exile at Negapatam. Rustam Khan then confined the king within the palace, treated him with indignity, and for two years exercised the full duties of royalty,—not sparing even the honour of the harem ladies, many of whom preferred death to shame.

The downfall of Rustam.

Thus it was that, while Trichinopoly was at the mercy of exultant foreigners at its gates, its internal condition was most miserable and deplorable. The king was a prisoner, his brother an exile, and the city the property of Rustam Khan. At a moment when union and efficiency was needed, it was distracted and weakened by internal broils and jealousies. Affairs would have become still worse, but for the loyalty of the Daḷavāi, Gōvindappaiya, the Polygars, and Kīlavan Sētopati. The Daḷavāi organised a strong Hindu party for the restoration of the king. The means he adopted were ingenious. He sent a secret message to Chinna Kadir Nāik, the chief of Kannivāḍi,¹² and the Sētopati,

¹⁰ The Telugu Mackenzie MS. *Record of the affairs of Carn. Goers.*, says that Chokkanātha directed his brother to manage affairs, himself being employed in religious pursuits. Nelson, however, says that the deplorable weakness of Chokkanātha led to the discontent of the ministers, his deposition, and the entrusting of the administration in the hands of Muttu Alakādrī. The one version thus makes Alakādrī the friend of his brother, while the other his rival and opponent. For an inscription of Muttu Alakādrī see *ante*. Unfortunately it sheds no light on the relation between the brothers, but from the fact that, it does not mention Chokkanātha, while it mentions Śrī Rāṅga Rāya as his suzerain, it can perhaps be inferred that he was a rebel and not regent.

¹¹ According to the *Hist. of the Carn. Dyn.*, which does not mention the name of Alakādrī at all, it was Chokkanātha that raised him to position and wealth.

¹² See the genealogy of Appaiya Nāik of Kannivāḍi.

asking them to come to Trichinopoly. On their arrival¹⁴ he related the condition of the king and the cause of their summons, and proposed that next day they should come at the head of a well-armed section of their troops to the revenue office with a view to seizing the person of the obnoxious Muhammadan. The next day the chiefs and their retinue appeared at the gates of the office. Rustam Khan's suspicion was aroused, and he inquired into the reasons of the unusual procedure. Gōvindappaia, however, answered that they were coming, in accordance with precedents, for the settlement of the revenues, but in secret gave the signal for attack. Two thousand musket-shots, then, assailed the Muhammadan and his men, and put an end to their existence before they could hardly recover from their surprise. The Dinjigul Polygar carried the welcome news to the king, but he refused to come out, unless he saw with his own eyes the head of the traitor. Chinna Kadir replied that it was not possible to bring it, as Rustam's body could not be distinguished from those of his companions; but the king persisted in his desire, asserting that the discovery was easy enough from a mark in the adventurer's ear. The body was then discovered and the head being placed before Chokkanātha, he emerged from the palace and once again assumed the charge of affairs. His first act was to recall his brother from Negapatam.

The Mysorean and Maratha incursions.

But the relief of Chokkanātha from domestic enemies did not give him relief from his foreign enemies. The Marathas and the Mysoreans had by this time overthrown the whole of the Madura kingdom. They now, in 1682, encompassed Trichinopoly. Chokkanātha tried to adopt a wise policy of diplomacy and intrigue, to foment their disunion and cause their destruction. With this view he entered into negotiations with the lieutenant of Santoji against Mysore. It was, as the immediate result shewed, a wise act. The Maratha general encountered the forces of Kumāra Raya, defeated them with great slaughter, captured Kumāra Raya himself, and conquered the whole kingdom, except Madura. Even Madura he would have taken but for the assistance which the Maravas rendered to the other party.¹⁵ Chokkanātha rejoiced at his ally's success; he expected that, in return for his alliance and assistance, he would get back his possessions. But he was mistaken. The Maratha's selfishness blinded him to the obligation of treaty, and instead of restoring the kingdom to Chokkanātha, he seized it himself. The military occupation of the Marathas was a disaster to the people of the unfortunate kingdom.

The death of Chokkanātha.

It was a blow from which Chokkanātha never recovered. The cup of his grief was now full. Friendless and powerless, shut up at Trichinopoly, he became a prey to despair and melancholy. Even the Sētupati, who had rescued him from the obnoxious Rustam, became a passive traitor. He, indeed, did not openly join the Marathas and Mysoreans against his master. Nevertheless, he was present in the seat of war, and while freely collecting booty, did not raise his finger on behalf of his suzerain. It is not improbable

¹⁴ Nelson gives a different account. He says that the Mysoreans under Kumāra Rāya were then besieging Trichinopoly; that Rustam made a sally and attacked him, but was defeated; and that when he was returning to the city with a few followers, Chokkanātha's friends (Sētupati, etc.) fell upon them and cut them down to a man.

¹⁵ The Maravas were the enemies of both the combatants and would have gladly taken the city for themselves; but as it was, they had, in consequence of their inability to take it, to join that party which was likely to prove the most amenable neighbour to them; and they thought Mysore was comparatively the better.

that in the low state to which Chokkanātha's fortunes had been reduced, the Sētopati saw the practical extinction of the Madura kingdom, and felt the restoration of its ancient greatness to be a forlorn hope, and therefore thought of his own security, and assumed an air of indifference. It is also possible that his non-interference was the consequence of his inability, for between 1678 and 1685 his country was ruined by a dreadful famine, which made many people leave the dead on the banks of rivers.¹⁶ In any case Chokkanātha lost the support of his most resourceful vassal at the most critical moment. The kingdom, he now realised, was beyond recovery, and the sense of its loss was so keen as to break his heart and end his days in a few weeks.

The cause of the failure.

Such was the tragic conclusion of the reign of Chokkanātha. An impartial examination of his reign shews that his failure was essentially the result of his character. Unfortunate in coming to the throne at a very young age, and unfortunate in his servants and ministers, Chokkanātha was, indeed, to a large extent a fate's failure; but he had for his greatest enemy, himself. His vanity and pride involved him in wars, which wisdom would have avoided. All his misfortunes can be traced to the illfated Tanjore invasion, and that was caused by his quickness to take offence, his oversensitiveness to an old man's words. Chokkanātha was, further, a creature of moods. To-day he would act with commendable vigour, to-morrow he would lead a life of culpable indolence. Essentially a weak man, he was not fit for an age of storm and stress. The wild Maratha was carrying everything before him and even strong kings trembled at his name. The greedy Mysorean was not far behind in search of prey and profit. Within the kingdom itself there was, thanks to an inefficient central government, restlessness and sedition among its vassals. And yet at such a time, Chokkanātha forsook politics for religion and the sword for the altar. No wonder he became the tool of his own destruction, and the destruction of his kingdom.

NOTES ON THE TANJORE-MADURA AFFAIRS BETWEEN 1675 AND 1680.

Wilson's version of the events between 1675 and 1680, based most probably on one of the MSS., which is unfortunately not available, is very different from that which has been given above, and is plainly inaccurate. He says that Sengamala Dās, the Tanjore prince, escaped from Trichinopoly with the aid of Rustam Khan "who had been a favourite of Chokkanātha and who commanded the garrison under the orders of Mudala Rudra Nayak (Alakadri Naik), the brother of Chokkanātha, an extravagant and indolent prince who lavished on his personal gratification the sums destined for the pay of the troops." The army had become discontented, and Rustam took advantage of this to become the master of Trichinopoly. It was now that Sengamala Das was allowed to escape. He proceeded to Jingi and asked its king, Ekoji, to advance against Madura. The latter soon came near Srirangam. At the same time the Raja of Mysore encroached in the west. Chokkanātha's position was thus very precarious. His kingdom was attacked on one side by Ekoji and on the other by Mysore, the latter being so powerful

¹⁶ Chandler.

as to capture Madura itself and occupy it for three years. The internal government was a chaos owing to Rustam Khan. Unable to maintain the shadow of his power, Chokkanātha tried negotiations in despair. He first succeeded in purchasing the return of the Mysoreans by surrendering Erode and Dharapuram to them. He then, with Kilavan Setupati's help, dispersed the troops of Seṅgamala Dās, and re-occupied Tanjore. He finally recovered Trichinopoly from Rustam Khan, who lost his life in the defence. The Raja of Jingi retreated to his dominions, and Chokkanātha was thus able to be in the tranquil possession of the patrimonial possessions.

But he was soon destined to lose his acquisition of Tanjore. For the fugitive prince, Sengamala Dās, had recourse to Ekoji, who was then at Bangalore under the nominal authority of Bijapur. He readily agreed to undertake his restoration. The confederates marched to Tanjore and expelled the Madura forces. But Ekoji usurped the throne, and forthwith entered into a confederacy with his late enemy Chokkanātha against Sivaji. All this took place between 1675 and 1680.

The *Bhosalapratāpam*, says Wilson, gives a different account. It says that the Prince, of Trichinopoly applied to Shahji for assistance against Vijaya Rāghava of Tanjore, that Shahji helped him in the overthrow of Vijaya Rāghava and the capture of Tanjore; and that he then expelled his ally and seized the kingdom. He left it then under his son Ekoji.

SECTION III.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THIS REIGN.

A word may be said about the progress of Christianity in this reign. The organization of the dioceses and the activities of the Paṇḍāram and Sanyāsi missionaries, had a very perceptible effect, and brought thousands of people into the Christian fold. By 1677, for instance, the Nāik capital itself had as many as 2000 Christians. It is said that, about 1650, the Christians were, according to the Governor of Trichinopoly, "everywhere and could not be counted." In 1676 Father Frere wrote that the Christians of Tanjore were numerous enough to emigrate to Ceylon and Malacca. In Tanjore the Pariah Christians had the full control of the royal elephants and horses, and were so far advanced as to organize a strike and compel the authorities to treat them better. Christianity¹⁷ flourished even more in Madura and boasted of recruits from all classes of the population,—Brahmans, weavers of rank and wealth, salt merchants, and blacksmiths, the Pariahs, Pallans, Paravas and mendicants of all castes.

This enormous increase in the Christian population naturally gave rise to persecution in various places. The historian will always note the commendable spirit of toleration which distinguished Hindu kings in general; but it was not always the case. There were not lacking, even in the most liberal age, chiefs and officers that resorted to persecution. In Trichinopoly, for instance, the governor, the chief civil authority of the province, was a determined opponent and persecutor of the Christians, and countenanced an important official under him, the chief of the customs, a Valaiyan by caste, to lead with impunity an anti-Christian crusade. The animosity of this officer, however, was due as much to economic as to religious reasons. He imagined that the Christians were exceedingly rich, and incited some of his own relations, who had been living in poverty in the neighbourhood of the Church at Trichinopoly, to plunder it. Proenza, the missionary Paṇḍāram then in charge, got a warning of the impending attack and escaped to Kandalur. The raiders found

¹⁷ Manucci, writing about 1700, says that there were "more than 100 churches under the Jesuit mission," and the Christians were increasing in number. *Storia do Mogor III*, 106.

nothing to gratify their avarice. When Proenza subsequently returned, they accused him of sorcery and of having caused a Valaiyan to be possessed, and the governor ordered his arrest.

The persecution and trial of Proenza.

Proenza once again made his escape, but not to a place outside Trichinopoly. He went to the Nâik commander of the army, a man of broad mind and kindly nature, whose friendly attitude to the Christian religion was well known. The general, an uncle of the king at Madura and therefore a person of great influence in the Court and council, gave refuge to Proenza, and at his instigation induced the governor to order a public trial, so that the preacher could prove his innocence to the world. It was a plausible request, and the governor appointed judges. These however were his tools and decided that the accusation of the Valaiyans was right. The general however refused to recognize the sham trial and sent men to his nephew to inform him of the event. The governor also sent his decision. The Da avâi-Pradhâni at Madura thereupon ordered a retrial of the case, and at the same time expressed a desire to see a record of the evidence. The result was, that the evidence of the Valaiyan was found to be of no value and Proenza was acquitted.

Other missionaries of the period.

The Christians had many similar annoyances; but opposition gave them strength and increased their numbers. In all this they had to thank their leaders, Arcolini and Proenza in Trichinopoly, Stephen and De Silva in Madura, De Costa and Alvarez in Tanjore, Frere and others in the East Coast. Alvarez, who died in June 1664, after 21 years of glorious service, was a fit successor of De Nobilis and Martins. Proenza, an Italian of Lombardy, was an equally great man. Historically he occupies a more conspicuous place, as it was around him the court intrigues in Trichinopoly were very active. Indifferent to personal violence and physical suffering he used to make long excursions north of Trichinopoly for the sake of the Pariahs, the special objects of his solicitude, in one of which excursions he died of sheer exhaustion. Between 1670 and 1680 the work of the mission declined in the Western region in Satyamañgalam, while it increased in activity in the Coromandel coast from Jingi to Ramnad. The progress in the northern part of the region, in the basin of the Coleroon, was due to the untiring labours of Father Frere, and in the southern part to the labours of the singularly remarkable saint and sage, who came to Madura as the head of the mission. This was the celebrated John de Britto, a sage, who as a preacher and servant of God, was perhaps greater, certainly purer, than De Nobilis himself.

Jean de Britto.

Jean de Britto was born at Lisbon of illustrious parents in March 1647. His father Don Pereyra was a favourite of the Duke of Braganza, later on king, then governor of Rio de Janeiro. His mother Donna Beatrix, was a highborn woman of a lively intellect and religious bent of mind. De Britto shewed the spirit of a saint and a martyr even in his youth, when he was under the instruction of the Jesuits. So serious and solemn he was in his studies that his companions called him a martyr, little dreaming that the aristocratic child was after all destined to die thousands of miles away amidst a sturdy and bigoted race, for the sake of Christ and the Cross. In December 1662, De Britto became, in spite of the dissuasions of the Infanta whose companion and playmate he was and of the queen-regent, a member of the society of Jesus; and after eleven years of

close study and serious preparation, chose South India, the scene of the labours of his cherished hero, Xavier, for his own scene of labours. In 1673 he came to Goa and from there, after the completion of his theological studies, attached himself to the Madura Mission.

From the moment of De Britto's entrance into Madura he began to experience the trials and pangs of a martyr. Rarely indeed has it fallen to the lot of any other missionary in India such a lot as befell him. Before his advent the city of Madura alone had been a centre of Christian activity. The neighbouring villages had been free from it. The advent of De Britto ruffled, in the eyes of his adversaries, this tranquillity of the religious atmosphere and gave rise to a period of storm and excitement. The priests and leaders of Hinduism regarded his intrusion with alarm and set aflame the torch of persecution. The footsteps of the missionary began to be dogged more by his opponents than by his followers, and the voice of his sermon was drowned by the lamentations of his disciples and the exultant cries of his persecutors. On one occasion, while he was at a village near Madura, he was assailed, put in chains, and tortured. Twice the ominous axe was brought, and the calm bearing, the uncomplaining resignation of the pious victim alone unnerved the arm and overcame the zeal of the executioner. De Britto's object, however, was not to work in the vicinity of Madura. He longed to carry the light of his faith to the land of the Maravas, where, he understood, the religion of Christ had not been preached for a long time.

The reception accorded to him here was, if possible, more cruel. The Maravas, fierce in valour and fiercer in prejudice, differed indeed in many respects from the orthodox Hindus, but they were Hindus all the same. Fondly attached to their creed, they regarded with hatred those who dared to revile the god who, in their legendary history, had blessed their land and given it his name. Their glory, their tradition, their very life was bound up with the law of Râma. They were Râma's men, his chosen people,—their great pride was in declaring and cherishing the belief in it. To such a race, the preachings of the new missionary were singularly obnoxious. To see Râma denounced and dethroned, to hear his divinity questioned and his greatness belittled was, in their eyes, not only a wanton insult on their nation, but a crime the enormity of which they could not sufficiently condemn. It is not surprising therefore that De Britto had every opportunity of becoming a martyr.

The leader of the anti-Christian movement was a Marava general, one of the most influential men in the land. Endowed more with religious zeal than martial valour, this pious soldier followed De Britto in all his movements, and subjected him, through his agents, to a crowd of troubles and difficulties. In the vicinity of Sivagaṅga, whither De Britto had gone, he was seized and taken to the presence of the Sêtopati. On the way, he was treated with a singular cruelty. Fettered and tortured he was kept bound, for the space of two days, bound to the stumps of trees. Cords were attached to his frame and he was frequently dipped into a tank. Brought before the important shrine of Kâlayâr Kôil, he was suspended to a tree by cords fastened to his feet and hands so that he could look with repentance on the god whose name had had reviled. He was confined in a dark dungeon for eleven days and given meagre food. Suffering, however, gave a new strength and a new enthusiasm to De Britto. The great object of his life was, as has been already mentioned, to get the name of a martyr, to die for the sake of the Cross. The ultimate goal of his ambition was to be ranked with the saints and martyrs of early and mediæval Christianity. He

therefore provoked persecution and excited fanaticism. It is not surprising that when subsequently he was taken to a Siva temple north of Kālayār Kōil and asked to invoke the name of Siva, he refused, and was kicked and struck by the Hindu general. It was further resolved by his persecutors to deprive him of one of his hands and feet and then to impale. But the resolution was not carried out, though the followers of the missionary were mutilated by the loss of one foot, one hand, the ears, nose and tongue, and sent back to the homes which they had deserted. De Britto was then flogged and cast on an uneven rock and trampled by a number of men so that his body, pierced through and through, was in a welter of blood. These oppressions over, the missionary was taken to the Sêtipati's capital and confined first in a stable and then in a cell for twenty days. At the end of this period he was brought to the presence of the Sêtipati, and the latter after hearing the accusations against him and perhaps also his tale of woe, set him at liberty forbidding him, however, on pain of death, to continue his tirade against idol-worship and polygamy.

The divine patience of De Britto gained the admiration of the Father Provincial. Embracing the noble martyr with heart-felt affection, he pronounced his resolve to send him to the mother-country to select, in person, a number of men who could accompany him and share his trials. Early in 1688 De Britto, in consequence, left India and reached Lisbon at the end of the year. Honoured by prince and peasant, in the Court and in the country, the pious man of God, clad in Indian costume, was deservedly the picturesque cynosure of the pious section of his countrymen. People high and low, rich and poor, flocked to see the man, who had been born among princes of the proudest nation and who had chosen to suffer for the dark millions of a distant land; who might have graced the richest chambers of a palace, but who had preferred the cell of an Indian hut; who might have enjoyed every luxury, but who had chosen a life of abstinence entirely innocent of wine; who might have shone as a statesman or diplomatist figuring in the Courts of Europe, but who had chosen to be a wandering mendicant, to be flogged by Indian fanatics and persecuted by Indian princes.

De Britto soon returned to the scene of his labours and redoubled them among the people; and his industry was rewarded with a great conquest. One Tadia Tevan, a near relation of the Sêtipati and a man whose chance of ascending the *gadi* itself was not too remote, sacrificed all his chances for the sake of conviction and embraced the Christian religion. He met, however, a great obstacle in his fifth wife, a relative of the Sêtipati, who, unlike her three elder co-wives, refused to sacrifice her wifehood for the money he offered,—for the acceptance of Christianity made it necessary for Tanda Têvan to become a monogamist. The highborn lady engaged the most orthodox to dissuade her husband and tried, but in vain, every means. She then carried her grievance to the Sêtipati. The Marava world had been shocked by the invasion of the palace itself by the alien creed; and Kijavan felt himself bound to move with public opinion and pacify public agitation, by taking steps against the missionary. Orders were given to burn the church and arrest the preachers. De Britto was arrested and taken in fetters to the Sêtipati's capital. Compelled to run behind the horses, while the escorts held the chains, whipped

and jeered at, the saint was taken to the Sêtipati, and he, in response to the advice of his advisers, resolved to put an end to his life. Unwilling to shed the blood himself or afraid of the rebellion of Tadia Tevan's men, he sent the father to a brother of his, Uđaya Tevan, then evidently a local chief on the Pâmban. The latter, a lame man, asked the missionary to cure him of his lameness by his magic—for, all this time the universal impression was that he was a magician and deluder of men's minds—and on his pleading inability, it was taken for unwillingness, and he was taken to the scaffold, erected in a plain and seen by all men, tied to a post, and cut to pieces, after the severance of the head from the body. Even the right of burial was denied and the corpse was left to be devoured by birds and beasts.

De Britto¹⁸ had gained his great object—martyrdom. It was in 1693, (February).

Such is the life and career of De Britto.¹⁹ The historian cannot but have a deep affection for his personality. A more inspiring, ennobling, sincere or profound martyr never came to India. Compared with that of De Nobilis, it will be readily noticed that his moral influence was greater, his character more tender and sympathetic. There was much hypocrisy and more self-contradiction in De Nobilis; but De Britto was all sincerity, a personification of uniform and shining virtues. De Nobilis might have been more astonishingly equipped for the work of controversy, he might have even a longer number of the accredited prophetic gifts; but while his genius and his intellectual powers can be readily recognized, it is certain that he is at a distance from De Britto in the beauty of character and the sincerity of God's servant.

In a sketch of the activities of the Madura Mission; one thing should always be remembered,—namely that the Madura missionaries, in the enthusiasm of their propaganda, forgot the spirit of their own gospel and persecuted the other Christians who, like them, wanted to elevate the heathen. A remarkable example of the narrow sectarianism of the Jesuits is clear in a case of Christian converts at Uttamapālayam in 1680. One of these Christians "went to the Syrian Christians in the mountains of Travancore, and represented to their bishop that in Uttamapālayam, at the foot of the mountains on the Madura side, there were several Brahman converts who had not accepted baptism at the hands of the Jesuits, because they regarded them as Parangis. He was asked to come and baptize them, and with them a great prince of that region. The bishop sent an Italian Carmelite, and he went in his European dress to the church at Uttamapālayam. The catechist there begged him to avoid lowcaste neophytes, and because he refused to do that, withdrew with the whole congregation, and there shut him out of the church. The Carmelite's guide abandoned him and the Hindus would not help him, so that the poor man, forsaken in a strange country, disappeared, and probably perished. The Madura priests approved of the catechist's action."²⁰

¹⁸ O. H. MSS., II, 223.

¹⁹ The life of Constantius Beschi is important more for its literary than its religious work. I have therefore dealt with it in Chap. XI.

²⁰ Chandler: *Madura Mission*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Rāṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, (1682-1689).

On the death of Chokkanātha, his son, Rāṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, a youth²¹ of sixteen, came to the throne. Never did a ruler ever inherit a throne under such gloomy circumstances or had to meet, at the outset of his career, a situation so doubtful and so dangerous. The incompetence and indiscretion of Chokkanātha had reduced the kingdom to the narrow confines of a single city. The rest of his extensive dominions was either under the actual occupation of foreigners, or a prey to rival adventurers. The people experienced a series of miseries unrivalled in the past and unimaginable in the future. The evils of anarchy and military occupation manifested themselves to the fullest extent, and filled the realm with sorrow and misery. In the name of the rival powers, robbers and adventurers, whose meat and drink was plunder, and whose turbulence and cruelty defied the discipline of authority and the sentiment of humanity, roamed throughout the land, occupied the forts of the realm, thronged the high roads, and out-stripped one another and the soldiers in the work of destruction. A bold, strong and determined man and saviour was the cry of the moment. A soldier and far-seeing statesman was the need of the hour, a person who combined the vigour of the sword with the sympathy of a people's king. Therein lay the one hope of Madura, the one chance of recovery or rebirth. Another Viśvanātha or Aryanātha, in other words, was an imperative necessity.

Rāṅga Kṛishṇa's character and adventures.

Fortunately the new king²² was, though young in age, old in wisdom and mature in counsels. He had the activity of habit and the keenness of intellect, characteristic of a soldier-statesman. In his character, enthusiasm was coupled in harmonious combination with discretion, and excellent qualities of the head with those of the heart. Excepting Viśvanātha I, he was the most amiable and picturesque of the Nāik dynasty. His charming personality roused the admiration of his courtiers, the loyalty of his servants, and the affection of his subjects. He was gaiety itself. He loved fun and adventure. He loved to surprise men by his unexpected visits in unexpected places, in unexpected garbs. One

²¹ According to the *Pand. Chron.* he ruled from Rudhirōtkāri (1683) Aḍi 17th, to Pramōdhūta (1691) i. e. for 8 years. According to *Suppl. MS.*, from Vibhava to Bhava (i. e., 1688-1695); the *Carna. Govrs.* also says, from Vibhava to Bhava. The *Telugu Carn. Dyn.* says he ruled from Bahudhānya (1698 A. D.) to Vijaya (1767 A. D.). The correct date is about 1682-1689, and is proved by epigraphy. The epigraphical evidences in regard to this reign however are very meagre. In his *Antiquities* Sewell mentions only one inscription, at Arumbāvur, 14 miles N. W. of Parambalur in Trichinopoly district. It says that in 1686 Rāṅga Kṛishṇa repaired a sluice there. (*Antiquities*, I, p. 263). An inscription of 1657 A. D. (Hēvijambī) says that Rāṅga Kṛishṇa gave some lands in the villages of Tīrimalasam dam and Pudukkujam in the Tinnevely District to a Brahman. In connection with this inscription Sewell remarks "that the date and cyclic year correspond, but the sovereign mentioned as the donor commenced his reign at Madura in A. D. 1682, and reigned seven years." He therefore believes that the grant might possibly have been given before he became the ruling king. If this were the case, Rāṅga Kṛishṇa would have been more than 25 years old at his accession; but the chronicles say that he was only 16 then. It is thus impossible to reconcile the date of this inscription with that of the chronicles. (For the inscription see *Antiquities*, II, p. 7.)

²² According to Wheeler, he was sixteen when he ascended the throne and his mother, Maṅgammā, acted as Regent. Wheeler notes that he was a skilful horseman and had a memory that could repeat the whole *Bhagavadgītā* by heart. He also notes his love for Brahmins, his visit to foreign Courts in disguise, and the dignified way in which he behaved towards the Mughal's slipper.

evening, for instance, he rode, as was always the case with him, alone and unattended to Tanjore, and entering the fort at night, borrowed from a merchant in the bazaar street a pagoda on the deposit of his ring, and used it for his expenses. After a spare diet of milk and butter, he put on the guise and dress of a common sepoy, and entered the king's palace in the dark. Going to the audience hall, he heard with his own ears the discussion of the affairs of the kingdom between the king and his ministers. On his departure,²³ we are told, he wrote on the door leading from the throne-hall to the private apartments the fact of his arrival and his attendance during the discussion of state affairs. The next morning he left for Trichinopoly, promising to redeem the ring soon after. Immediately after his return, he called for the Tanjore ambassador, spoke to him of his adventure, and asked him to write to his master, requesting the redeeming of the ring and advising him to maintain a more vigilant guard in the palace.

A similar story illustrative of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa's heroism and bravery is not out of place here. The Polygar of Ariyalūr had in his possession four things of priceless value, a beautiful²⁴ camel, an elephant, a sword and a horse. The predecessors of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa had expressed a desire for these things, but owing to the unwillingness of the Polygar and their own judicious moderation, which scorned the application of force, they had not obtained them. Raṅga Kṛṣṇa now resolved to get possession of them by some means. With that spirit of daring enterprise which formed the chief feature of his character, he rode alone to Ariyalūr, bidding his Sirdars and troops follow at a distance. Forcing his way into the town, he reached the palace, and seating himself on the verandah outside, sent word, through the servants, of his arrival. The Polygar, a Nāyanār, who was then engaged in his toilet operations, was taken by surprise and seized with apprehension. A visit of his suzerain, so unusual and so sudden, so simple and so unceremonious, foreboded, in his eyes, some disaster or disgrace. He therefore hastily finished his work and, accompanied by his children, hurried to present himself before his sovereign, and placed, at his feet, as a mark of homage, a dish full of gems and jewels. In an attitude of humble and respectful loyalty, the Polygar then asked his master for the object of his condescension; and when Raṅga Kṛṣṇa mentioned it, he expressed a tactful regret that he put himself to such trouble for such a paltry purpose; that a single line in writing would have sufficed. The Polygar therefore readily surrendered the objects of his master's desire, an act in which he was, no doubt, actuated by a feeling of fear at the reported approach of an army. The elephant, however, was then subject to a fit and too furious to be approached by anyone. But the bold daring of the Madura monarch, undertook, in the face of loyal protests, the task which none of his servants could dare. With his fine and fleet horse, a noble breed of white, he approached the elephant, and by a series of skilful manoeuvres succeeded in enticing it to Trichinopoly, where the rest of the work of subjugation was undertaken by skilful mahouts. The king had, however, to pay dearly for his new acquisition; for his noble steed, the instrument of his gain, dropped down dead, owing to exhaustion and overwork, the moment he alighted from it.

(To be continued.)

²³ Compare the story about Kanthirava Narasa Rāj of Mysore (1639-55) who once went incognito to Trichinopoly and slew in a duel the champion of that Court. Wilks' *Mysore*, I, p. 30.

²⁴ The camel was called Rāma-Lakṣmī, the sword Chinna Rāma Bāṇa, the elephant Rāṇa Virabhadra, and the horse Muttu Kucchu. The names remind the similar ones prevalent among the Mughals. See, for example, Manucci's *Storia del Mogor*. M. J. Wodehouse compares Rāj a Kṛṣṇa to the chivalrous James V of Scotland. See *Ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 22-26.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

4. Englishmen's Furniture and its Cost in 1682.

14. August 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. There being a great want of Household stuff for this Factory, especially of Chaires, Tables and one or two Couteches, and Mr. Field having belonging to him one dozen of Chaires and a Couch made of Teake wood, it is ordered they be bought for the Companies Account, the Chaires at 2½ rupees each and the Couch 2½ pagodas, which he affirms to be the true cost of them, and that Mr. Field is desired to furnish us from Madapollam with as

many more of the same sort, the nouse being soe bare since the removall of the late Chief [i. e. John Field who had been transferred to Madapollam in July 1682] that some of the roomes therein have not above 4 old Chaires in it, much to the Discredit of our honorable Masters. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

Note.—The value of the rupee in Madras at this period was about two shillings and four pence and of the pagoda about eight shillings so that the chairs fetched about five shillings a piece and the couch twelve shillings.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, being the Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal prize-essay for 1909. By SHRI PAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D., pp. viii, 148. Poona, 1915.

In this little work the author seeks to provide a brief resumé of the total output in the shape of Indian literature bearing on Sanskrit Grammar from the earliest times upto the end of the eighteenth century. This is a long period: and within the scope of 148 pages of the octavo volume Dr. Belvalkar may be said to have achieved a great deal. The "Chronological Conspectus" which is a synchronistic table, showing at a glance the relative positions in point of time of the various grammarians, as well as a very exhaustive and carefully prepared Index, enhance the value of the work.

The book divides itself into short chapters devoted to the individual schools, in each of which an attempt is made to put together the available historical information about the founder of the school, characterise briefly the nature of the work and then follow the subsequent development through the maze of the out-growth of exegetical literature.

Dr. Belvalkar does not claim any originality for the views expressed in the book. The work is a compact little summary—rich in bibliography—of the labours of previous workers in the field, and serves the extremely useful purpose of collecting together in a very handy form the widely scattered material bearing on the subject. It should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing in *extenso* the many controversial points which are either only touched upon lightly by Dr. Belvalkar or no

noticed at all. In order to make my meaning clearer I shall give just one instance. It would have been, for example, interesting to know the views of the author with regard to the problem of the *Dhātupāṭha*. The well-known American Indologist, W. D. Whitney, alleged that the majority of roots contained in the *Dhātupāṭha* appended to our editions of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* is a purely fictitious product of the imagination of Indian Grammarians, who for some unknown reason took a perverse delight in multiplying their number almost *ad infinitum*. This is at best a very unsatisfactory explanation of the undeniable fact that a very large fraction of the roots of this list is not met with again in the extant Sanskrit literature. Paragraph 36 of Dr. Belvalkar's book, which deals with the *Dhātupāṭha* contains, however, no reference to the question; nor do I find from the Index any indication that it has been dealt with elsewhere.

The earliest history of Indian Grammar, like that of other Indian sciences, is for us shrouded in the impenetrable veil of antiquity. And Dr. Belvalkar does well perhaps not to lose himself in vague speculations as to the origin of the science (regarding which there is bound to be a great divergence of opinion) but to restrict himself mainly to the historical epoch. In the latter period the author distinguishes twelve distinct schools, each of which has been the focus of further independent development. The first grammarian on the list is naturally Pāṇini. A somewhat detailed treatment is allotted to this school, which takes up nearly one third of the whole volume. But even the short notices of the less known schools, such as the

Kramadīvara, Saupadma, Śārasvata, etc., are welcome, inasmuch as they contain information gleaned from sources which are not within easy reach of every one.

In the portion dealing with Pāṇini and his school we read at p. 29: "Kātyāyana's work, the *vartikas*, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable," and further on, p. 33: "his [scil. Patañjali's] chief aim was to vindicate Pāṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana." It would appear from this that Dr. Belvalkar has overlooked a small brochure of Kielhorn's entitled "*Kātyāyana and Patañjali: to their mutual relation each other and to Pāṇini*," (Bombay, 1876), written with the express purpose of combating this generally accepted but erroneous view and of demonstrating that many of Kātyāyana's *vartikas* are meant merely to explain the full scope of the *sūtras* of the *Aśādhya*: while on the other hand, that Patañjali is not such a blind hero-worshipper as one is apt to imagine, but that the charge of captious criticism may often be laid at his door as well.

The paragraphs dealing with Chandra and Śākaṭāyana take notice of a great deal of material scattered through various antiquarian journals, Indian as well as Continental. Some of the statements about the Jaina Śākaṭāyana call forth comment. Dr. Belvalkar accepts unreservedly a theory propounded by Prof. Pathak in a somewhat lengthy article entitled "Jain Sakatayana, contemporary with Amoghavaraha I" (*ante*, Vol. 43, p. 205 ff.), containing copious quotations from all kinds of works, which speaks for the erudition of the author but leaves the mind of the reader in unutterable confusion as to the issues involved and the solutions proposed. In this article Prof. Pathak elaborates the theory that the Jaina Śākaṭāyana wrote both the text and the commentary of the *Amoghavṛtti* which was composed in the reign of Amoghavaraha I. between Śaka 736 and 789. This statement involves two independent issues: (1) that Śākaṭāyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* and (2) that the *Amoghavṛtti* was written in the reign of Amoghavaraha I. The second of these propositions I shall leave aside for future consideration and restrict myself for the present to an examination

of the first one. Was Śākaṭāyana the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*? Of the reasons adduced by Prof. Pathak in support of his view, which deserve serious consideration, there are two; firstly, a conclusion to be drawn from certain statements of Yakshavarman the author of the *Chintāmaṇi*, in combination with the fact that the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Chintāmaṇi* contain many demonstrable phrases and sentences which are either identical with, or differ but very little from, each other; secondly, an explicit statement of Chidānanda Kavi (ca. A. D. 1700) to the effect that Śākaṭāyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*. The first point requires further elucidation. In v. 4 of the introductory stanza of the *Chintāmaṇi*, Yakshavarman tells us that his commentary is merely an abridgment of another very extensive commentary. His words may be interpreted to mean that the author of the latter work was Śākaṭāyana himself. In fact, this is the view I expressed in my dissertation on the Śākaṭāyana grammar (submitted to the University of Berlin early in 1914), which was already in press a long time before the appearance of this article of Prof. Pathak. But since hearing the opinion of so experienced a scholar, like Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, that my interpretation (and incidentally that of Prof. Pathak too) though grammatically possible, was not in consonance with Sanskrit idiom, I have given up my former view and hold now that the couplet in question is capable of an interpretation different from the one I gave to it. However, if Prof. Pathak adheres to the view that the verse in question must be interpreted in the way in which he does, it would be difficult to dislodge him from his standpoint. But even granting that the Professor's explanation is correct, his identification of the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* with Śākaṭāyana is by no means certain. For in substantiating this, Prof. Pathak relies mainly upon the identity of a large portion of the text of the *Chintāmaṇi* and the *Amoghavṛtti*, and attaches a totally wrong value to this circumstance. It is evident that, depending merely on the similarity of the two commentaries, it would be unsafe to conclude that the "extensive commentary" abridged by Yakshavarman must have been the *Amoghavṛtti* and can be no other. The Jainas are such ardent copyists and have at all times exhibited such an utter lack of originality, that it would never do to lose sight of—in their case

not the remote, but the very near—possibility of their both having copied from a common source. The Jaina grammarians especially vie with each other in carrying this tendency to a nauseating degree. In evidence I need only point out that not merely the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Chintāmaṇi*, but along with them also the *Rūpasiddhi* of Dayāpāla and the *Prakriyāsāṅgraha* of Abhayachandra Sūri, have in common not only short pieces of commentary on individual *sūtras*, but contain even lengthy portions of the text which are little more than exact reproductions of each other. Under these circumstances it is evident that it would be fatal to conclude arbitrarily that any one out of the above-mentioned works was a copy of any other chosen at random.

This may be said to be the negative side of the question. But a fact which speaks positively against this theory is supplied by Prof. Pathak himself on the very first page of the article in question. There the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*, after commenting on the Maṅgala stanza at the beginning of the Śākaṭāyana *sūtras*, adds by way of introducing the *pratyāhara-sūtras* the following: *etam kṛita-maṅgala-rakṣā-vidhānaḥ paripūrṇam-alpagantham lagh-Ūpāyam śabdānuśāsanam śāstramidaṁ mahā-śramaṇa-saṁghādhipatī bhagavān-āchāryaḥ śākaṭāyanaḥ prārabbhate.*

The author of the commentary thus refers to Śākaṭāyana with the words 'The revered Master (Grammarian) Śākaṭāyana! This, I think, is the strongest positive argument in favour of rejecting the identification of Śākaṭāyana with the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*. I am well aware that Indian authors are in the habit of referring to themselves in their own works in the third person. A well-known instance is that of Viśvānugupta, the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, subscribing his opinions with the words: *Kauṭilyaḥ iti*. But it will have to be admitted that there is a world of difference between the emphatic personal note struck by the words *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, added at the end of an epigrammatic saying, and the boastful self-praise conveyed by the *bhagavān-āchāryaḥ Śākaṭāyanaḥ* attributed to Śākaṭāyana. I hold that it will not be possible to find within the range of the whole of the Sanskrit literature a parallel for the alleged instance of an author referring to himself as the "revered master," or with like words.

The second point brought forth as evidence by Prof. Pathak, viz., the explicit statement of Chidānanda Kavi to the effect that Śākaṭāyana is the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* has at first sight the appearance of being more reliable. But it must be remembered that although Chidānanda Kavi is nearer to our grammarian than we by something like two centuries, nevertheless, he was separated by a period of nine centuries from the probable date of Śākaṭāyana, and is likely to have been informed as to who the real author of the *Amoghavṛtti* was, not any better than we at the present day. Until, therefore, some fresh and unequivocal evidence is brought to bear on the question, the authorship of this commentary will, in my opinion, continue to be an unsolved problem.

To turn to other matters. At p. 69 we read: "He [*scil.* Kielhorn] inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer, who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspices of a revered name, carefully trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śākaṭāyana." Dr. Belvalkar seems to have confounded the opinions of Kielhorn and Burnell. It was the latter (and not Kielhorn) who looked upon the *Śākaṭāyana-śabdānuśāsa* as an enlarged edition by a Jaina of a grammar of the pre-Peninean Śākaṭāyana, and maintained that it would be possible to reconstruct the original grammar by discriminating between what is old and what is new in it. Kielhorn, however, was in no doubt, at least when his article in this journal (1887, pp. 24 ff.) appeared, as to the real state of things, viz., that the work is an out and out modern compilation. Be that as it may, there can be no question about the name Śākaṭāyana being a pseudonym adopted by some modern compiler; for, the principle on which the name is formed, viz., by the addition of the suffix *-dyana* to the strengthened form of the protonym, had long fallen into disuse at the time when the Jaina must have lived. Names such as Bādarāyaṇa, Kātyāyana, Śākaṭāyana, etc., belong to quite a different epoch of the history of Indian names.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

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and reprinted by permission from the Society's Journal.)*

Abundant as were the results brought back from the journey which during the years 1906-08 had carried me through the whole length of Eastern Turkestan and portions of westernmost China and Tibet, they could not keep my eyes long from turning towards plans of another Central Asian expedition. It was not the mere "call of the desert"—strongly as I have felt it at times—but the combined fascination of geographical problems and interesting archæological tasks, which drew me back to the regions where ruined sites long ago abandoned to the desert have preserved for us relics of an ancient civilization developed under the joint influences of Buddhist India, China, and the Hellenized Near East. I well remembered the openings for fruitful exploratory work which, on my previous travels, disproportion between the available time and the vast extent of the ground had obliged me to pass by, and I was anxious to secure these chances afresh while I could still hope to retain the health and vigour needed successfully to face the inevitable difficulties and hardships.

The arrangement of the large collection of antiques which I had brought to the British Museum from my former expedition, and the multifarious efforts which I had to organize and direct for their elucidation, helped by the staff of assistants and numerous expert collaborators, kept me busy in England until the very end of 1911. Work on the big publication which was to record the scientific results of that journey still continued to claim most of my time after I had returned to duty in the Archæological Survey of India, on the familiar ground of the North-West Frontier and Kashmir. That heavy task was not yet completed when in the autumn of 1912 a variety of considerations induced me to submit to the Indian Government my formal proposals for the long-planned expedition, by which I wished to resume my geographical and archæological explorations in Central Asia. Among these considerations regard for the favourable political conditions then actually prevailing in respect of the regions to be visited played an important part. In this connection I have reason to remember gratefully the shrewd advice by which two kind friends, Sir Henry McMahon, then Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Sir George Macartney, H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Kashgar, helped to decide me for an early start.

The kind interest shown by H. E. Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy of India, in my past labours and in my new plans had from the first been a most encouraging augury. My gratitude for this help will be life-long. With it accorded the generous support which the Government of India in the Education Department, then under the enlightened direction of Sir Harcourt Butler, extended to my proposals. This included the payment in three successive years of a total grant of £3000 to cover the cost of the intended explorations, the Indian Government reserving to themselves in return an exclusive claim to whatever "archæological proceeds" my expedition might yield. It was understood that the new Museum of Indian Art and Ethnography planned at Delhi would be the first to benefit by prospective "finds."

For the geographical tasks which formed a large and essential part of my programme, the ready assistance secured from the Indian Survey Department was of the utmost value. To Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, Surveyor-General of India, I owed already a heavy debt of gratitude for the very effective help he had rendered towards securing and publishing

the survey results brought back from my former journeys. He now kindly agreed to depute with me my experienced old travel companion, Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, Sub-Assistant Superintendent of the Survey of India, and to make available also the services of a second surveyor of his department, Muhammad Yakub Khan, along with all necessary equipment and a grant to cover their travelling expenses. Thus the wide extension of our proposed fresh topographical labours was assured from the outset. For my geographical work I found also an asset of the greatest value in the moral support which the Royal Geographical Society generously extended to me, besides granting the loan of some surveying instruments. During the weary months of preparation, with all their strain of work and anxiety, and afterwards in whatever solitudes of mountains and deserts my travels took me to, I never ceased to derive true encouragement from the generous recognition which the Society had accorded to my former efforts to serve the aims of geographical science. Nor can I omit to record here my deep sense of gratitude for the unfailing sympathy and friendly interest with which in their ever-welcome letters Dr. Keltie and Mr. Hinks, the Society's Secretaries helped to cheer and guide me.

After a Kashmir winter and spring passed over incessant work on *Serindia*, the detailed report on the scientific results of my second journey, there arrived by the middle of May the Secretary of State's eagerly awaited sanction for my expedition. Relying on the kind consideration which my plans had so often received before at the India Office, I had ventured to anticipate, as far as I safely could, a favourable decision, and the lists of orders, etc., for the multifarious equipment needed were ready. Yet it cost no small effort to assure the completion of all the varied preparations within the short available time, considering how far away I was from bases of supply and friends who could help me. A careful survey of all the climatic and topographical factors determining the programme of my movements had convinced me that I could not safely delay my start across the mountains northwards beyond the very beginning of August. So the weeks which remained to me in the peaceful seclusion of my beloved Kashmir mountain camp, Mohand Marg, 11,000 feet above the sea, saw me hard at work from sunrise till evening. By July 23 I moved down from its Alpine coolness to the summer heat of the Kashmir Valley in order to complete our final mobilization at Srinagar in the spacious quarters which the kindness of my old friend, Mr. W. Talbot, had conveniently placed at my disposal for those last busy days in civilization.

There I had the satisfaction to find Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, my trusted old companion, duly arrived with all the surveying equipment, which included this time two 6-inch theodolites, a Zeiss levelling set, a Reeves telescopic alidade and two mercurial mountain barometers, besides an ample supply of aneroids, hypsometers, plane-tables, prismatic compasses, etc. With him had come the second surveyor, a young Pathan of good birth, with manners to match, and that excellent Dogra Rajput, Mian Jasvant Singh, who had accompanied every survey party taken by me to Central Asia. In spite of advancing years he had agreed to act once more as the Rai Sahib's cook, and to face all the familiar hardships of wintry deserts and wind-swept high mountains. At Srinagar I was joined also by two other Indian assistants, who, though new to Central Asian travel, proved both excellent selections for their respective spheres of work. In Naik Shams Din, a corporal of the First (King George's Own) Sappers and Miners, whom Colonel Tylden-Patterson, commanding that distinguished corps, had chosen for me after careful testing, I found a very useful and capable "handy man" for all work requiring technical skill. A Panjabi Muhammadan

of Kashmiri descent, he proved in every way a worthy successor to Naik Ram Singh, whose devoted help on my second journey I owed to the same regiment, and whose tragic end I have recorded in *Desert Cathay*.

The other assistant, Mian Afrazgul Khan, a Pathan of the saintly Kaka-khel clan, and a Sepoy from the Khyber Rifles, was my own choice, and experience soon showed how much reason I had to be pleased with it. Originally a schoolmaster on the Peshawar border, with a sound vernacular education, he had soon after his enlistment in that famous Frontier Militia Corps been noticed for his topographical sense and superior intelligence. After a year's training in the Military Surveyors' Class at Roorkee, where he greatly distinguished himself, he was permitted by Sir George Roos-Keppel, Chief Commissioner, N.-W. Frontier Province, and Honorary Colonel of the Regiment, to join me as temporary draftsman and surveyor in connection with the excavations I was carrying on in the spring, 1912, as Superintendent of the Frontier Circle, Archaeological Survey. There I was soon impressed by his marked and varied ability, and when in addition I became aware of his energy and genuine love of adventure I did not hesitate to engage him as an assistant surveyor for the journey. Our small party was completed by two Indian servants; one of them, Yusuf, a man of somewhat 'sporting' instincts, was to act as my cook, and the other Pir Bakhsh, a worthy elderly person from the mountains north of Kashmir, as his substitute in case of illness—or some temporary outbreak of bad temper. The experience of previous journeys had warned me as to the necessity of this double string, and I owe it probably to its restraining influence that I was able to retain the services of both men in spite of all trials and bring them back to their homes in the end safely and in a state of contentment.

Ever since the plan of my journey was first formed I had been exercised in my mind by the difficulty of finding a practicable route which would take me across the great mountain barriers northward to the border of Chinese Turkestan on the Pamirs, and which was still new to me. By the initial portions of my previous journeys I had exhausted the only apparent alternatives of the Chitral and Hunza valleys leading to practicable crossings of the main Hindukush range. Even the devious route over the Karakorum passes I had seen on my return journey of 1908. But fortune seemed to favour me at the start, unexpectedly to open for me the eagerly desired new approach to my goal.

For long years I had wished to explore the important valleys of Darel and Tangir which descend to the Indus from the north some distance below Chilas. Darel (*Ta-li-lo*) is prominently mentioned in the accounts of old Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, partly because there passed through it a route which some of them followed on their descent from the uppermost Oxus to the Indus and the sacred sites of the Indian north-west frontier, and partly by reason of a famous Buddhist sanctuary it once contained. No Europeans had ever been able to visit these territories, as the disturbed political conditions of the local tribal communities, coupled with their fanatical spirit, effectively closed access to them. But in recent years Raja Pakhtun Wali, of the Kushwaqt family, once ruling Yasin and Mastuj, had, after an adventurous career, succeeded in founding and gradually extending a chiefship of his own among these small Dard republics. The desire of consolidating his rule and securing support for his children's eventual succession had led him a short time before to seek friendly relations with the Gilgit political Agency. When I learned of the opportunity chance thus offering I decided to use it for a new route to the Pamirs. The matter needed diplomatic handling. But finally the effective help given by my kind friend the Hon. Mr. Stuart Fraser, Resident in Kashmir, with the assent of the Indian Foreign Department, secured

for me the chief's permission to visit his territories. The conditions he thought fit to attach to it were obviously meant to safeguard his political interests—and incidentally also my safety among his newly won subjects.

On 31 July 1913 I started from Srinagar, and proceeding by boat down the Jhelam, reached next day the little port of Bandipur on the Wular Lake. From there the bulk of our baggage was sent ahead with the second surveyor by the Gilgit military road to await us in Hunza. I myself with Lal Singh and Afrazgul left Kashmir through the side valley of the Lolab and struck north-westwards for the route which leads through the deep-cut gorges of the Kishanganga and its tributaries to the snowy passes of Barai and Fasat and then down to Chilas on the Indus. Bad weather pursued us from the time we entered the mountains, and already on the first eight days the tracks followed proved in many places impracticable for laden animals. But it seemed appropriate Alpine training for the ground ahead, and there was an antiquarian interest to compensate me for the fatigues encountered; for various topographical considerations indicate that it was by this direct route to the Indus and thence to Gilgit that the Chinese received those annual supplies from Kashmir which alone, according to an interesting historical document preserved in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, enabled them about the middle of the eighth century A.D. to maintain for some years imperial garrisons in Gilgit and Yasin. They thus prevented the junction between their great adversaries who then threatened Chinese hold on Turkestan—the Arabs in the west and the Tibetans in the south. It was, of course, the human beast of burden which alone made the use of such a route possible, and we have historical evidence to show how abundant its supply was in ancient Kashmir.

By August 10 we had descended from the snowy range which culminates eastwards in the huge ice-clad pyramid of Nanga-parbat (26,620 feet above the sea) to Chilas on the Indus, the last British post towards the independent territory of Dard tribes, known as the Indus Kohistan. The *Pax Britannica*, brought some twenty years before to what was once the most turbulent and fanatical of these petty hill republics, had worked curious changes in the position of the cultivated areas, etc., which without definite records a future antiquarian or geographer would find most difficult to interpret correctly. The heat of the summer is great in the deep-cut rock defiles of the Indus, and the banks forbiddingly barren. So I was glad when our descent in the Indus gorge next day could be effected on a skin raft, which the tossing current of the mighty river carried down at the rate of some 14 miles an hour. Though the snowy weather prevailing on the high ranges had caused the river to fall to some 24 feet below highwater level, yet the flood volume was still large enough to allow us to sweep down securely over what at other times is a succession of impassable rock ledges and rapids.

At the mouth of the Hodur stream we left the Indus behind and entered ground which offered ample scope for exploring work. Passing up the unsurveyed valley northward we found plentiful ruins of small fortified villages clearly dating back to pre-Muhammadan times and a great deal of abandoned cultivation terraces for which the supply of irrigation water now available would manifestly no longer suffice. Pushing up to the Unutai Pass we crossed the range which overlooks the Khanbari River and there reached the eastern border of Pakhtun Wali's latest conquests. As we descended westwards through the Datsoi Nullah by a track almost impassable for load-carrying men we were met by Pakhtun Wali's capable nephew, Mehtarjao Shah Alim, with a large and well-armed escort. It had been stipulated beforehand that not a single man from the territory under control of the British Agency of Gilgit was to accompany us. The careful watch kept over us from the start by Pakhtun Wali's select men at arms, wherever we moved or halted, seemed to afford adequate

protection from any fanatical attempt on the part of less trustworthy elements among his new subjects who might have liked to embroil him by an attack upon us. But I confess that it also at first caused me serious misgivings as to the freedom which might be left to us for useful topographical work.

It was quite as much regard for such work, as the wish to avoid the excessive summer heat of the Indus gorges, which had caused me to ask that we might be taken to Darel by the mountains at the heads of the Khanbari and Dudishal Valleys instead of the usual route, which leads through the former. It proved a difficult line of progress, even with such hardy porters for our baggage as Shah Alim had brought from the main Darel Valley. But its advantages for surveying operations were great, and fortunately I soon found that we were left full freedom to use them. The great spurs descending from the Indus-Gilgit watershed northward had to be crossed by a succession of high passes, between 13,000 and 14,000 feet, and these furnished excellent plane-table stations. The extensive views there obtained towards the great snowy ranges across the Indus and westwards on the headwaters of the Swat River permitted our positions to be fixed with accuracy from previously triangulated peaks. At the expense of much hard climbing we secured equally favourable conditions further on, and a protracted spell of fine weather made it easy to use them. R. B. Lal Singh, in spite of his fifty-one years, an age which Indians usually are apt to count as advanced, showed that he had lost none of his old zeal and vigour. Through his devoted exertions a fortnight's hard travel sufficed to map some 1200 square miles, on the scale of 2 miles to the inch, on ground which had never been surveyed or even seen by European eyes.

It was a pleasant surprise to find our tasks soon facilitated by the excellent relations we were able to establish with Mehtarjao Shah Alim and the band of Pakhtun Wali's trusted supporters who formed our ever-watchful guard. They were a strangely mixed crew, of distinctly shady antecedents, but all "handy" and pleasant to deal with. Most of these alert fellows were outlaws from Swat, Chitral, and the independent Dard republics on the Indus, who, with hands already blood-stained, had joined Pakhtun Wali's fortunes at one time or other of his adventurous career. Their burley fair-haired commander Shahid, whose look of jovial ruffian curiously contrasted with his name, meaning "martyr," had from the beginning played a prominent part in all the mixed feuds and intrigues by which their capable chief had raised himself from the position of a hapless refugee in Tangir to that of absolute master of that once turbulent valley. The means and methods by which Pakhtun Wali, in true Condottiere fashion, had subsequently extended his sway over the neighbouring hill republics of Darel and Sazin, had been equally unscrupulous, and recalled times long gone by elsewhere. His was the most recent kingdom carved out in the Hindukush, a region probably less touched by historical changes than any other in the north-west of India, and to glean first-hand information about the process employed was for me a very instructive and fascinating occupation. Nor did quick-witted Shah Alim and his band of intelligent henchmen fail me when it came to collecting exact data about local resources, population, etc., or raising or managing needful transport. Fully familiar with the ground, as their employment had made them, they yet kept a mental detachment from the local interests, regard for which would have induced reluctance among more settled subjects.

The Khanbari River was found to drain an unexpectedly large mountain area, and in all the valleys splendid forests of pines and firs, quite untouched by the axe, were found to clothe the higher slopes. In the wider portions below old cultivation terraces, now abandoned, could be traced for miles. Judging from the size of the trees, the forest which has overrun them in most places dates back for centuries. There is an abundant supply of water for

irrigation from snowbeds and springs, and re-occupation of these fertile lands is retarded only by the great scantiness of population. Before Pakhtun Wali's conquest the Darelis had contented themselves with using the extensive grazing-grounds at the very head of the valleys, and only since the advent of more peaceful conditions has the slow immigration of Gujar settlers commenced. Whatever the cause of the original abandonment of these valleys may have been, it soon became obvious that they, like Darel and Tangir, enjoyed climatic conditions far more favourable in the matter of adequate rainfall than those prevailing higher up on the Indus or elsewhere between the Indus and the Hindukush. This abundant moisture may well be due to some feature in the orography of the Indus Valley, permitting the monsoon rains to advance here far beyond the line where their effect is stopped elsewhere by the high mountain chains southward.

The contrast with those denuded barren mountains to the north and east, which I remembered so well from my previous routes through Gilgit and Chitral, became even more striking as we descended from the Ishkobar Pass (*circ.* 13,650 feet) to the head of the main Darel valley. When encamped there at Nyachut, on rich Alpine meadowland and surrounded by mountain sides which magnificent forests of deodars and firs clothed for thousands of feet in height, I felt as if transported to the Sind or some other big side valley of Kashmir. Unfortunately there was little chance left to enjoy the delights of this glorious Alpine scenery while being constantly attacked by swarms of the particularly fierce mosquitoes which infest all Darel and Tangir. We met them first when approaching the Khanbari watershed from the east, and the trouble they gave steadily increased as we progressed. Even high up in the mountains we suffered severely from this plague which is apt to cause bad sores, as my surveyors and myself soon found by experience. There was little consolation in the fact that the local people suffer almost as much from the infliction, as their pock-covered skin showed, and that during the winter those tormentors descend to seek warmer quarters by the Indus. I often wondered whether their presence would not be an adequate defence of Darel against any permanent invasion by people concerned for their comfort.

When I moved down to the vicinity of Manikyal, the northern of the two extant walled townships of Darel, there revealed itself strikingly the remarkable openness of the main valley and the great extent of arable land on the wide plateaus flanking the middle course of the Darel River. The sight of this fertile area, all easy to irrigate, revealed at a glance the importance which Darel must have possessed in ancient times, and which with an adequate population and under a firm rule it could attain once more. But much of the land had passed out of cultivation long ago, and the great number of ruined sites gave striking confirmation of the observation. The survey of these ruins, all known as *kots*, "forts," kept me busy for several days, and showed that most of them were remains of fortified settlements dating back to pre-Muhammadan times. Rapid excavation near one of them, Bojo-kot, brought to light unmistakable relics of a Buddhist burial ground in the shape of cinerary urns, metal ornaments, etc. These ruins always occupy naturally strong rocky ridges bearing elaborately built terraces, and by their position and constructive features curiously recalled to my mind the extensive ruined settlements of the Buddhist period with which my explorations in the Swat Valley and on the Peshawar border had rendered me familiar. Archaeological evidence thus seemed to bear out the tradition preserved in the Chinese pilgrims' records as to the early historical connection between the ruling families of Darel and Swat.

All antiquarian observations pointed to the territory having been occupied in Buddhist times by a much denser population than the present and one possessed of far greater material resources. Yet even now Darel contains a number of large crowded villages, some, like

Manikyal and Samagial, well deserving to be called towns. Again and again I was struck by lingering traces of an inherited civilisation a good deal more developed than that to be found now in the neighbouring hill tracts. Thus the alignment of the irrigation canals and the carefully preserved solid stonework of the terraces and embankments over which they are carried showed unusual skill. Another very significant feature was the abundance in houses, mosques and graves of fine wood-carving, retaining decorative motifs which are directly derived from Græco-Buddhist art as known to us from the ancient reliefs of Gandhara, and which occur frequently also in the ornamental wood carvings excavated by me at sand-buried old sites of Chinese Turkestan.

The racial type of the Darelis as far as I could judge without anthropometric observations, for the collection of which there was no time, seemed to me unmistakably akin to that of the other Dard tribes which occupy the adjoining mountain territories. This close relationship is also borne out by their Shina dialect. But there was something in the often refined features of the men and their less heavily built frame, which vaguely suggested inheritance from generations weakened by a decadent civilization and a long period of internal disorder. They struck me distinctly as a race possessing the instincts of quasi-town-bred folk and needing a strong ruler.

On the evening of August 16 I was received by Raja Pakhtun Wali in full state at the castle of Gumarekot, which he was building in the centre of his recently annexed territory and as a stronghold to safeguard its possession against possible risings. The steep ridge which rises above it is occupied by the ruins of the large fort of Raji-kot, marking the ancient capital of Darel. It was a very interesting experience to meet the man who, after a career as chequered as befitted the son of Mir Wali, Hayward's murderer, had succeeded in building up a new kingdom for himself, the last, perhaps, which India has seen raised on the old adventurous lines. His human environment, in which Darelis are still kept much in the background, and the methods by which he maintains his rule seemed to call up times long gone by. There was much to claim my interest in what I heard from the shrewd and energetic Khushwaqt chief that evening, and during the long visit he paid me next morning with his two young sons; but this is not the place to record it. He had spared no care nor trouble to facilitate my safe journey through his territory and to make it as profitable as the limitations of my time permitted. I shall always look back with gratitude to the friendly welcome accorded, and with genuine interest and sympathy to the ruler.

It was a special satisfaction to me that on my way down Darel I was able to identify at Phoguch the site of an ancient Buddhist sanctuary which the Chinese pilgrims specially mention on account of its miracle-working colossal image of Maitreya Buddha in wood. The tomb of Shahakhel Baba, a Muhammadan Saint renowned for his miraculous powers and attracting pilgrims from many distant parts of the Hindukush region as well as Swat and the Indus Valley, attests here the continuity of local worship. Lower down we passed interesting ruins of castles once closing access to Darel. Then we ascended westwards by a precipitous track, difficult for load-carrying men, to the rugged high spur which divides Darel from Tangir. On reaching its top we were rewarded for a trying climb over bare rock slopes by the grand vistas which opened before us. Owing to its isolation the Shardai Pass commands wide views of Darel, Tangir, the Indus Valley, and the ranges beyond, and proved a truly ideal survey station. To the west there showed clearly the gap between precipitous snow-capped spurs,

where the Indus makes its sharp bend to the south. Access to this famous defile, where the bed of the mighty river is reported to contract into an exceedingly narrow rift, is closed by independent tribal territory. Even from afar European eyes saw it now for the first time. How I wished that a Pakhtun Wali's expansionist policy might open the route some day for exploring those Indus gorges, where the old Chinese pilgrims made their way south by the dreaded rock galleries "of the hanging chains."

The descent to the Tangir River over cliffs and vast slopes of rock débris was a trying experience; but the valley itself proved remarkably open and fertile. Fruit trees and vines were more plentiful than in Darel, and the mosquitoes a little less fierce. The population is scattered in clusters of hamlets, and showed a manly bearing. Of those fortified villages, in which the Darel people seem to have always sought shelter since early times, I could trace no ruins here. I had a very pleasant reception at Jaglot, where Pakhtun Wali had established his original stronghold, and where his family ordinarily resides. The original modest structure which he occupied as a refuge from Chitral had witnessed a memorable siege by the powerful Gabarkhel tribesmen who hold the upper portion of Tangir, and who then vainly tried to rid themselves of their ambitious exile-guest. Their defeat marked the first stage in Pakhtun Wali's rise to power. The old animosities seemed to be still smouldering here, and as we moved up the valley, our ever-watchful escort took special care to safeguard us from any attempt of Pakhtun Wali's old foes, or the fanatical "talib-ils," or religious students, gathered in numbers round a famous Mullah at the mosque of Kami.

In the great forest belt at the head of the Satil branch of the valley hundreds of Patnans from Upper Swat and the independent tracts lower down the Indus were engaged in cutting the magnificent timber, an important source of revenue to Raja Pakhtun Wali. The timber is made to float down the Indus under arrangements with Kakakhel traders, who owing to the sanctity enjoyed by their clan, are able to exploit this business in tracts otherwise far too risky. Here we were joined by Mian Shahzada, the uncle of Afrazgul, my Kakakhel surveyor, who for years had been in charge of these operations, and whose opportune intercession had helped to overcome the Raja's original scruples about our passage. Shahzada had charged himself with the responsibility of keeping all fanatical characters in these woodcutters' camps out of mischief, and by his effective help amply earned the recommendation I could give him to the district authorities of his far-off home on the Peshawar border.

All arrangements worked smoothly to the end, and when on August 21 we safely reached the Sheobat Pass, over 14,000 feet in height, on the range which forms the watershed between the Indus and the Gilgit river drainage, it was with regret that I left behind Pakhtun Wali's fascinating dominion, from which we had just "lifted the Purdah." I was sorry to bid farewell to our hardy escort of outlaws, after meeting the large *posse* of respectable Gilgit levies which had waited on the other side of the pass to take charge of us. It was amusing to watch the ill-disguised expression of distrust with which the latter viewed our quondam protectors, some of them well remembered, no doubt, from their old raids and similar exploits. The ample and richly deserved rewards I gave to Pakhtun Wali's men however, sufficed to efface any unpleasant reciprocal feelings.

In order to reach the big Yasin Valley through which our northward route was to lead we had first to gain the Gupis post on the Gilgit River. The mountains to the south of the

latter have not yet been adequately surveyed. So it was scarcely surprising that the unexplored pass above Gafarbodo, which I chose as a short cut, proved nearly impossible for our load-carrying men. It took fully eight hours' scrambling over huge masses of rock débris left behind by ancient glaciers, the worst I ever encountered in this region, to reach the pass at an elevation of close on 16,000 feet.

Then I pushed up rapidly in the open and relatively fertile valley of Yasin. It leads due north, flanked by mighty spurs which descend from the glacier-crowned main Hindukush range, and has always been an important route, as it forms the nearest connection between Oxus and Indus. I found myself thus on ground claiming distinct historical interest, and there was a good deal even in things of the present to attest the strong Central-Asian influence to which it has been subject since early times. In addition to much fine old wood-carving in dwellings and mosques, I was able to trace a ruined Stupa with relics of Buddhist times and the remains of several old forts, which tradition significantly enough connects with early Chinese invasions.

It was owing to an early and historically well attested Chinese conquest of these valleys from the uppermost Oxus, that I felt a special interest in the glacier pass of the Darkot by which we crossed on August 29 to the headwaters of the Yarkhun or Mastuj River. It had been the scene of that remarkable exploit by which a Chinese force, despatched in A.D. 749 from Kashgar against the Tibetans, had effected its entry into Yasin and Gilgit. Already in May, 1916, on my way up from Chitral, I had been able to ascertain how closely the topographical features of the Darkot Pass agreed with the exact account which the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty have preserved for us of General Kao Hsien-chih's famous expedition. I had then succeeded in reaching the top of the pass, 15,400 feet above the sea, from the Mastuj side; but no examination of the southern approach, which also figures in that account, had been possible.

In view of the very serious natural obstacles presented by the glaciers of the Darkot, Kao Hsien-chih's passage deserves to rank as a great military achievement, like his successful march across the whole width of the Pamirs, with a relatively large Chinese army, which preceded it, and to which I shall have occasion to refer further on. So it was a particularly gratifying find, when I discovered an old Tibetan inscription scratched into a large boulder on the track where it ascends by the side of a steep moraine flanking the southern glacier of the Darkot. It is very probable that it is a relic of that short-lived Tibetan advance on the uppermost Oxus which the T'ang Annals record towards the close of the second quarter of the eighth century, and which Kao Hsien-chih's adventurous expedition successfully stopped.

On the top of the Darkot I was met by Captain H. F. D. Stirling, of the 57th (Wilde's) Rifles, then commanding the Chitral Scouts, with fresh transport from the Mastuj side. Thus the descent over the big and much-crevassed northern glacier could be effected without undue risk to men or baggage. I have special reason to feel grateful for the most effective arrangements made by Captain Stirling as I pushed on eastwards after crossing the Darkot. Our easiest route to the Chinese border would have led over the Baroghil saddle to Sarhad on the Oxus and thence across the Afghan Pamirs along the line I had followed in 1906. But apart from the fact that its use would have required the special permission of H.M. the

King of Afghanistan, I was anxious to see new ground, and was therefore glad to move now by a parallel but far more difficult route by which westernmost Hunza could be gained from the headwaters of the Yarkhun and Karambar (or Ashkuman) Rivers. This route allowed me to sight the Showarshur branch of the Darkot Glacier, now completely closed by an impassable ice-fall, and to examine more closely the interesting instance of bifurcation by which the glacier above the Karambar saddle discharges its drainage partly towards the Yarkhun or Chitral River and partly into the lake forming the head of the Karambar River.

On its south side the route skirts an almost unexplored region of high ice-clad peaks and big glaciers, and the snouts, which the latter have pushed across the gorge of the Karambar River, together with the huge old moraines encountered in the main valley lower down, constituted serious obstacles. They made all the more welcome the friendly help given by Captain Stirling, who, as an expert mountaineer, took pleasure in accompanying me on those four days of hard marching and climbing.

Beyond the Ashkuman River we were met by fresh porters, collected from the settlement of hardy Wakhi immigrants lower down that much-confined valley. The ascent made with them on September 2 to the Chillinji Pass (*circ.* 17,400 feet high) proved a difficult task.

The snowy weather prevailing all through August had rendered the very steep snow slopes to be climbed still more trying and had added greatly to avalanche risks. The pass had not been traversed by any one for a long number of years, and only one old man sent with us had ever been across. So it was a great relief, when, after eight hours' toil, we safely reached the col, nearly 5,000 feet above camp. It offered a grand view over the extensive glaciers which meet at the head of the Chapursan Valley, but the icy gale sweeping it made even a short rest difficult. Fortunately the great glacier below us proved less trying, owing to the fresh snow which had adequately covered up most of the crevasses, and after a descent of five hours more we found a dry spot by its side where we could bivouac in safety under the shelter of a moraine. Some of our coolies did not turn up till next morning, but they had wisely kept moving all through the bitterly cold night. Their safe arrival caused me great relief and so also did the assurance that my feet, in spite of the loss of toes and the impaired circulation which resulted from my frost-bite accident at the close of the former journey, could stand well thirteen hours' struggle over snow and ice. The snout of the Chillinji Glacier was not passed until after a descent of another 4 miles in the morning, and a short distance beyond I had the satisfaction to find fresh transport from Hunza awaiting us. The arrangements made weeks ahead through my old acquaintance Humayun Beg, the Wazir of Hunza, had not failed me.

After this experience our progress through Hunza seemed easy. The Chapursan Valley, in spite of the huge moraines which the glaciers south have pushed down into it, contains more stretches of level ground than probably all the rest of Hunza. It was hence a feature of special interest to note the extensive areas of old cultivation which we passed on the 25 miles' march between Baba-ghundi and Spandrinj. Neither want of water for irrigation nor present climatic conditions at this elevation from *circ.* 11,000 to 10,300 feet seem to furnish an adequate explanation for their abandonment. Re-occupation is recent and proceeding slowly.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 105.)

But Raṅga Kṛishṇa was not merely a man of enterprise who would ride into an enemy's country to seek information or obtain amusement; he was a ruler of great sympathy and solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. He delighted to roam *incognito* in his realm, to mix with the humble and lowly, to talk to them, to understand their feelings and to appreciate their merits. If he could subdue an elephant which none else could he could also visit humble places and see humble men, and learn things for himself, learn where virtue or misery had its abode, where injustice prevailed and where disloyalty throve. No occupation was, in his eyes, too low for the investigation of truth. True he was not without defects. He shared the weakness of his dynasty in his love of pomp, his fondness for show, and in his permitting his lieutenants to spend state money on processions and celebrations, but this was a single blot in his brilliant and beautiful character. His easy accessibility, his desire to learn things in person, his sympathy with the people, and at the same time, his weakness for showy pageantry, are evident from his Tinnevely adventure. Hearing from some men of Tinnevely that the son of their viceroy, Tiruvēṅgaḍa Nāthaiya,²⁵ wasted every night 500 pagodas of Sirkar money in costly processions of "more than royal state," he set out, as was always the case with him, alone on his horse towards Tinnevely to ascertain the fact. The Telugu chronicle, from which the account of this episode is taken, narrates in detail an interview which the king had with a humble, low-caste woman who was carrying a rude and frugal fare for her son, a labourer working in the distant fields. The exhausted monarch condescended to take butter-milk from the woman and noted her name for future favours. Resuming his journey, he reached one of those splendid reception-booths, which had been constructed all along the road for his sake. The warders, however, hardly saw in the solitary horseman their sovereign. In their eyes royalty was always surrounded by magnificence. To think of a king without his host of attendants and flatterers, his paraphernalia and splendour, was to them an impossible feat. Simplicity was a virtue which their rude and unsophisticated mind could with difficulty associate with royalty. They had not the imagination for such a conception, for their experience had always been to the contrary. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the solitary horseman boldly entered the pavilion and tied up his horse, and sat there, he received a mandate from the warders to leave the place at once. Their monarch was coming, and the pavilion was not an inn in which every wayfarer could lay him down and rest. Raṅga Kṛishṇa, whose passion for such interesting situations kept them in ignorance of his personality, proposed that, after resting a little, he would proceed. He was about to be subjected to further indignity, when the army reached the place and, on seeing him, prostrated themselves and performed homage. The warders at once found out the position of their antagonist and the seriousness of their mistake, and expected a summary sentence of death; but the nobility of Raṅga Kṛishṇa dispelled their fears, extolled their sense of duty, and rewarded their merit with the hereditary enjoyment of certain lands! On reaching Tinnevely, the chronicle continues, the king commanded the viceroy's son to organize a procession as usual, assuring him that it was his curiosity, not the desire to

²⁵ Even now near Tinnevely, about 2 or 3 miles off, is a village named Tiruvēṅgaḍa Nāthapuram, which was probably the residence of the viceroy.

punish, that prompted him to issue the command; and when the latter carried it out with more than usual splendour, the king expressed his joy, declared it a worthy source of prestige, and authorised the prodigal to celebrate it everyday. The royal sanction was accompanied by a substantial grant for the purpose from the treasury. It was a conclusion unworthy of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, but his sin was a common sin of his line and of his time, and he could not overcome it.

All this would furnish a worthy theme for romance, but the true romance of Raṅga Kṛishṇa's life lay in his domestic life. Alone among the Nāik kings, he could control his passions. Temperance was a virtue of which his dynasty was entirely ignorant, but he shone in it. In a time when kings were not satisfied with scores of wives and hundreds of mistresses, he set a worthy example of virtue and of moderation by the constancy of his attachment to a single lady, a lady who was worthy of his love and found it impossible to live after his death. Raṅga Kṛishṇa's harem, in consequence, was not, as that of the other kings of his line, a seat of loose life or a source of scandal. His private life resembled that of a common man, and was characterised by real conjugal love and domestic bliss. The palace was, in his day, a temple of peace, not a breeding ground of jealousies, a home of affection and not of bestial pleasure. With him the safety and welfare of his people was not a secondary consideration of the usual type. They lived for themselves first, and then, if it all, for the people; but he lived for the people and for them alone.

His recovery of the lost territories.

Such was the character of the new king and it is not surprising that from the very moment of his accession things began to change for the better. His own vigorous personality would have been sufficient to alleviate the misery of his kingdom, but other circumstances intervened, which enormously lightened his task and ensured his success. The monarch of Mysore was attacked nearer at home by Sambaji²⁶, and in self-defence had to withdraw his legions from Madura. Ekoji was, in consequence of his own tyranny, troubled by a discontented populace; and his weak frontiers, moreover, were pierced by daring bands of Maravas and Kallās, who now entered the field with the hope of sharing in the tumults and plunders of the day. Ekoji thought it prudent, therefore, to withdraw from the kingdom of Madura. As for the formidable Sambaji, he was involved in wars with the Mughal Empire on the one hand, and with the Portuguese on the other, and so could not pursue his father's conquests in the Carnatic. The Sētupati, again, had his own domestic troubles, for an ambitious Daḷawāi of his set the standard of rebellion, and taxed the resources of his master. All these events, together with the tactful statesmanship of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, relieved Madura from her recent ills. Within three years of his accession, Raṅga Kṛishṇa found himself the master of the whole of the extensive dominions of his ancestors, and the danger of the extinction, which had threatened the Kingdom of Viśvanātha Nāik, was now warded off. Half a century more was to pass before it was to share the fate of its predecessors, and when it fell then, it fell for ever.

The kingdom was now safe, and Raṅga Kṛishṇa consecrated the first moments of peace to the strengthening of his power and the restoration of the country's prosperity. A firm and determined ruler, he made his influence felt throughout his dominions. His remarkable

²⁶ Wilks, I 59-60. Wilks is wrong in regard to the dates. Kumāra Rāya, however, it is said, left his son Doḍḍa Dēva to continue the siege, but he evidently had soon to give it up.

industry secured a personal acquaintance with the most minute affairs of the kingdom. His watchful eye was everywhere, and he was ever on his feet. Restless and enthusiastic, he would proceed hundreds of miles to hear a single complaint or chastise a petty chief. The divided provinces, in consequence, became united; and the Polygars of the most distant provinces dreaded his displeasure, and paid a ready and willing homage. At Tinnevely, whither he went, as we have already seen, to inquire into the alleged financial abuses of the viceroy, he received the respect and the tribute of all the Polygars of the province. Even the king of Travancore, who was apprised of the king's stay at Tinnevely, hastened to enlist his good will by despatching a tribute of elephants (twelve in number) and horses, of treasure and ornaments. The historian cannot but admire the personal merit of this extraordinary king who, though so young in age, was so eminently successful in securing the allegiance of chiefs who, only a few months back, had regarded their suzerain as a nonentity and themselves as kings.

His justice.

in administration²⁷ Raṅga Kṛishṇa was not less successful. His administration was based on the principle of equity and reason. He was, like the rest of his dynasty, a friend, admirer and servant of the Brahmans. He loved to praise them and to be praised by them. He listened to their counsels, and built *agrahārams* and temples, choultries and tanks. He led an orthodox life, paid frequent visits to temples, and bestowed with a lavish hand the traditional charities of money, cows and lands on his advisers. Nevertheless, he never allowed the claims of justice to be overruled by his partiality. In the court he was superior to race consideration or caste privilege. Once in a dispute between the Brahmans and the Christians in regard to a piece of land, which the former had illegally seized for a religious purpose, the king ordered that the idols should be thrown into the river rather than that justice be violated under his regime. A prince with such noble views could hardly have secured the affections and obtained the blessings of the Brahmans at first; but the latter knew how to appreciate real merit. Moreover they succeeded, as we have already seen, in gaining his generous donations in other respects. They knew that if the king was severe, he was severe for the sake of justice; and they therefore took his rebukes in the proper spirit, and tactfully strengthened their own position by praising the spotless equity of his rule.

THE MOGHUL CONQUEST OF THE DAKHAN.

After the pacification of the kingdom, Raṅga Kṛishṇa placed his foreign policy on a stronger basis. His reign synchronised with momentous events in the Deccan. The Puritan Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged in a deadly struggle with the Hindu Marathas on the one hand, and the weak and half-Hinduised Sultans of Bijapur and Golcondah on the other, and by the year 1688 had conquered and annexed the latter kingdoms. With the extinction of Bijapur the Carnatic became the property of the Mughal Empire. The suzerain of the Nāiks of Tanjore and Madura was thenceforth not the Sultan of Bijapur nor the Maratha, but the Emperor of Delhi, and the latter lost no time in establishing the imperial power on a secure basis. For two years after the extinction of the twin kingdoms of the Deccan, Aurangzeb could not proceed against the South, as he was engaged in war with Sambaji. It was only after 1689, when Sambaji was

²⁷ An inscription of Arumbāṭṛ, 14 miles from Perambalūr in the Trichinopoly District, says that he made grants for the repair of a sluice in 1686 A. D. (*Antiquities*, II, p. 263).

captured and slain, and when owing to the flight of Raja Ram to Ginji, the war with the Marathas was extended to the South, that the emperor thought seriously of the completion of his conquests in the South. Raṅga Kṛishṇa's position, in consequence, was, during the last two years of his rule, a dangerous one. He had to keep strict vigilance against possible imperial vandalism. He had to see that his kingdom did not share the fate of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golcondah. He had to be singularly vigilant in the north-west frontier, for in 1687 the Mysore king, Chikka Dēva Rāj, purchased the District of Bangalore from Ekoji (who thus confined himself solely to Tanjore), for three *lakhs*; and when Kasim Khan, the Mughul general, seized it before the entry of the Mysore troops, he conciliated the emperor, and concluded, in return for the payment of allegiance, an agreement by which he got Bangalore, as well as a tacit permission to extend his territories in a direction that would not interfere with the Mughul operations. The friendship of the emperor assured, Chikka Dēva was ready to encroach into Madura territory. In 1688 and 1689²⁸ we find him invading the Kongu province, conquering the greater part of Baramahal, including Dharmapuri and Kāvēripaṭṇam, pushing his conquest into the Talaghat and annexing Omalūr, Paramatti and Āttūr-Anantagiri. This region had been previously conquered by Dodḍa Dēva in 1667, but evidently recovered by Madura or by the local chiefs and Polygars. Hence the necessity of Chikka Dēva to subdue it. We have no authority which enables us to say what Raṅga Kṛishṇa did at this crisis. Probably, he yielded for the time and died before taking any steps to recover the lost districts.

The incident of the Mughal's slipper.

But if Raṅga Kṛishṇa could not take any steps against Mysore, he was able enough to defy the power of the haughty Musalman. A curious and highly interesting episode is narrated in the Telugu chronicle in illustration of his dignified attitude towards Muhammadan claims. It was the Padshah's custom in those days, it says, to send one of his slippers in great *eclat* with and in the midst of proper guards and solemn paraphernalia, as a mandate for the performance of homage and the payment of tribute by the feudatories of the Empire. The slipper was placed in a rich and magnificent howdah of an elephant, and defended by an army of 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, under the command of two Nawabs. All the honours were paid to the royal slipper which were paid to the king himself.

It was fanned by two chowries, and attended by banners and umbrellas, flutes and drums, and other insignia. When the procession reached the boundary of a State, the king of that State was bound to welcome it at the head of his troops, pay homage, and abase his ensigns before it. The king was then bound to take the imperial representative and its defenders to the capital, to resign his throne for a moment to it, and to give as a mark of his loyalty, obeisance and tribute, besides presents to the guardians of the worthy imperial representative! This custom, a capital example of the pride and slavery of kings, had not, however, extended, owing to distance, to "the Paṇḍya kingdom"; but in the reign of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, the imperial slipper, with all its insignia, came to the frontiers of the Madura kingdom at Ūṭṭattūr, and despatched the *inayithu nāma*, the news of its arrival, to the king. When the young and proud king of Trichinopoly heard the purport of the message and the claim for homage on his part, his indignation knew no bounds. He dismissed

²⁸ Wilks I, 92; Salem Manual I, 53-4.

the *chobdars*, the messengers, from the imperial camp, with presents; and calling his *Daḷavāi* and other ministers, asked them to meet the Nawabs and tell them that he was too unwell to meet them at *Samayāvaram*. At the same time he revealed to them his desire to humble the Padshah's pride, and instructed them to conduct the *farmān* and the Nawabs, by device and by persuasion, to the capital. The ministers succeeded in carrying out the king's orders, but at the expense of truth and of the invaders' good-will. At every stage of their journey, the latter asked why the king had not yet come, and were told that he was too unwell. In this way the slipper and the *sirdārs* were enticed into Trichinopoly, to the very gates of the palace, the army of course being stationed outside the fort. When they reached the palace, the indignant Musalmans, who thought it a disgrace to wait there, took the slipper in a palanquin and proceeded to the audience-hall. Mean-while Rāṅga Kṛishṇa had prepared himself for this crisis. He invested himself with all paraphernalia and sat on the throne in the midst of an admiring and loyal audience. When the Nawabs came there, and saw the king's haughty attitude, they were seized with indignation. Pushing those who stood before them, they approached the throne and offered the slipper into the king's hands! The latter flew into an indignant rage, and in words of thunder, ordered the imperial messengers to place it on the floor. They naturally hesitated, but soon came to think discretion to be the better part of valour, and the orders from the throne might be followed by whips in case of disobedience. Rāṅga Kṛishṇa then thrust one of his feet into the slipper, and loudly asked how it was that their Padshah had not the common sense to send the other! The agents, as might be expected, answered with all the vivacity of anger, accusing Rāṅga Kṛishṇa of treason, and threatening chastisement in the near future. But loyal enthusiasm on their part was hardly serviceable in the Trichinopoly court. Beaten almost to death, they went outside the fort, and incited their army to attack the fortifications. But a large force of Trichinopoly infantry and 45,000 cavalry were more than a match for the invaders, who were cut up piece-meal. Never did the Padshah send again a similar message to his vassals!

Its meaning.

A tale so singular and interesting has naturally given rise to a good deal of controversy. It will be evident, from what has been said, that, if the slipper was sent at all, it should have been sent by Aurangzeb. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda could not have done it, for the simple reason that at this time they were themselves a prey to Mughal greed, and by 1687 had ceased to exist. If any sovereign had despatched the slipper, therefore, it must have been their conqueror, the Puritan son of Shah Jahan. Could that have been the case? Was Aurangzeb, the embodiment of craft and cunning, the impersonation of statecraft, the author of such a tactless expedition? It taxes our credulity. The Musalman chronicles are completely silent about it. These, however, it may be argued, were partial, and carefully avoided a subject which was detrimental to their own reputation or interests. But what about Manucci, that great traveller, who was an eye-witness of these campaigns, and took a passionate delight in recording anecdotes like this? Why is he silent about an affair which, if it had happened, must have happened under his very nose? But a grasp of all the circumstances of the period does not make it improbable. Mr. Taylor believes it. He does not think the tale to be silly rodomontade. He sees in it a true expression and exemplification of Aurangzeb's egotism, of his desire to extend the boundaries of the

empire to the southernmost limits of India, of that spirit of supercilious contempt with which he regarded the feudatory princes, calling them petty chiefs and zemindars. The expedition of Zulfiqar Khan in the reign of Mangammāl was probably a punitive²³ expedition.

Raṅga Kṛishṇa's death.

In the midst of such a glorious career, the young king of Madura was struck down by small-pox, then, as now, a virulent curse to India. It was the greatest misfortune which could befall the unfortunate kingdom. If Raṅga Kṛishṇa had continued to live, he would in all probability have postponed the subjugation of his kingdom by the Mughals; and though his mother, Maṅgammāl, carried on the affairs of state with a remarkable capacity for fifteen years after his death, she could hardly fill his place. The 18th century was not an age for the rule of women in India. It was too unsettled, too much under influence of upstart powers and adventurous leaders, to allow the mild sceptre of a woman. Mangammāl was one among a million women. She was wise, generous and clever; yet even she failed to secure the independence of her state from Mughal domination, and underwent a tragic death.

The death of Raṅga Kṛishṇa was followed by one of the most romantic and tragic episodes of which Madura history is so full. It has been already mentioned that Raṅga Kṛishṇa had but one queen, to whom he was passionately attached and whose attachment to him was equally passionate. On his death Muttammāl expressed a strong resolve to imitate the heroines of antiquity and become *sati*. The people, however, looked on this attitude with mingled feelings of horror and admiration. Muttammāl was then in an interesting state, and the birth of a successor to Raṅga Kṛishṇa was expected.

(To be continued.)

²³ See *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. XII, pp. 276-77 for a discussion of the probability of this event by J. D. B. Gribble. "The foregoing account is from a Hindu source, and there is nothing in any of the Mahomedan histories which in any way confirms it. It is probably exaggerated, especially as regards the number of Mahomedan army who were put to flight. It shows however that previous to this incident which occurred before the end of the 17th century, the custom of sending the slipper had been for some years in force, since the Trichinopoly Sirdars were acquainted with it, and that the emperor's over-rule was recognized, as the first impulse of the Sirdars was to show respect to the slipper, it is clear that for some time previously the Emperor's rule was recognized as far south as Trichinopoly. In the account of the transactions of the latter years of Aurangzeb's reign, translated by Scott from the narrative of a Bondela officer, we are told that in 1693 Zulfiqar Khan, the Emperor's great general, marched 60 coss from Gingi into the territories of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and collected considerable contributions from the zemindars. The slipper embassy was probably subsequent to this expedition, and it was only 5 or 6 years later, when Aurangzeb's whole attention was taken with the Mahrattas, that so flagrant an insult could have been committed. Without therefore relying on the exact accuracy of the incident as here given, it proves that after the fall of Golkonda the emperor's armies overran the whole of the territories of that State and of Bijapur, and exercised a certain amount of control over the hitherto independent kingdom of Trichinopoly." Gribble is wrong in saying that the incident referred to is subsequent to Zulfiqar Khan's expedition. For, if so, the incident must have taken place after 1693, while Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa died in 1689. It seems to me therefore that Zulfiqar Khan's invasion was subsequent to, if not the immediate outcome of, Raṅga Kṛishṇa's treatment of the slipper. As regards Gribble's argument that the readiness of the Sirdars to pay allegiance to the slipper proves previous imperial supremacy, it seems to me that the inference does not necessarily follow from the fact, as the *sirdars* might have learnt it from hearsay rather than from their own experience, in the past. M. J. Walhouse believes, it may be added here, from the very minute and circumstantial nature of the story that it "wears much the appearance of truth." (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 26.).

A HARAHA STONE-INSCRIPTION

BY NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR, Esqr., CALCUTTA.

IN December 1915, Mr. R. D. Banerji, of the Archaeological Survey of India, made over to me two excellent inked estampages of a Maukhari inscription which had not been published before.¹ These were procured from Pandit Hirānanda Sāstri, then Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, who discovered the inscription at a place, called Hārāhā, in the District of Barabānki, in the United Provinces.² Rājā Raghurāja Singh Bahādur, in whose territory the inscription was discovered, has made a gift of it to the Lucknow Museum,³ where it is now *in situ*.

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone. The size of the inscription is 2'-2½" long and 1'-4½" broad. It consists of 22 lines. Excepting the engraver's name at the end of the inscription, it is entirely in verse. The language is Sanskrit and represents a highly artificial and complex style of composition. The incision is nicely executed and no letters have peeled off. They belong to the northern class of the later Gupta alphabets, such as were prevalent in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. They are akin to and may be grouped with those of the Manāsore inscription of Yaśodharman, dated A. D. 532⁴. The object of the inscription is to record the reconstruction of a dilapidated temple of Siva by Śrīyavarman, son of Śśānavarman, the reigning king of the Maukhari dynasty.

Before the discovery of this inscription, five other records of the Maukhari dynasty were already known :

- (1) Two of king Anantavarman, incised on the Nāgārjunī Hill-Caves.⁵
- (2) A third inscription of king Anantavarman, incised above the door-way of a cave on the Barābar Hill.⁶
- (3) The Jaunpur inscription of king Śrīyavarman.⁷
- (4) A Copper-seal inscription of king Sarvavarman, discovered at Āsirgaḍh, in the Nimār District, in the Central Provinces.⁸

The above inscriptions are all undated ; so scholars were forced to rely mainly upon palæographical grounds, in order to assign them to a particular period of Indian history. The great importance of the Hārāhā inscription lies in its being dated. The date is expressed in a chronogram which runs thus :—

Ekādaśatirikṭēshu śaṣṭsu śātītavidvishi

Śateshu śaradām patyau bhuvah Śrīśāna-varmaṇi.—v. 21.

The above verse gives the year 611 (600+11) of a particular era, the name of which is not mentioned. But there is little doubt that it must be assigned to the Vikrama era, which makes it equivalent to A. D. 554. The reasons in support of this, are simple. King Mādhavagupta, we know from the Aphaḍ inscription,⁹ was a contemporary of king Harshadeva, or Harshavardhana, who reigned approximately from A. D. 606 to 647. So Mādhavagupta must have lived in the first half of the seventh century A. D. The Maukhari king Śśānavarman to whose reign this inscription belongs, was a contemporary

¹ When I was engaged in deciphering the inscription, a reading together with an impression of the same appeared in a Hindi monthly, called the *Sarasvati*.—1322 B. S., pp. 80-86.

² *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, for the year ending 31st March, 1915*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.* for the year ending 31st March, 1916, p. 3 (Appendix D, p. 8.)

⁴ *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions*, pl. XXII.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 223-26 ; 226-28.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 221-23.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 228-30.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 219-21.

⁹ *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 203-4.

of king Kumāragupta,¹⁰ the great-grandfather of Mādhavagupta, as the Aphsāḍ inscription represents him to have fought with the former. So it stands to reason that the date of Śānavarman must be placed earlier than the first half of the seventh century. Now, in order to get a date that would be earlier than the first half of the seventh century, we are constrained to refer the year 611 to the Vikrama era. No other era can give us a date slightly earlier than the time of Harshavardhana. Our conclusion is also not opposed to the palaeographical considerations.

In the *Annual Report* of the Lucknow Museum,¹¹ it was suggested that, "Taking *atirikta* (*see* the verse quoted above) in the sense of superfluous, the other possible meaning will be 589." Now, according to Mr. Burn, some coins of Sarvavarman, son and successor of Śānavarman, bear the date A. D. 553¹². If we accept this, we have to reject the year 611 (A. D. 554), which our inscription gives for Śānavarman; for unless we do so, the dates of the son and father overlap each other, which is contrary to the natural course of things. If we reject the year 611, we have got to accept the only other 'possible' date, which is 589 Vikrama era, i. e. A. D. 532. But before we do so, it is important for us to know for certain, whether the coins of Sarvavarman actually give us a date and whether that date is equal to the Christian year 553. Through the kindness of Mr. R. D. Banerji, I had occasion to examine the hoard of Maukhari coins (discovered in the Fyzabad district)¹³ now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I am sorry to say that the date-marks on the coins of Sarvavarman (as well as of other Maukhari kings) have totally disappeared and as such it is impossible to say at which particular date those coins were issued. So it is better not to infer anything from them and hazard a doubtful reading that may or may not be correct. I may also add that Mr. Banerji is also of the same opinion, and I am sure that will be the opinion of all who examine the coins with any care. I therefore feel inclined to reject the date given by Mr. Burn for Sarvavarman's coins, and accept the year 611 as the only possible date at which the inscription belonging to the reign of Śānavarman might have been incised.¹⁴

The Āsirgaḍh seal gives a genealogy of the Maukhari princes down to Sarvavarman.¹⁵ The present inscription adds one more name to the Maukhari list. This is Sūryavarman, another son of Śānavarman. But it omits the name of Sarvavarman. The inscription opens with two laudatory verses in honour of the god Śiva. Then follows the usual genealogy beginning with Harivarman, the first king of the dynasty (v. 4). From him was born Ādityavarman. He was a pious man, and frequently performed sacrifices (vs. 6-7). Śivaravarman was his son (vs. 8-10). From him was born Śānavarman, who was, as it were, the beaming moon in the firmament of subordinate kings (*rājanrājaka-maṇḍalāmvaraśāsi*—v. 11). The 13th śloka, which gives a description of the conquests of Śānavarman, is very important. It runs as follows :—

Jitvāndhrādhīpatiṃ sahasraganīta-tredhāksharatvārṇanam
Vyāvālganniyutātisamkhyaturagān bhaṅktvā raṇe Sūlikām
Kritvā chāyatimochitasthalabhuvā Gauḍān samudrārayā—
Nadhyāśishā natakshītīśacharaḥ śiśūhṛdsanam yo jīti

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 203.

¹² *J. R. A. S.* 1906, pp. 848-49.

¹⁴ Before examining the coins I was of opinion that the chronogram yields the year 589—*Vaṅḍya-Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, 1323 B. S., p. 289. But now I give it up.

¹⁵ *F. G. I.*, p. 220.

¹¹ For the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3, foot-note.

¹³ *Ibid.*

From the above it follows that Śānavarman defeated in battle the king of the Andhras, and the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas who were all compelled to accept his sovereignty. When he was ruling the earth, his son Śūryavarman was born. One day when the prince was out a-hunting, he lighted upon an old temple of Siva, which he caused to be reconstructed (v. 20). The building was finished in the rainy season of the year 600 exceeded by 11, when Śānavarman was the lord of the earth (v. 22). The post of the inscription is Raviśāṃpti, son of Kumārasāṃpti, an inhabitant of Garggarākāṣa (v. 23). The name of the engraver then follows. It was incised by Mihiravarman.

The most interesting point of the foregoing summary is Śānavarman's victory over the Andhra king, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas. The old Andhra empire had now perished; so it is not quite certain what is signified here by the mention of an Andhra king. Who the Śūlikas were, is also not known. According to Fleet, they are identifiable with the Mūlikas, mentioned in the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā* (XIV, 48, 23). Fleet places them in the north-western frontier.¹⁶ The tribe or country *mūlaka*, mentioned in the Nāsik cave-inscription of Balaśri,¹⁷ mother of the Andhra king Śrī Śātakarṣi Gotamiputra, is identified with Mūlikā by Prof. Rapson.¹⁸ In former times the letters *Sa* and *Ma* were often interchangeable. So it might be that the Śūlika stands here for the Mūlika or Mūlaka. The defeat of the Andhras is also mentioned in a mutilated inscription¹⁹ of the Maukhari king Śvaravarman, father of Śānavarman. The portion in which the name of the man who defeated them was mentioned, is broken. But it is probable that the allusion is to their defeat by the armies of king Śvaravarman. This is clear from the Hārāhā inscription. It is apparent from the verse quoted above that Śānavarman's glorious undertakings preceded his sitting on his father's throne i. e. they took place when his father was still ruling. This creates a strong presumption in favour of what is stated above, that probably the defeat of the Andhra king, mentioned in the mutilated Jaunpur inscription, is to be assigned to the reign of Śvaravarman. It is interesting to note that the name *Gauḍa* occurs for the first time in the new inscription from Hārāhā. We do not as yet know what local dynasty was ruling in Bengal in the sixth century A. D. But the conquest of the province by the Maukharis undoubtedly signalises the extinction of Gupta rule in Bengal.

I think, it is necessary here to point out that the discovery of this dated inscription of the Maukharis settles the chronology of the several undated Maukhari inscriptions hitherto discovered. The Jaunpur inscription, as it belongs to the reign of Śvaravarman, father of Śānavarman, must be put earlier than the year A. D. 554 the only known date at which Śānavarman was ruling. It may be safely placed in the last quarter of the fifth or the first quarter of the sixth century. For the three other undated inscriptions which are on the Barabar and Nāgārjuni Hills an unusually late period is suggested by Mr. C. V. Vaidya.²⁰ According to him the Maukhari princes mentioned in them are to be assigned to a date later than that of Harsha. But the letters of the inscriptions of Anantavarman are older in form even than those of the Hārāhā inscription. The tripartite *ya* which is a characteristic of the Kushān and the Early Gupta alphabets,²¹ is used promiscuously along with its later developed form, in the Hārāhā inscription. But in the inscriptions of Anantavarman only the tripartite form of *ya* is to be met with. This is a clear indication that they are of considerably earlier date.

¹⁶ *Ante.*, 1893, p. 186.

¹⁷ *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 60, 62.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. XXXI.

¹⁹ 'Vindhyādreh pratirandhrāmandhrapatinī śaṃkīporeṇ śātam'—Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 230.

²⁰ *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 244-5.

²¹ Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* (English Translation), p. 48; c. f. Bühler's *Tafel*, IV, Vols. XI—XII and XIII, 32.

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET.

BY L. D. BARNETT.

INDIAN STUDENTS have suffered a grievous loss by the death of Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., which took place on the 21st February last. He had been for some time past in enfeebled health, suffering especially from an affection of the lungs; but he maintained his interest in his favourite studies until a few weeks before his death. His departure is deeply mourned by all who have known him; and the sorrow of his friends in England will be equally shared by those in the Presidency of Bombay, for it was there that he spent most of the thirty years of his duty as an official of the Indian Civil Service, happy years of vigorous youth and manhood spent in faithful work for the welfare of the Indian people and for the advancement of the studies in which he was the acknowledged master. Often in his later years he used to speak with tenderness and admiration of his old friends—the Kanarese peasantry, and recall the days that he had spent among them, listening after office hours to their tales and recording their ballads. A capable and wise administrator, as well as a profound and successful investigator of scientific truth, he leaves behind him a record of work supremely well done.

John Faithfull Fleet, the son of John George Fleet, of Chiswick, and his wife Esther Faithfull, was born in 1847, and educated in London at the Merchant Taylor's School. In 1865 he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service, and in preparation for his work in India studied at University College, London, among other things learning Sanskrit from Theodor Goldstücker. He arrived in Bombay in 1867, and entered the Revenue and Executive Branch of the Service. His official career may be briefly summarised. He became successively Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Educational Inspector for the Southern Division (1872), Assistant Political Agent in Kolhapur and the Southern Maratha Country (1875), Epigraphist to the Government of India (1883), Junior Collector, Magistrate, and Political Agent at Sholapur (1886), Senior Collector (1889), Commissioner of the Southern and Central Divisions (1891-1892), and Commissioner of Customs (1893); he retired in 1897. With his official work his scientific and literary studies went hand in hand. He applied himself at once to the investigation of the epigraphic records of the Bombay Presidency, and speedily proved himself to be possessed of all the qualities needful for this work. His mind was vigorous, exact, and acute, his judgment sober and judicious; he had a deep and accurate knowledge of the Sanskrit and Kanarese languages and literatures, and of astronomy and epigraphy; and he handled details with consummate mastery. His early papers in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* already showed these qualities, and marked him as a coming leader of epigraphic and historical studies. From its foundation in 1872 onwards he took a keen interest in the *Indian Antiquary*; he was its joint editor with Sir Richard Carnac Temple from volume XIV to volume XX, and many of his most valuable papers appeared in it. He published for the India Office in 1878 his "Pāli, Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," a useful and scholarly collection, which however was eclipsed in 1888 by his "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors," forming volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, a splendid piece of work from every point of view, which by establishing the epoch of the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 319-320 laid the key-stone of Indian chronology. Another very valuable work was his "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Presidency," which was published in 1895 as volume I, Part I, of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*; in this he put together in orderly arrangement the vast amount of data collected by him from epigraphic and literary sources which bear on the history of those ancient kingdoms. After his return to England he devoted himself with characteristic energy to his favourite studies. He became in 1907

Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which in 1912 awarded him its Gold Medal; and he published numerous papers and notes in the *Journal* of the Society, besides occasional contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica* and other publications. That the sciences of Indian chronology and epigraphy now stand on firm scientific bases is mainly due to him; and it is a noble monument to his life's work.

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET AND THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

BY RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

I have always looked on my old friend, John Faithfull Fleet, as one of the chief founders of our present knowledge of ancient and mediæval Indian history, and as I was intimately connected for some years with his work in this *Journal* I should not be doing justice to his memory if I failed to draw attention to the extent to which we are indebted to his invaluable researches for what we can say we know accurately on the subject. Any kind of study that would throw light on the history of India was of absorbing interest to him—whether it related to epigraphy, chronology, historical geography, philology or literature—and whenever he handled any special point he did it with a thoroughness and a painstaking accuracy that from the first commanded my respect and admiration.

This *Journal*, now in its 47th year, was founded, amid many gloomy prognostications as to its prospects on the part of Indian scholars, in 1872, by Dr. James Burgess, who also has recently passed away. Fleet was connected with it from its very first year and my own connection began in 1879. Soon afterwards, in 1883, I began to help him with the reproduction of his epigraphical plates. In 1884 the state of Dr. Burgess' eyesight obliged him to contemplate giving up his editorship and it was taken on by Fleet and myself in 1885. For the next seven years we conducted it jointly, Fleet being for that period its principal contributor. In 1892 he also gave up the editorship and since that date it has fallen to me to carry it on, sometimes alone and sometimes with coadjutors. But though Fleet was not again associated with me as an editor, he never ceased to take an active interest in the *Journal* and contributed to its pages in his own valuable way from time to time, his very last article being by a curious coincidence an obituary notice of our old mutual friend, Dr. James Burgess.

Before going into the details of Fleet's connection with the *Indian Antiquary*, I cannot do better than transcribe here a note he left behind him on two points in his work which gave him the greatest satisfaction, especially as it shows wherein he thought it would prove of most value in the future.

"There are two things in connection with my work, which have always given me great gratification.

"One is that it was I who led my friend, the late Professor Kielhorn, to take a share in working on the inscriptions of India. As we all know, his great speciality was the study of Sanskrit grammar, with the help of the oral tradition accessible only by residence in India, to supplement the written books: and he devoted himself almost entirely to that as long as he remained in India. But I had aroused his interest in the inscriptions, by occasionally consulting him on difficult points of interpretation. That led him to recognize the great importance of them, as regulating, by the details and dates which they furnish, everything about the ancient history of the country that we can learn from tradition, literature, coins, art, architecture or any other source.

"From soon after his retirement in 1881 he applied himself largely to epigraphic work; with the result that he gave us, not only critical and valuable editions of many inscriptional texts, but also lists, with abstracts of contents, of all the published inscriptions of Northern and Southern India from about A. D. 400 onwards. And in doing that, he did quite as much as any one has done towards placing the science of Indian epigraphy on a sound basis.

"The other matter is in connection with my settlement of the initial year of the Gupta era. As I have made clear in my introduction to the volume of the Gupta inscriptions, I could not have determined this point without the help of the late Mr. Shankar Balkishan Dikshit. It rested on the exact determination of the equivalents of the dates given in some of the inscriptions. At that time we could only calculate Hindu dates approximately, with results which might or might not be correct, and so could not give any certainty. I was then in charge of the Sholapur district and was in camp at Barsi towards the end of 1886.

"Mr. Dikshit, who was then an Assistant Master in the English school at that town, came to my tents and made himself known to me. He had seen one or another of my articles on the matter in question which had excited his interest: and he came to me because he was able to take the matter to its conclusion. I soon found that that was the case. He was well versed in astronomy, both Hindu and European, and was in fact, a joint worker with other people in the making of almanacs. And he made the calculations, some of them very laborious, which enabled me to prove that the first Gupta King began to reign in A. D. 320. The matter, moreover, did not end there. At my request, Mr. Dikshit published an explanation of the process by which we could calculate the exact Christian date of any given Hindu lunar date by means of tables which had been published by Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre, a well known mathematician and astronomer.

"This aroused general interest in this line of research, and led to the publication of other processes and tables by Professor Jacobi and by Mr. Dikshit himself in collaboration with Mr. Sewell, by means of which we can now deal satisfactorily with Hindu dates of all kinds, no matter how complicated the details of them may be.

"I have not much more to say. If life were long enough, I should like to re-edit up to date almost everything that I have published. In all the lines of research in which I have worked, our progress was for a long time very tentative: indeed, in some respects it still is so. In such circumstances, it is impossible to avoid making mistakes: and I have written much that I should like to correct, and some things which I should like to cancel altogether. However, I doubt if I shall ever see my way to doing much in that direction. New points of urgent interest arise so constantly that it is difficult to go back on past ground, except in the way of incidental and sometimes quite tacit correction. I can only express the hope that writers who may wish to quote me will look to my later writings in preference to the earlier ones."

One of the interesting things that command our attention from a survey of Fleet's contributions to this *Journal* is that it discloses the history of Indian epigraphical research almost from its commencement as a systematic study. The very first note he contributed relates to the clearing of inscriptions covered with paint and oil after the Indian fashion, so that they may be properly read and reproduced.

In the same first volume Fleet published a Canarese inscription with a translation and lithographed text. In 1873 he had a note on Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions, foreshadowing the great work that he performed in subsequent years. In 1874 occurs the first of a long series of philological notes: it was on the Sanskrit name for the ring finger, *anāmikā*. In 1875 he had an article on an old Canarese Inscription without a plate, but it was in this year that he commenced his splendid series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions critically edited, together with disquisitions on the dates, pedigrees and facts disclosed. These papers were accompanied by printed texts and illustrated by reproductions of the originals by William Griggs (who has now too passed away) from Fleet's facsimiles, or from facsimiles made under his superintendence, with extraordinary care and accuracy. In this year he began with 8 of these inscriptions and carried on the series till

1891, by which time he had given 196 of them to the world of Oriental scholarship. From 1875 till 1892 he took a large share in the contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, making it the chief journal dealing with Indian epigraphy.

In 1876 Fleet commenced a long series of critical notes and contributions on writings directly purporting to relate to Indian History with an article on the *Chronicle of Toragal*, which was followed by a criticism of Dr. Rice's Western Chalukhya Grants of Kirttivarman in 1879, a subject to which he returned in 1881. It was in 1879 also that we saw the beginnings of his long and all important studies in Indian Chronology in most interesting notes on the use of the term *saṃvat* for "a year," controverting older ideas thereon: on the Chalukhya Vikrama Varsha (era): and on the dating of inscriptions in the years of the King's reign in South India, this last being a long disquisition. In 1881 he began to record notes on newly found inscriptions on stone and copper-plates. Later on he induced owners of the latter to place them in his hands for decipherment and publication.

In 1883 he began to give to the world the results of his researches in two important directions—firstly, the study of Indian Eras, commencing with an article of moment at the time on "the Nomenclature of the Principal Hindu Eras, especially the Sāka and Vikrama", and secondly, notes on local historical geography, a subject he considerably developed later on. Philological observations relating to the meaning of technical terms used in inscriptions also claimed his constant attention at this time. He further produced in this year an historical disquisition on the Ganga Dynasty in Southern India, then but little known.

In the volume for 1884 was made public a great service to Indian epigraphy and history. At much expense and labour, and as the result of exceptional skill and patience, faithful facsimiles of the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka at Delhi and Allahabad had been taken by Fleet and those working under his superintendence. These were reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary* with the accuracy that always distinguished the work of Griggs and transcripts of them were given by Bühler in the Devanāgarī character, settling the question of the actual text for good and all.

From this year Dr. Burgess ceased to be Editor and this *Journal* passed into the hands of Fleet and myself with the volume for 1885. Fleet was now its principal contributor, carrying on vigorously his Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions and his notes on geography, chronology, history and philology, with occasional articles on palaeography and epigraphy. He also commenced in this year his long series of notes and articles on coin legends, as illustrating statements in inscriptions and literature, with those of the Guptas, and on Canarese Ballads, text, translation and music. In the seven years 1885-1891 he filled the *Journal* with article after article and note after note on the above subjects, by way of direct contributions or of criticism of the work of contemporary writers. Any kind of information which could throw light on the story of ancient India at once claimed his earnest attention and he read and expounded it out of the fullness of his own knowledge thereon. He thus produced in 1886 his first speculations on the Epochs of Indian Eras, commenting on the Gupta Era, on the Sāka Era in 1888, and on the Gupta-Valabhi Era in 1891. In 1887 he began his Calculations of Hindu Dates, carrying them on at times till 1891 and producing altogether 48 of them. In this matter he did not confine himself to the doings of peoples and kings, for in that year he enquired into the dates of Sankarāchārya and the poet Rājasekhara. In 1888 he printed an article, of great importance for the time, on the Summary of Results for the Epoch and Origin of the Gupta Era—results achieved by the combination of the work of skilled Indian epigraphists and European

astronomers, involving prolonged and immense labour. The year 1889 found Fleet engaged in another line of epigraphic study of much consequence in its way to historical research:—the critical examination of ancient forgeries of grants. Of these he produced in time a considerable number, with reasons for his opinions on them. The seals of royal grantors in epigraphical documents and the pedigrees disclosed by inscriptions, seals, coins and literary works were necessarily constantly in his mind, and in 1890 he published what was at that date an important note on the Ehitari Seal of Kumāragupta II. and the Gupta Pedigree.

After the volume for 1891 had been issued Fleet ceased his connection with the *Indian Antiquary* as a Joint Editor, and it fell to myself to continue the *Journal*, but it will be seen that I have been able to record above sufficient to show that his efforts had made it by that time the principal exponent of Oriental research in private hands, and beyond doubt the chief vehicle for the publication of Indian epigraphical studies. Although Fleet continued to help the periodical in his own line of study, the character it had acquired as essentially an historical and epigraphical publication had perforce to change by reason of his retirement from a share in its conduct and also for the reason that the Government of India had begun to take the direction of study of epigraphy into its own hands. At great risk and cost to its proprietors, Fleet and myself, the *Indian Antiquary* had trained and maintained for years, under Fleet's direction, a private staff for the purpose of discovering, collecting (a very delicate matter), and reproducing in facsimile, epigraphic records of all sorts. It was this fact that made much of what we were able to publish available to scholars and others interested in Indian historical research. When, however, the Government stepped into the field, fresh documents and evidence naturally went into the hands of its own servants through the agency of local officials instructed to collect and forward them to certain Government offices. An official *Journal* was started in 1891 for the purpose of publishing them—the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in time the private staff of the *Indian Antiquary* had to be broken up. However, after some negotiation, the *Indian Antiquary* became in 1894-5, through its *Supplement*, now the *Epigraphia Indica*, the official channel for the publication of the Government's collections under the editorship of Government officers, and has remained such ever since.

Although Fleet's contributions after 1891 related to his favourite subject (including epigraphy, chronology and philology), ancient Indian topography and historical geography formed the chief part of them, and between 1892 and 1910 he produced a great series of articles and notes on ancient place names and the identification of their sites. He also wrote for me obituary notices of three mutual friends of long standing—Shankar Balkishan Dikshit, who died in 1898 while yet a young man, and Sir James Macnabb Campbell in 1903, and finally, just before his own death he published this year an account of the oldest of them all, Dr. James Burgess, the founder of the *Indian Antiquary*.

I do not like to say much more. It is natural to find, after 33 years of close association, in my capacity of editor-proprietor of this *Journal*, with many scholars and writers of mark on Indian subjects, that the great majority have passed away or have ceased to be able to contribute largely, and that the work must now be handed on to a younger band of men devoted to the same class of studies. It may be a mistaken judgment, out of old friendship and association, but I have always regarded Fleet as in the forefront of the pioneers who have shown the way to the rising generation of scholars desiring an accurate knowledge of the ancient and mediæval history of the Indian Empire. I can only hope that the generation yet unborn, which will be able to pronounce a detached and well proportioned judgment on all of us, will be of the same opinion.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON SIND.

I

The Position of Mt. Eiros.

It is often considered that the task of identifying the stations along Alexander's route borders so nearly on the impossible that mere conjecture will do for the purpose of argument. For instance, Mr. V. A. Smith is quite willing to assume that Hyderabad corresponds with the position of Patala, though he does not believe it. It will be something gained therefore if we can fix some points.

Alexander's great difficulty in leaving India was to arrange for water supply across Karachi Taluka and Baluchistan, i. e., the *bārdāi* limestone area north-west of the Indus delta. Similarly Nearchus with the fleet had to take every precaution, and one may be very sure—and the authorities are clear—that from his base in the delta Alexander explored the route to the west very carefully before setting out.

Now where is water available in the Karachi Taluka? In the River Habb, the western frontier of Sind, in the bed of the Lyari (by excavation), in the bed of the Malir (by excavation) and at Rerhi from springs at the foot of the cliff. In the neighbourhood of Rerhi is a fissure specially sacred to a crocodile and still known as Wāghodar, the crocodile's doorway. Of the antiquity of the cult of the crocodile in the delta of the Indus there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt of the fact that Krokala really means the "crocodile's place"—for the name is not given as a local name.

Now the identifications proposed are these:—

Eiros == Rerhi.

Krokala == Wāghodar.

Songades == Songal, the name of a Makān north of Karachi.

The accompanying maps fully bear out the descriptions in Arrian.

Then the first harbour after Rerhi, the large and commodious Alexander's Haven, is Ghizri Creek, the mouth of the river Malir. It was protected by an island which has now become "tied." The subsoil water around the lower course of the Malir River is very brackish, as sea water percolates through this sandy soil. The bay sheltered by the island of Domai must be Karachi Harbour lying under the lee of Manora, and water would be obtained by sending fatigued parties inland to dig in the bed of the Lyari.

These identifications appear to be exact. Now Krokala was 120 stadia—"following the windings of the coast"—from the mouth of the river. This distance (fourteen miles) corresponds almost exactly with that of the Khudi "creek", a creek which is in reality a huge lagoon. Now the Khudi creek is the sea-ward end of the abandoned Khānwah, a canal which was once a bed of the Indus. Again Alexander knew of two mouths of the Indus, of which the "right" one was too treacherous for use by his fleet. It follows then that the Khānwah was the "left" branch and the Khudi estuary, the lake in which bathing resulted in "Sind sores."

One can only conclude then that the Gharo creek was the "right" arm, that Bhambhor was the island of Killoutis and that Patala was somewhere near Gujo, where the Khānwah and Gharo channels bifurcated.

G. E. L. CARTER.

BOOK-NOTICES

AUTHĀSIKA RĀSA SAṅGRAHA. BY VIJAYA DHARMA SŪRI. Fasciculi I and II, (1916-17); pp. 96 and 74 resp. Bhavnagar, Saraswati Press. (In Gujarātī).

The Series which the distinguished Jain Acharya Vijaya Dharma Sūri is inaugurating with the two fasciculi mentioned above for the publication of Jain *rāsas* possessing some historical value, is certain to be welcome to different classes of readers: the student of Jain religion and literature, the student of Old Gujarātī, and the student of the mediæval history of Gujarāt and Rajputana. The Series promises to throw a new and considerable light on a very important section of the vernacular literature of the Jains in Western India, which has been so imperfectly known to this day, and in particular to help to establish what real value these *rāsas* have in connection with the history of

the periods and personages to whom they refer and which place they are to be given in the classification of the materials for the mediæval history of India.

That the Editor himself wishes to consider this legendary literature chiefly from an historical point of view, is borne out not only by the title given to the Series, but also by the introduction to the first fasciculus, and still more by the erudite notes given in illustration of names of persons and places occurring in the texts. These notes, teeming as they do with references to historical works and inscriptions—often inedited, discovered by the Editor in the course of his *vihāras* through Rajputana or Gujarāt—, and supplying as they do names and dates in an accurate form, constitute, perhaps, the most useful and genial part of the work. Each fasciculus is divided into three parts: the first

containing an abridged prose translation of the particular *rāsas*, illustrated by the notes mentioned above, the second containing the poetical texts, and the third containing lists of obsolete or difficult words occurring in the texts, with renderings in modern Gujarātī. The edition of the texts does not claim to be critical, it is merely a faithful copy of the manuscripts, but as these are for the most part accurate, the absence of philological criticism is not much felt. The language of the *rāsas* is Old Gujarātī, and the works contained in the first two fasciculi, with which we are concerned, were composed between *Samvat* 1589 and 1741.

Of course, it could not reasonably be expected that all the works which form the subject of the Series should be equally important from the historical point of view. The fact that the *rāsas* selected for publication are defined as *aitihāsika* in the title given to the Series, does not mean anything except that the personages described or mentioned in them are historical. But the particulars given of the life of these personages are not always so. In most cases the account is fantastical and full of supernatural facts, miracles, etc., which may be believed by the devout Jain, but are mere rubbish to the critic. The *rāsas* contained in the first fasciculus are six, and they deal with the subjects following:—

1. *Kocara Vyavahāri Rāsa*. Composed by Guṇa Vinaya in *Samvat* 1687. It contains a legend concerning Kocara, a Vīṣṇu Poravāja of Salakhānapura (near Anahilapura Pāṭana), who became lord of twelve villages and proclaimed the *amāri* (prohibition of killing any animal) throughout this territory. The legend appears to be altogether fantastical, but a Desalaharī Sājana Sī of Khambhāta, who has a principal part in the legend, and other Desalaharīs of Delhi, who had in their service a bard (*yodaka*) De Pāja, are historical personages, as shown by the Editor in a note.

2. *Rasa Ratna Rāsa*. Composed by Jaya Candra Gaṇi in *Samvat* 1654. It contains a biographical account of Rāya Candra Sūri, his predecessor Samara Candra, and Samara Candra's predecessor Pārśva Candra. The last mentioned Acharya—who was the founder of a separate *gaccha*—died in *Samvat* 1612, whilst Rāya Candra took the *dikṣā* in *Samvat* 1626. The fact that the *rāsa* is almost contemporary with the personages it describes, makes it particularly reliable and gives the account a character of authenticity.

3. *Sumati Sādhu Sūri Vivahāḥ*. By Lāvanya Samaya (*Samvat*-century 1500). A short biography of Ratna Sekhara Sūri's pupil Sumati Sādhu Sūri, who lived in *Samvat* 1494-1551. Sumati Sādhu

was born at Jāura, in Mewar, and the mention of this place, which is now in ruins, gives the Editor an opportunity for inserting an erudite note on the remains, which he has explored.

4. *Bhīma Cōpāi*. Composed by a pupil of Kīrti Sāgara Sūri in *Samvat* 1742. A eulogy of Bhīma Sāha, a pious Poravāja of Asapura (near Dāgarapura), with special reference to a pilgrimage which he, in the function of *saṅghapati*, made to Dhulevaji (Kesariyaji).

5. *Khemā Haṭṭiyā nō Rāsa*. Composed by Lakṣmi Ratna in *Samvat* 1741. A legend of a *seṭha*, Khemō of Haṭṭiyā, who relieved the population of Cāpanera during a terrible famine under the reign of Muhammad Begarō.

6. *Rāya Candra Sūri Guru Bāramāsa*. A small poem in the form of a dialogue between Rāya Candra—the protagonist of the *Rasa Ratna Rāsa* mentioned above—and his sister, who by describing to him the different beauties and pleasures obtaining in the twelve months of the year, tries to dissuade him from his intention to take the *dikṣā*.

The second fasciculus is all dedicated to a single work, called the *Yaśobhadra Rāsa*, composed by Lāvanya Samaya in *Samvat* 1589. In the introduction to the work (pp. 4-16), the Editor gives a short biographical account of this Jain poet, who was born at Ahmadabad in *Samvat* 1521, and of his productions, which are all poetical works and not less than 30 in number. He was, of course, a monk, and his lay name, previous to his initiation was Lahū Rāja. A valuable work of Lāvanya Samaya—the *Vimala Prabandha*—had already been brought to light by Maṇi Lāla Bakora Bhāi of Surat (*Samvat* 1970). The present work falls into three parts, or *khaṇḍas*, of which the two first contain the life of Khimarai and Balibhadra, two disciples of Yaśobhadra Sūri, and the third the life of Yaśobhadra Sūri himself. Considering that Lāvanya Samaya wrote over 500 years after the time in which his protagonists lived—Yaśobhadra died *Samvat* 1029—it is no wonder if his account is inaccurate and altogether fantastical. In this respect the work has no value whatever, historically. But there are many other *rāsas* in existence, which, when brought to light, will be found to better justify the title of *aitihāsika* which Vijaya Dharma Sūri has given to his *Rāsa Samgraha*. We know that the third fasciculus is already in the press, and let us express the hope that the learned Jain Acharya may continue the publication through many more fasciculi, and soon enable us to have a deeper and sufficient insight into this interesting section of the Jain literature.

L. P. TESSITORI.

KĀVYAMĪMĀṢĀ OF RĀJASEKHARA, edited by
Mr. C. D. DALAL, M.A. and R. ANANTAKRISHNA
SHASTRY, Baroda, 1916. Price Rs. 2.

Oriental scholars will ever remain grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda for the publication of this new series—Gaekwad's Oriental Series—the first volume of which is the work under review. The editors have discharged their duty creditably—the edition being a critical one and the introduction and notes valuable.

The author is identical with the Rājasekhara whose name is famous for his dramas, Karpūramāñjarī, Bālarāmāyana, &c. He calls himself Yāgyavalkya (born in the Yāgyavalkya family) and very often introduces it at the end of a discussion on a topic as 'iti Yāgyavalkya' or 'neti Yāgyavalkya'. This style in a work of known authorship and of known date is a tangible refutation of the theory that the *sūtras* in which phrases like *ityāha Bādarāyaṇaḥ*, *iti Boddhāyanaḥ*, *iti Vātsyāyanaḥ*, *neti Kauṭilyaḥ*, &c., occur should not be logically ascribed to those *śākyas*.

The work under review is a treatise on *alankāra*. But it is not a guide for the proper appreciation of *raśa*, *gāyana* and figures of speech of classical Sanskrit poetry. It is rather a handbook for the guidance of the poets themselves. Hence it mentions the *flora*, *fauna*, etc. to be described in connection with the different seasons and countries. Thus has been introduced a brief *resumé* of geography with an account of the colours of the people of different parts of India—a subject which is to be compared to the statements in the *Bhāṭanāṭyaśāstra* (J. A. S. B. 1909, pp. 359-60). It discusses the question of plagiarism and how far it may be allowed and sums it up thus:—

नास्त्यचौरः कविजनो नास्त्यचौरो बलिगजनः !
स नन्दति विना वाच्यं यो जानाति निगूहितम् ॥

It mentions the local peculiarities of Sanskrit and Prakrit pronunciation. The question of the use of the various dialects as the vehicle of poetry has been solved thus:— राधा ते [काव्यपुरुषस्य] शरीरं संस्कृतं मुखं, प्राकृतं बाहः । जघनमपभ्रंशः । पैशाचं पारी, उरो मिश्रम् (p. 6).² Now what is this *miśra* (mixed) represented as the breast of the embodiment of poetry? Is it not a mixed language like the Gāthās of the Buddhists or Senart's "Mixed Sanskrit" of Inscriptions? In connection with the bearing of the various branches of learning to poetry, it classifies *Arthaśāstra*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra*, under one head—Rājasiddhānta (p. 37). The systems of philosophy have been classified thus:—



[See p. 4 and pp. 36-7]

Interesting also is the classification of poets under ten heads:—Kāvyaavidyāśāntaka (novice in the art of poetry). Hridayakavi (one who keeps his poems concealed in his own heart), Anyāpadeśī (a shy poet publishing his poems under a pseudonym), Mahākavi, Kavirāja, Āveśika (inspired), etc. (pp. 19-26). It gives a sidelight on kings and their patronage to arts and sciences. A king "should have a special chamber for testing literary compositions. . . . In (its) middle there should be an altar . . . Here the king should take his seat. On its northern side should be seated Sanskrit poets and behind them Vaidikas, logicians, Paurāṇikas, Smṛtas, physicians, astrologers and such others; on the eastern side the Prakṛita poets, and behind them actors, dancers, singers, musicians, bards and such others; on the western side the [Apabhraṁśa] poets and behind them painters, jewel-setters. . . . and such others; and on the southern side Paisāchya poets and behind them. . . . ropedancers jugglers, wrestlers and professional soldiers. . . . A king should hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets. He should patronize poets, become the Sabhāpati (president) like the ancient kings, Vāsudeva, Śātavāhana, Śūdraka and Śāhasika, and honour and give donations to the poets, whose works stand the test. Assemblies of learned men (Brahmasabhas) should be held in big cities for examining poetical and scientific works; and the successful should be conveyed in a special chariot and should be crowned with a fillet. Such assemblies for examining in poetry were held in Ujjayini, Kālidāsa, Menṭha, Amara, Rāpa, Sūra, Bhāravi, Harichandra and Chandragupta were examined here. Pātaliputra was the centre for examinations in sciences. It was after passing from here that Upavarsha, Varsha, Pāṇini, Pingala, Vyāḍi, Vararuchi, and Patanjali got fame as Śāstrakāras.

Novel also is Rājasekhara's idea of the *Kāvya-puruṣa* and his bride *Sāhityavidyāvadhū*.

Apart from these and other original matters (e. g. divine origin of poetics; promulgation of poetics; its position in literature &c.) the work is also interesting for its charming style. Though aphorism-like and terse, its prose is vigorous, exceedingly charming and pleasing to the ears.

Little did our author dream, when he inserted in his work (p. 27)

“स्वयात्ता नराधिपतयः कविसंश्रयेण
राजाश्रयेण च गताः कवयः प्रसिद्धिम् ।
राज्ञा समोऽस्ति न कवेः परमोपकारी
राज्ञो न चास्ति कविना सदृशः सहायः ॥”

that he will find a *paramopakāri* in the person of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad who will ever be praised by all lovers of Sanskrit literature for this act of literary patronage.

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, FOR THE YEAR 1916, BANGALORE. By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A.

It is gratifying to note that the Archaeological Department of the Mysore Government has maintained its best traditions by its manifold activities during the period under review. The Report which

gives a brief but illuminating summary of its works does great credit to the Department as well as to the Government to whose unstinted patronage it owes its existence and steady progress.

The structures and the records whose accounts are published for the first time in the Report under review, are many in number and of great importance to the students of Indian History. It is impossible to give a full account of them; but we may refer to a few specimens in order to give an idea of the importance of the new finds.

Two temples at Turuvêkere, described and illustrated in pp. 1-2, and the Chennakesava temple of Tanḍaga (p. 4, pl. V.) are good models of structures of the Hoysala style, a peculiarity of the last being that 'every architectural member and piece composing the structure bears an inscription giving its position, direction, etc. in the building.' A small neat temple at Jambitige (p. 9) built in 1733, is remarkable for its sculptures; and we are told that 'every inch of space is carved with figures, etc., on the outer walls and inner walls, too, of the *Sukhandasi* (vestibule). By far the most remarkable discoveries of the year, were, however, made at Sringeri, one of the four places where the great Śaṅkarāchārya established *mathas* or monasteries. The historical account of the *math*, occupied by the disciples of Śaṅkarāchārya down to the present day by a regular succession of *Śeṣmis* is as interesting as it is instructive. We are told that there are three families which receive special honours even now at the Sringeri *matha*, because their progenitors helped Śāyana in the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas. (p. 12). The most remarkable of the more than forty temples at Sringeri is the artistically executed Vidyā-Śaṅkara temple described and illustrated in pp. 12 and ff. and plates I, VI, VII and VIII. The temple was probably erected in the 14th century, but its plan is *unique*, it being apsidal at both the ends. The formation of its tower is peculiar, and its outer walls have, from the bottom, friezes of (1) horses, (2) elephants, (3) lions, (4) *purāṇic* scenes, etc. and (5) dwarfs, with a few camels here and there in the first frieze. Above the frieze of dwarfs comes a row of large figures, about 104 in number, of a variety of deities including those of Kalki, Paraśurāma, Gaṇeśa, Hanūmān and Vyāsa. (1) It is very accurately observed in the Report that the temple as far as it goes is a veritable museum of sculptures for the study of Hindu iconography. The sculptured monolithic pillars, with lions and riders must be looked upon as remarkable productions. On the whole it may be said without any hesitation, that Mysore Archaeological Department has laid the students of Indian art and iconography under a debt of gratitude by bringing this temple to the notice of the public and it may be confidently expected that a monograph on the temple will shortly be published in order to give a full and adequate account of this artistic treasure.

We need not dwell longer upon the rich discoveries made at Sringeri, including, besides the temples, 50 new inscriptions, 200 *śaṅads*, 150 coins and a large number of palmleaf manuscripts. Some of the temples found at other places are also remarkable and add to our knowledge in various ways.

As regards the records, discovered during the year, the most ancient are the two sets of copper-plates, one of Konkanivarma or Avinita and one of his son Durvinita. Almost all the earlier inscriptions of this dynasty including those of the

two sovereigns have been declared to be spurious by competent authorities (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, Appendix p. 20 ff.). As regards the present inscription of Konkanivarma, the author of the Report tells us that barring a few orthographical errors, there does not appear to be any clear indication of the record being spurious' (p. 44). He is, however, more definite about the inscription of Durvinita and styles it as a genuine record of about 500. A.D. on the strength of its language, orthography and palaeography.

The other inscriptions discovered during the period under review belong to the Nolambas, the Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Śilāhāras of Karād, the Rattās of Saundatti, the Hoysalas and the Vijaynagar dynasties. Of these, the long inscription of about 80 lines, found at Belgaum district and recorded in the reign of the Śilāhāra Chief Vijayāditya, is of considerable importance. It is a fine specimen of Kannada verse and probably furnishes a later date for Vijayāditya than has hitherto been known.

Many of the *śaṅads* discovered at Sringeri *math*, are of considerable interest and importance from an historical and social point of view. Several of them recognise the full powers of the *Śeṣmi* to order enquiries into the conduct of the disciples and to punish the delinquents; others are addressed to local officers telling them that the Mārkas, a class of Śūdras, should be warned against adopting the customs and observances of the Brāhmaṇas, that the Devārgas should not be permitted to wear the sacred thread and that no interest higher than 12 p. c. per annum should be allowed to be demanded.

In conclusion, reference must be made to the discovery of a series of very interesting correspondence between the authorities of Sringeri *math* and Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. They throw a flood of light on the relation subsisting between these Mahomedan rulers and their Hindu subjects. Special importance attaches to the letters of Tipu Sultan inasmuch as they seem to disprove, or in any case modify the too generally accepted hypothesis of his bigotry in religious matters and want of toleration towards the Hindu religion. Altogether 28 letters of Tipu have been discovered at Sringeri, and in every one of them, Tipu gives expression to the high regard in which he holds the *Śeṣmi* of the *math* and entreats him to pray for the welfare of himself and his kingdom and to send him his blessings. We also learn from these letters, that when the *śeṣmi* informed Tipu how the Marathas raided Sringeri, killed and wounded many Brāhmaṇas and other people pulled out the goddess Śrāḍā and carried off everything found in the *Math*, and asked for Government help in the shape of money and things to enable him to reconsecrate the image of the goddess, the Sultan replied thus:—

"People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age in accordance with the verse.

Hasadbhiḥ kriyāt karma rudadbhiranubhūyate, 'people do evil deeds smiling, but will suffer the consequences weeping.' The Sultan at the same time enclosed an order to the Asaf of Nagar directing him to give on behalf of Government 200 *rahāt* in cash and 200 *rahāt* worth of grain for the consecration of the goddess Śrāḍā and to supply other articles, if desired, for money. (p. 74.)

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 118.)

BY September 5 we had reached the head of the main Hunza Valley over the Kermin or Rich Pass. Crossing two days later the border of Chinese Turkestan on the Mintaka Pass (15,430 feet) I found myself restored to ground familiar from my two former journeys. But how easy the previously followed routes seemed by comparison with our recent tracks! Since leaving the Kashmir Valley we had crossed altogether fifteen passes, between 10,000 and 17,400 feet in height. The total marching distance covered during these five weeks was over 500 miles, and of this nearly four-fifths had needs to be done on foot.

Rapid as was my descent down the Taghdumbash Valley to Tashkurgan, I could use it for fresh surveys of antiquarian interest. It must suffice here to mention an ancient canal of large size, famous in local lore but abandoned for long centuries, which had once brought fertility to extensive areas along the right river-bank, now almost wholly desert. We could trace its remains, in places remarkably well preserved, for a distance of over 40 miles, from Dardar to below Toghlan-shahr. There, opposite to Tashkurgan, still as in ancient times the chief place of Sarikol, I found also ruins of Buddhist shrines which had previously escaped me.

On leaving Sarikol for Kashgar I followed for a couple of days the main caravan route through the mountains. I was here on the track of Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim whom ever since my first journey I claim as my patron saint. So it was a special satisfaction when on crossing the high plateau of the Chichiklik Maidan, already under fresh snow, I found conclusive evidence that a badly decayed enclosure, now worshipped as a sacred site by Muhammadans and used as a burial-place for unfortunate wayfarers, represents, as I had previously conjectured, the remains of an ancient hospice which Hsüan-tsang described as a place connected with a sacred Buddhist legend.

Beyond this our routes divided. Lal Singh moved off by rapid marches in order to reach, *via* Yarkand and Khotan, that portion of the main Kun-lun range along which I was anxious to have our triangulation of 1906 extended as far as possible eastwards. My heavy baggage was despatched to Kashgar by the usual route *via* Ighizyar under Afrazgul and Shams Din. I myself set out due north with the second surveyor in order to reach the same goal by a new route, across the Merki Pass and down the valley of the Kara-tash or Beshkan River which receives most of the eastern drainage of the great glacier-clad range of Muztagh-ata. Owing to special difficulties this important valley had never been explored in its whole length. In the spring and summer the narrow gorges of the Karatash River are rendered quite impassable by the big floods of the melting glaciers. By the time these floods subside in the autumn, heavy snow on the Merki Pass equally closes the route to traffic. In the spring of 1906 I had sent my late surveyor, plucky Rai Ram Singh, to descend the valley, but his attempt was completely baffled. Chance showed more favour to me now. An exceptional succession of early snowfalls had stopped the melting of the glacier ice just in time to allow of my passage while the Merki Pass (14,500 feet), though deep under snow, could still be traversed with laden yaks. But even thus the descent through the river gorge for two long marches proved a very difficult and in places risky business. The constant crossings of the river tossing between sheer rock walls could not have been safely effected without opportunely secured Kirghiz camels, and none but such hardy local camels accustomed to

the ground could have negotiated the boulder-strewn narrow tracks leading elsewhere along the foot of these precipices.

By September 19 we had safely emerged from the last of these gloomy defiles, and two days later a 40 miles' ride through fertile plains carried me back to Kashgar. There I had the great joy of being received once again, after seven years' absence, by my old and ever-helpful friend, Sir George Macartney, under the hospitable roof of Chini-bagh, now much enlarged and rebuilt as befitted its new dignity as a British Consulate-General. The two busy weeks passed in those familiar cheerful surroundings would certainly not have sufficed for all the heavy work which the organization of my caravan demanded, had not the watchful care and often proved prevision of my kind host aided me in every direction.

In due course there arrived twelve fine camels from Keriya, accustomed to desert work and selected by Hassan Akhun, my experienced old camel factotum, who was now about to embark on the third of our long expeditions into the "sea of sand." Other faithful old Turki followers, too, were glad to take their place again in my caravan. I had been delighted to see again at Kashgar my devoted Chinese secretary and friend, Chiangsu-yeh, who had proved so valuable on my second journey. Since then he had been rewarded by being appointed Chinese Munshi at the Consulate-General. But notwithstanding this comfortable berth, I think he would have been glad to rejoin me had not his increasing years and a serious affection of his ears warned me against accepting the sacrifice and risks which such a step would have involved for my old companion.

Li-ssu-yeh, the shrivelled-up weakly young man whom Chiang provided for the post of camp-literatus, turned out to be a poor substitute, as I had apprehended from the first. But there was no other choice at Kashgar. Wholly absorbed in the task of treating his ailments, real and imaginary, with every Chinese quack medicine he could lay hold of, and as taciturn and inert as a mummy, Li was useless for the manifold scholarly and practical labours in which Chiang had engaged with such cheery energy. But anyhow he managed to indite my Chinese epistles, and he did not play me false in my dealings with Chinese officials.

For this negative virtue I had reason to feel specially grateful. The revolution of 1911 had greatly changed many aspects of Chinese officialdom even in this distant province, and scarcely for the better. A series of assassinations of Mandarins and petty outbreaks fomented by unscrupulous office-seekers had during 1912 seriously disturbed the peace of the "New Dominion," though they were confined to the numerically weak Chinese element, and left the mass of the people, respectable Turki Muhammadans, in their characteristic unconcern. It had been due largely to the wise counsels and moderating influence of Sir George Macartney, who for many years past has enjoyed wide and richly deserved respect among all classes, that the province had escaped complete anarchy. Under the influence of a somewhat stronger régime at headquarters things had become more settled before the time of my return. But it was difficult not to realize that the so-called revolutionary movement in Hsin-chiang had in various respects adversely affected the general type of officials in power. Some of the best qualities of the old local Mandarin world, including regard for scholarly aims and labours, had manifestly been discarded, while the beneficial effect hoped for from "Western learning" and republican methods was still conspicuous by its absence. There was only too much justification for Sir George Macartney's shrewd warning that I could not safely reckon upon finding always the same favourable disposition at Chinese Yamens, which had facilitated my explorations so much during previous journeys.

After a stay which reunion with the kindest of friends, Sir George and Lady Macartney, and the glorious autumn season had combined to render most pleasant, I left the Kashgar Consulate-General on October 9 for my first winter's work in the desert. Its main goal was the region around the dried-up Lop-nor, in the extreme east of the Tarim Basin, and the whole length of the Taklamakan, that great sea of drift-sand over 600 miles in a straight line, separated me from it. A variety of considerations obliged me to revisit Khotan, and once there I was bound to proceed by the only possible route which skirts the southern edge of the Taklamakan. Much of the ground to be traversed there was already familiar to me from my previous expeditions, and for this reason I was all the more eager to use whatever chance of new routes the limits of time left me on my way to Khotan.

This induced me to move first due east to the oasis of Maral-bashi along the foot of the steep and barren mountain chain which forms here the southernmost rampart of the Tien-shan. It had in its main part remained so far unsurveyed, but reports, previously collected, seemed to indicate that an old route, now but vaguely remembered in local lore, had during earlier periods of Chinese domination skirted the foot of that chain and been in use for traffic instead of the present high "road," *recte* caravan track, leading much further south along the actual course of the Kashgar River. The accurate survey now effected confirmed that tradition and proved the existence of a series of small ruined sites echeloned along a line of some 160 miles and dating from pre-Muhammadan times. The ground occupied by them on the gentle desert glacis of the hill chain is now wholly without water. There were also other physical observations of interest to be gathered, clearly pointing to desiccation marshes of the Kashgar River were found to have at one period, perhaps relatively recent, approached that desert glacis in places more closely than they do at present. We had met with serious trouble about water, no drinkable supply having been found on three successive marches. This served as a suitable preparation for difficulties to be faced on our desert travel ahead.

By October 18 we were glad to reach the fields and fruit-gardens of Maral-bashi. The survey of some badly injured Buddhist ruins in the vicinity and of the curious canal system by which the oasis obtains the major portion of its by no means abundant irrigation from the Kashgardarya here approaching its end, occupied me for a few days. But in the main my short stay was taken up with careful preparations for the attempt I planned to make my way to the desert hills of the Mazar-tagh on the lower Khotan River by a short cut through the Taklamakan. I knew well the formidable obstacles and the risks presented by the wide intervening belt of absolutely waterless drift-sand desert. But by sending all baggage, except an absolutely necessary minimum, to Khotan by the caravan route *via* Yarkand; by reducing in the same way my camp to a few indispensable followers, and keeping most of our fine camels for the transport of water in my six galvanized iron tanks and the very numerous goatskins I had brought from India, I could hope safely to overcome the difficulty about water. The advent of the cold season would help our brave camels to face a long fast from grazing and water.

Apart from the attraction presented by the short cut and the fascination of such a desert cruise, there was an important geographical task to justify the enterprise. Our surveys of 1908 had shown reason for the belief that the Mazar-tagh hills, then traced for some 20 miles into the Taklamakan, belonged in geological structure to an ancient range which started at an angle from the outermost Tien-shan near Mara-bashi and once extended across the

Taklamakan in a south-easterly direction. The way in which the bold island-like hills to the east of Maral-bashi have been carved out and isolated by the manifest action of wind-driven sand prolonged through endless ages left little doubt as to how the continuity of that assumed ancient hill range had been broken up. But only actual survey of the ground could supply definite proof.

On October 25 I left Maral-bashi with six hired camels, all I could secure, to act as a "supporting party" to lighten the loads of our own on the initial stages of the desert journey, and three days later we reached the last of those sand-scoured hills in the desert southeastwards, known as Chok-tagh. From a lake near it, which inundations from the Yarkand River feed, but which we found brackish at its end, Hedin had started in May 1896 on that bold journey through the sandy wastes eastward which ended with the destruction of his caravan and his own narrow escape. Steering a south-easterly course we forced our way for three trying marches into the sea of dunes. Closely packed and steep from the start, they grew steadily higher and invariably rose in a line running diagonally across our intended direction. By the second day all trace of vegetation, dead or living, was left behind, and an endless succession of mighty ridges, with not a patch of level sand between them, faced us. The ridges to be climbed soon reached 200-300 feet in height, and progress became painfully slow with the heavily laden camels. Careful levels taken along our track showed an aggregate ascent of some 400 feet over a single mile's distance, with corresponding descents even more trying to the camels.

It was by far the most forbidding ground I had ever encountered in the Taklamakan. By the evening of the third day the hired camels of the "supporting party" had either broken down completely or showed serious signs of exhaustion. Next morning I ascended the highest dune near our camp, and carefully scanning the horizon saw nothing but the same expanse of formidable sand ridges like huge waves of an angry ocean suddenly arrested in movement. There was a strange allurements in this vista suggesting nature in the contortions of death. But hard as it seemed to resist the syren voices of the desert which called me onwards, I felt forced to turn northward. Though we men might have struggled through, I should probably have had to incur the needless sacrifice of some of our brave camels which were to be the mainstay of our transport for the winter's explorations, besides the loss of indispensable equipment. It was as well that I took that hard decision in time; for by the third day after there sprung up a violent 'Buran' which, by its bitter cold, proved most trying even where fuel was abundant, and if met with amidst the high sand ridges would have brought us to a stand-still and caused serious suffering and risks.

Sorry as I was to give up the effort two interesting discoveries had already rewarded it. Again and again we had come between the high dunes upon patches covered with minute but easily recognizable fragments of rock flakes of the wind-eroded hill range once extending right through to the Khotan River. Elsewhere, fully 30 miles from the nearest traceable bed of the Yarkand River, a small belt of eroded ground displayed on its surface abundant remains of the Stone Age, proving occupation by a Palæolithic settlement of what is now absolutely lifeless desert. Neolithic arrow-heads turned up on similar ground nearer to Chok-tagh.

After crossing the Yarkand River behind that hill chain we fortunately secured ponies from a grazing-ground, and were thus enabled to push on rapidly through hitherto unsurveyed tracts of riverine jungle, largely dead, to where, near Gorachöl, the last dried-up offshoots of the Kashgardarya bed lose themselves. Thence, with fresh animals, we gained

the delta of the Khotan River by a route not previously surveyed. It showed me the great change which, since my passage of 1908, had taken place in the river's terminal course. A series of rapid marches by the Khotandarya, then completely dry, carried me back to the end of the Mazar-tagh range I had first visited in 1908. There I found the transport and labourers ordered ahead from Khotan duly awaiting me, and was able by resumed spade-work to secure interesting archaeological results at the ruined fort. Besides additional written records of Tibetan times there came to light remains of a Buddhist shrine, immediately below the alleged Muhammadans saints' tombs, from which the desolate desert hill derives its present designation. Thus the continuity of local worship, so important a feature in the history of Asiatic religious beliefs, received another striking illustration.

On November 21 I regained my old haunts at Khotan town, and was cheered by a warm welcome from my old local friends. A brief halt necessitated by manifold practical arrangements was used also to gather such antiques as my old friend the Indian Aksakal Badru'd-din Khan, now rewarded by the title of Khan Sahib for his help in the past, and others had collected for me from Yotkan, the site of the ancient Khotan capital, and from the desert sites which Khotan "treasure-seekers" are in the habit of annually searching. On November 28, I left the familiar base of my former expeditions to resume the long journey eastwards. There was still a marching distance of close on 700 miles separating me from Lop-nor, and it was essential for the work planned in that desert region that I should reach it in time while the winter cold lasted and allowed water to be transported in the convenient form of ice.

But rapid as my progress had to be I could not forego such convenient opportunities for archaeological work as familiar sites near my route still held out. Thus we recovered some interesting fresco remains from the ruin of a Buddhist shrine which had come to light since my last visit, in the area of tamarisk-covered cones of sand north of Domoko, near which Hsüan-tsang's *Pi-mo* (Marco Polo's Pein) must be located. From the Niya oasis, which was reached on December 9, I revisited the fascinating sand-buried settlement in the desert northward below the pilgrimage place of Imam-Jafar-Sadik. Abandoned to the desert since the third century A.D., it had yielded plenty of important relics and records in the course of my former explorations. But owing to the deceptive nature of the dune-covered ground and other reasons, it had not been possible to exhaust it completely. It did not disappoint me now either. By a close search of previously unexplored ground to the south-west of the main portion of the ancient oasis we discovered more ruined dwellings of the same early period hidden among the high tamarisk-covered sand-cones. The employment of a large number of diggers rendered rapid clearing possible, also in the case of certain structures which before had seemed too deeply buried in the sand for complete exploration. Thus, apart from furniture, household implements, etc., we recovered a further collection of Kharoshthi documents on wood, written in the Indian language and script which had prevailed in official and Buddhist ecclesiastical use from Khotan to Lop-nor during the first centuries of our era.

It was a particularly curious discovery when, not far from the still traceable dry river-bed, we came upon the remains of a large and remarkably well-preserved orchard, where the carefully arranged rows of various fruit trees and the trellis-carried vines, though dead for many centuries, could be examined in almost uncanny clearness. It was not surprising to find there also the rafters of a foot-bridge, once spanning the river, still stretched out across its dry bed. It had meant a week's constant work under high pressure, and it

was only by the light of bonfires that the final excavation of the large structure was finished, which in 1901 we had called the Yamen. It was a curious chance that just its last room, which then had baffled us by its deep sand proved to contain those "waste papers," i.e., wooden records, of the office, we had before vainly hoped for. It seemed like a farewell gift of the ancient site which I had somehow come to look upon as my own particular estate, and I found it hard to tear myself away from it.

No appropriate return was possible to the dead. But at least I could do something for those living who were nearest. My renewed visit to this ground had allowed me also to make observations of direct geographical interest concerning changes in the terminal course of the dying Niya River, etc. Among these I had noticed the instructive fact that cultivation at the tiny colony of Tulkuch-köl, established at the very end of the present river-course, below Imam-Jafar-Sadik's Ziarat, had recently been abandoned, not from want of water, as the usual theory might have suggested, but, on the contrary, owing to a succession of ample summer floods which carried away the canal-head, and with which the locally available labour could not cope. My resumed excavations had brought a large *posse* of able-bodied labourers to the spot. So when I had come back with them from the ruins and was leaving, they were set to work to raise a new barrage across the deep-cut flood-bed, and thus secure water for the little canal, a couple of days' work. As I deposited the small sum needed for their wages with the Mazar Shaikhs, the task was carried through with a will.

From the end of the Niya River I led my caravan through unexplored desert, with high sand ridges in places, and more of salt encrusted and often boggy ground, to the Endere River. Thence we had to follow the old caravan track to Charchan, which we reached by December 28. It was bitterly cold in the desert, with minimum temperatures down to 50° (Fahr.) below freezing-point. But there was compensation in the exceptionally clear weather, which allowed us to sight day after day the grand snow-clad rampart of the main Kun-lun range far away to the south. At most seasons it remains quite invisible from the caravan track connecting Charchan with Niya and Keriya. In 1906 numerous peaks on it had been triangulated by Rai Ram Singh, and with their help we could now map our route to Charchan and onwards, far more accurately than had been previously possible.

At Charchan I found the oasis distinctly increased since my last visit, and was able to pick up nine additional hired camels badly needed for the work ahead in the Lop region. But the news received about events which were said to have occurred at Charkhlik, its chief inhabited place, was by no means welcome. A band of Chinese "revolutionaries," *recte* gamblers and adventurers, had a short time before started for that place from Charchan, and was reported to have attacked and captured the district magistrate of Charkhlik, besides committing other outrages *en route*. The Chinese sub-divisional officer of Charchan had been helpless to prevent the outbreak, and was evidently sitting on the fence. He considerably provided me with two introductions for Charkhlik, one to the unfortunate Amban, assuming that by any means he had regained freedom and authority, and the other for the leading spirit of the "revolutionaries," whom he shrewdly guessed to have been installed in office instead of him.

We left Charchan on New Year's Eve, 1914, and did the desert journey to the western border of the Lop district by seven long marches, mainly through the jungle belt on the left bank of the Charchan-darya, which was a route new to me. Splendidly clear weather favoured us, and so did the severe cold, which had covered the river and its marshes with strong ice. We did not meet with a single wayfarer, which struck me as strange at the time. On

approaching the jungle belt of Vash-shahri, an outlying little colony of Lop, we found the route guarded by a large party of armed Muhammadans, who at first mistook us for a fresh batch of "revolutionaries" (many of the Chinese had taken to masquerading in queer European clothes). But Roze Beg, the headman of Vash-shahri and an old acquaintance, soon recognized me. From him I learned the queer story how the little band of "gamblers" from Charchan had captured the hapless Amban, all the local Muhammadans first deserting him, and then looking on with placid indifference when some days later their magistrate was cruelly put to death by the bandits, after having been forced to disclose the place where his official moneys were hidden. The leader of the band had set himself up as Amban *ad interim*, and was duly obeyed by the local chiefs, Roze Beg himself included. Fortunately his régime proved shortlived, and there was no need of my introduction to him either; for within a week a small detachment of Tungan Government troops had arrived from far-away Kara-shahr in the north, under a capable young officer. Stealthily introduced at night into the oasis by the same adaptable Begs, they found little difficulty in surprising the "revolutionaries," most of whom were killed in their sleep, and the rest captured. So tranquility once more ruled at Charkhlik, and Roze Beg was now engaged in laying an ambush for more "gamblers" expected to come from Charchan, in ignorance of the turn their affairs had taken. In this loyal task he duly succeeded within a day of my passage.

On January 8 I arrived at Charkhlik. It was from this modest little oasis, the only settlement of any importance in the Lop region, representing Marco Polo's "City of Lop," that I had to raise the whole of the supplies, labour, and extra camels needed by our several parties for the explorations I had carefully planned during the next three months in the desert between Lop-nor and Tun-huang. I knew well the difficulties which would attend this task even under ordinary conditions. But now I found them greatly increased by the preceding local upheaval and all its consequences. The irruption of the "revolutionaries" and its subsequent repression by the Tungan troops, who had "by mistake" killed even the few Chinese subordinates of the legitimate Amban, had left no Chinese civil authority whatever, and in its absence no effective help could be hoped for from the easy-going Lopliks and their indolent Begs. The trouble about adequate supplies and transport became all the more serious as the passage of relatively large bodies of Tungan troops sent to operate against the numerous "revolutionary" elements which were known to lurk among the Chinese garrisons of Keriya and Khotan, threatened completely to exhaust the slender resources of Charkhlik.

The six days' stay I was obliged to make at Charkhlik in order to secure at least a portion of my requirements through the help of a few old Lop friends, was thus an anxious time for me. I greatly chafed at the delay, little realizing at the time what a boon in disguise the revolutionary disturbance had been for me. Fortunately I was able to use my stay also for some profitable archaeological labour. While executions of captured rebels, requisitions for the troops marching on towards Keriya, etc., kept the little oasis in unwonted animation, I managed to search two small sites near by on the river but beyond the southern edge of cultivation, which previously had escaped me. From ruined Buddhist shrines there I recovered remains of Sanskrit manuscripts on birch-bark, palm-leaf, and silk, fragmentary but of special interest as suggesting import from India by the direct route which still leads from Charkhlik across the Tibetan plateaus to the south.

On the last day of my stay I had the great satisfaction of seeing R. B. Lal Singh safely rejoin me after fully four months of separation. After leaving me in September in the mountains of the Muztagh-ata range he had pushed on and started triangulation of the main

Kun-lun range from near Kapa by the middle of October. The work carried on at great elevations and on ground devoid of all resources implied very considerable hardships. But my indefatigable old travel companion faced them with his often proved zeal and succeeded in extending his system of triangles, based on Ram Singh's work of 1906, eastward for over five degrees of longitude before excessive cold and heavy snowfall obliged him to stop it in the mountains. Thus a net with numerous carefully fixed stations and exactly observed angles to many high peaks had been carried well beyond the actual Lop-nor marshes and linked up at the other end with the Indian Trigonometrical Survey. Not satisfied with this achievement, Lal Singh had then continued survey work with the plane-table towards Tun-huang, taking special care to obtain many height observations by mercurial barometer, etc., along his route through those inhospitable snow-covered mountains. After reaching Nan-hu he had struck through the desert north and returned by the track leading along the southern shore of the ancient dried-up salt sea of Lop. The difficulties of this track, the only one through the Lop desert, which now, as in Marco Polo's time, is practicable for caravans, were illustrated by the fact that Lal Singh's party found no ice yet formed at the most brackish of the springs along it, and consequently suffered much from the want of drinkable water.

By 15 January 1914 I left Charkhlik for Miran, two marches off to the east, where in 1907 I had made important discoveries among ruins which mark the site of the earliest capital of the "Kingdom of Shan-shan or Loulan," corresponding to the present Lop region. Apart from abundant records found in a fort of the Tibetan period I had brought to light in two ruined Buddhist shrines of far earlier date wall paintings of great artistic interest, strikingly reflecting the influence of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandharva and some almost Hellenistic in character. Owing to the shortness of the time then available for a task presenting exceptional technical difficulties, we had in 1907 been able to remove the frescoes from only one of these temples, that remarkable series forming the "angel" dado which was exhibited in 1914 in the new galleries of the British Museum together with other selections from my former collections. Of the paintings adorning the walls of the other shrine only specimens could then be safely taken away, and the subsequent attempt made to save the rest was frustrated by the tragic fate which struck my old assistant Naik Ram Singh with blindness at this very place.

I had special reason to regret this when on my renewed visit I found that a portion of the fresco frieze, representing an interesting Buddhist legend, had been broken out by a later visitor in a clumsy fashion which must have spelt serious injury if not loss. But the very interesting frescoed dado with its cycle of youthful figures, representing the varied joys of life, set between graceful garland-carrying putti, had fortunately escaped under the cover of sand with which the interior had been filled in as a precautionary measure, and this we now were able to remove intact with all needful care. It proved a delicate task, which greatly taxed the trained skill of Naik Shams Din, my "handy man," and under the icy blasts to which we were almost continually exposed the work was particularly trying. I used the fortnight's stay necessitated by these labours also for a careful search of the adjoining desert belt north, where hidden away amidst tamarisk-covered sand cones we discovered shattered ruins of two more Buddhist temples of somewhat later date, and secured from them stucco sculptures and other relics of interest.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF KALKI AND HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH YASODHARMAN.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW; PATNA.

I

HIS HISTORICAL POSITION.

In 1913, while examining the *Puranic Chronicles*, I felt sure, looking at the methods of the *Purāṇas*, that Kalki, like any other name of the *Puranic Chronicles*, was a historical personage. I gave expression to this view in that year.¹

Theses of this paper.

Now, in the light of further study of the Puranic data, I am in a position to say (1) that the historical position of Kalki can be proved and (2) that his identification can probably be established. I should, however, like to make it clear at the start that the first thesis is independent of the second, and the success or failure of the second does not affect the first.

Purāṇas place Kalki in the end of Post-Andhra Period.

The *Purāṇas*, after closing the *Andhra Chronicles*, give details of foreign dynasties, and after characterising their oppressive rule, state that (a) all these Mlechchhas having been struck by Kalki would be scattered (V.),² or that (b) they were destroyed by Kalki (M.).³ He is thus mentioned as the last name in the list of dynasties and dynasts.⁴ After the above detail the *Purāṇas* describe the bad condition of the people in the closing period of Kali. Then follows the Puranic summing-up of their historical chronology, ending in 498 A. D. (which I have discussed elsewhere).⁵ It is thus apparent that the *Purāṇas* clearly indicate that Kalki flourished in the end of their chronological period, called by them 'the post-Andhra period' ending in 498 A.D.

Kalkin mentioned like any other Historical Person in the Chronicles.

Kalki is the last person mentioned in their historical chronicles. Like any other historical figure of the 'Future Kings' of the Kali Age, he is also put in the future tense. In the Chronicles he is not deified: he is mentioned as an ordinary person.

Purāṇas employ past tense for Kalki.

We have not, however, to depend on the general system of the *Puranic Chronicles* for our conclusion. The *Purāṇas* clearly say that he *did* flourish.⁶

The *Vāyu* in the description of the *avatāras* says that Kalki, Vishṇu-Yāsas by name, of the family of Parāśara, "although an ordinary man *was born* (संजज्ञे) of a portion of the Deity." "He *flourished* (अभवत्) in Kaliyuga."⁷

The *Matsya* says 'the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatāra*). Kalkin, "Vishṇu-Yāsasa,"⁸ the leader of the Parāśaras, will be the tenth' incarnation at the close of Kali.⁹

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 265, n. 6. The date indicated there for Kalki can no longer be maintained in view of the results of my recent studies.

² कल्किनोपहताः सर्वे मेघावास्तवन्ति सर्वशः । 37-390. ³ कल्किनानुहताः सर्वे 272-27.

⁴ M., 272 20-27.

⁵ See my paper on Chronological Summary in the *Puranic Chronicles*, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917.

⁶ गाढेण चन्द्रसमः पूर्णे कलिद्युगेऽभवत् । *Vāyu*, 36, 111;

ततः काले व्यतीति तु स देवोऽन्तरधीयत । *Matsya*, 47, 255 :

⁷ *Vāyu* 36, 104-111.

⁸ Against Vishṇu-Yāsa of V. and Br. The *Bhāgavata* improves on this mistake of the *Matsya* and makes Kalki, a son of Vishṇu-Yāsas !

⁹ *Ch.* 47. 247-2.

(Then follows a description of his conquests). "Time having passed that king (or god, *déva*) disappeared" (47-255).

The references in the past tense prove that the writers of the Puranic data knew these details as facts of the past, although in accordance with the system of the *Purāṇas* they sought to describe the event by future verbs.¹⁰

It would be absurd to suppose that all the details of the conquest, birth-place and family of Kalki given in the *Purāṇas* are mere figments of imagination. We accept the historical position of Ajātasatru, Udāyin, Chandragupta, Chāṇakya, etc., when their actions and details in the *Purāṇas* are put in the future tense. There is no reason why we should not accept that of Kalki also, and especially so when all the earlier *Purāṇas* clearly employ past tense about him, though only occasionally. His claim to be an historical personage is, therefore, stronger than that of others.

Kalki and Kali.

The data about Kalki are comparatively late; they appear for the first time in the *Purāṇas* which are works posterior to 498 A.D.¹¹ The *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Garga-Saṃhitā*, which ends Kali with the Yavanas (cir. 188 B.C.),¹² does not mention Kalki. In the *Puranic Chronicles*, after mentioning the rise of Kalki and the end of the foreign houses,¹³ a description of the condition of the people at the close of Kali (Sandhyā-period) is given in almost the same terms as in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*.¹⁴ New history up to the post-Andhra period was interposed and the two data were mixed up and read together when the details of Kalki in the Incarnation Chapter were prepared, and he was placed in the end of Kali, while according to the old chronology of the *Purāṇas* he ought to have been placed in the *Kṛita Yuga*. This dating in the end of Kali might be due to the confusion suggested above or to a belief that the conquests of Kalki brought about a new era. Kali according to the old calculation of the *Purāṇas* ended in 188 B.C.¹⁵ But as the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries were very bad times, owing to political conditions, Kali was supposed to be still running. Kalki's rise gave new hopes. But the hoped-for good days were not permanent. After Kalki (ततोऽयतीति कल्की) the *Purāṇas* record again bad days¹⁶ and Kali was regarded as continuing and an indefinite period of duration was given to it. It is evident that the position once taken up by the *Purāṇas* as to the age of Kalki with reference to Kali was soon given up.

The chapter dealing with the *Chronicles* places him at the end of the post-Andhra rulers, and makes him the very last historical person of the Puranic record. And as it gives 498 A.D. as the last date for the post-Andhra period and 512-612 A.D.¹⁷ as the century ending that period, Kalki's rise has to be dated about 498/512 A.D.

Confirmation of Puranic data of Kalki by Jain data.

Since writing the above a new datum has been kindly brought to my notice by my friend Mr. Nagendranatha Vasu, which confirms beyond the shadow of a doubt

¹⁰ For explanation of the Future Kings of the *Purāṇas* see my separate paper on the *Bṛihadhrathas* to be published shortly in *J. B. O. R. S.*

¹¹ The reference in M. Bk. is avowedly borrowed from the *Vāyu*.

¹² See my paper on *Chronological Summary* (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917).

¹³ *Matsya*, 272, 20-27; 27-32. The *Vāyu* interposes as a footnote a number of minor and local dynasties and dynasts between these foreign houses and Kalki. This is apparently later, as the local dynasties are unknown to the *Matsya*.

¹⁴ I have published this chapter in my *Brahmin Empire*.

¹⁵ See my paper on the *Chronological Summary*.

¹⁶ *Vāyu*, Ch. 36, V. 117; *Brahmaṇḍa*, Ch. 73, V. 118.

¹⁷ See *Chronological Summary*.

my reading of the Puranic data with regard to the historical position and date of Kalki. The Jaina Society called the *Bhāratiya Jaina-Siddhānta Prakāśinī Samsthā* published last December (1916) a Hindi translation of the Jaina *Hari-Vamśa Purāṇa* at Mr. Vasu's Viśvakosha Press, Calcutta. The author of this *Purāṇa*, Jinasena-sūri, a Digambara of the Punnāga-gaṇa or Saṅgha,¹⁸ and the pupil of Kirti-sena, dates his work in the year 705 of the Saka era,¹⁹ while king Indrāyudha was ruling in the North, Śrī-Vallabha in the South, Vatsarāja at Avanti and the victorious Vira-Varāha in the Sūrya-maṇḍala. The mention of these contemporary kings leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the date 705 Saka as found in the MS.²⁰ The work therefore is of the definite date of 783-784 A.D.

Jinasena, in his work, gives a chronology since the death of the Mahā-vira on the authority of Jaina chronologists (*Kālaviddhir-udāhṛitam*). This chronology covers details for 990 years. The last king in the chronology is Ajitañjaya of Indrapura (Indore ?) and the one before him is King Kalki (Kalki-rāja). The years for Kalki and Ajitañjaya are not given, but King Kalki is placed after dynastic totals which aggregate to 990 years.²¹ But in another place, about 50 verses later, Jinasena says (60. 552-53) that Kalki flourished 1000 years after the Mahā-vira and that he was a terrible persecutor of the Jain religion. According to the *Kalki-Purāṇa* one of Kalki's chief missions was to suppress Jainism. Thus the identity of the Puranic and the Jaina Kalki is established. And he, according to the Jaina chronologists of the 8th century of the Christian era, lived 1000 years after the Mahā-vira.²¹

Jinasena's date for Kalki agrees with Purāṇas.

Now Jinasena's date of the Mahā-vira's *Nirvāṇa* differs a little from that given by the *Paṭtāvalis*. He places it 605 years before the Saka king, or 605 years before the Saka

¹⁸ He is not the same as Jinasena the author of the *Adi Purāṇa*, for the latter belonged to the Sena-Saṅgh. This has been pointed out by Pandit Nathuram. See Mr. Vasu's *Introduction*, p. 8.

¹⁹ शाकेन्द्रवर्षेण समुद्र विष पञ्चोत्तरैरुत्तरम् । पतीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपञ्चे श्रीवज्रभे क्षणिकम् । 66-53. *Introduction* by Mr. Vasu, p. 8.

²⁰ *Introduction* to the translation of the *Hari-Vamśa* by Mr. Vasu, p. 11.

²¹ Ch. 60. 488-93.

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽवनिषिष्यते ।
लोकैऽवन्ति सुतीराजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥
पट्टिर्वर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विजयभुजाम् ।
सतं च पञ्च पञ्चाशत् वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥
चत्वारिंशत् पुरुषानां भूमण्डलमखण्डितम् ॥
विंशन्तु पुष्पमिवाणं पट्टिर्वर्षमभिन्नयोः ॥
सतं रासभराजानां नर बाह(र)न(र)मप्यतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्सतो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् ॥
भद्रबाणस्य तद्राज्यं शुभानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकविंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्विरुदाहृतम् ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशद्विवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितञ्जयो राजा स्याद्विद्विरुदाहृतः ॥

My friend Babu Nanigopal Majumdar draws my attention to Mr. Pathak's quotation, *ante*, Vol. XV, p. 141. There we find the readings मुहण्डानां instead of पुरुषानां, भद्रबाणस्य for भद्रबाणस्य and एकविंशच्च. The latter thus gives details for 1000 years.

era, that is, in 527 B.C.²² as against 545 B.C.²¹ of the *Pañḍavalis*. Jināsena therefore places the rise of Kalki (527 B.C.—1000 years) c. 473 A.D. As the *Purāṇas* give him a period of 25 years for his career of conquest,²¹ the end of his conquests and therefore of the ruling houses he extirpated, is to be dated, on the basis of the Jain datum, in (473 A.D. + 25) 498 A.D., which is exactly the date we get from the *Purāṇas*. It is most extraordinary that both the orthodox and the heterodox chronologists marked the conquests of Kalki as the terminus of their chronologies.²⁵

Jināsena's date for Kalki to be presumed as correct.

I may point out that Jināsena was removed from Kalki only as much as we are from Akbar and Rāṇā Pratāp. The event (498 A.D.) was only 286 years old in his time (784 A.D.). Therefore there is every presumption of correctness in favour of Jināsena's date for Kalki. The Jains of his time had reasons to remember him and his date, as the Rajputs of Mewār of to-day have reasons to remember the date of Akbar. For they call him the greatest persecutor of their religion since the time of the Mahāvira.

Belief about Kalki's futurity.

The *Kalki-Purāṇa*,²⁶ in describing the life of Kalki, uses the past tense. The present Hindu belief that Kalki is yet to come, is a recent development. Jayadeva (12th century) in his *Gita-Govinda* treated him as one already come and gone, like all the other *avatāras*: केशव धृत-कल्कि-शरीर. So does also the Bengali poet Chāṇḍī Dāsa in the 14th century. Pandit Basanta Ranjan Ray Vidvād-vallabha of the Vāṅgīyā Sāhitya Parishad gives me a quotation from an old manuscript of *Kṛishṇa-Kīrtana* by Chāṇḍī Dāsa, in which he praises Kṛishṇa for having assumed Kalki's incarnation. The belief about the futurity of Kalki in Northern India seems to have been a growth later than the 14th century. In Orissa the belief appears for the first time; in the inscription of Mahā-Siṃha-Gupta (*Ep. Ind.* xi. 191) which is placed about the 9th century A.C. it is to be found for the first time.

Decline of Gupta power and Kalki's date.

The chronology given by Jināsena has one more noticeable feature. It places the Guptas immediately before Kalki with a gap of 42 years:—

गुप्तानाञ्च शतद्वयम् । एक विंशच्च²⁷ वर्षाणि कालविद्विद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशद्वयानः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।

“(The rule) of the Guptas is said by chronologists to be for 231 years; 42 years after this is the reign of King Kalki.” So the Jain chronology regards the Gupta power in Western India (the Jain chronology is a chronology of Western India, of and about A anti) as having come to an end after 431 A.D. The blank represented by the 42 years is the period

²² The difference is due to the fact the period of 470 years, from the *Nirvāṇa* up to Vikrama, which is regarded by the *Pañḍavalis* as coming down only to the birth of Vikrama which is 18 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era or Vikrama's coronation (58 B.C.), has been taken by Jināsena as covering the whole period up to 58 B.C. He has missed the 18 years of pre-coronation years of Vikrama. Hence he gets 527 B.C. instead of 545. The 545 B.C. reckoning is confirmed by the chronology cited by Jināsena himself. In the *Pañḍavali* chronology from the *Nirvāṇa* down to the coronation of Vikrama (58 B.C.) or the end of the Nahavāpa-Gardabhin-Śaka period plus 18 years (Vikrama's pre-coronation years), we get 488 years; and in Jināsena's, from the *Nirvāṇa* to the end of the Gardabhin-Nahavāpa period, 487 years. (See App. A.) So in fact there is no difference between the two. The present Digambara Jains follow the date given by Jināsena.

²³ (*Ante*, Vol. XX, p. 347; *ante*, Vol. II, p. 363; *J.B. O.R.S.* 1.35,36). ²⁴ See *infra* Vāyu, 36.113.

²⁵ Since this paper went to the press, Mr. Pathak's article on Gupta Era has appeared in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (p. 195). He notices Guṇabhadra's date of Kalkirāja as follows: b. 473 A.C., coronation 503 A.C., d. 543 A.C. Guṇabhadra flourished later than Jināsena. He seeks to bring down Kalki's date by 30 years. The date given by Jināsena was according to his information really the date of Kalki's birth and not coronation.

²⁶ Veṅkatēśvara Press, Bombay, 1906.

²⁷ Mr. Pathak's reading. *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 141-2.

of the vicissitudes of the Gupta empire during the reign of Kumāragupta I. Thus to mark the decline of the Gupta power 42 years before Kalki's date agrees with known facts of the Gupta history.²³ The blank would include the period of recovery under Skandagupta.

II

IDENTIFICATION OF KALKI.

(Puranic data about Kalki.)

The Puranic data on Kalki or Kalki may be summarised as follows:

1. Kalki's proper name was Vishnu-Yāsas.²⁹
2. He was born at village Sambhala³⁰ (Sākambharī, Rājputānā).
3. He was born an ordinary man, he was the son of the village-leader, a Brahman of the Parāśara line. The father is called the wise Devāsena by the *Brahmāṇḍa*.³¹ He had a Yājñvalkyā as his Purohita.

4. He was a handsome man, of fair complexion.³²

5. He was a military hero; he made conquests riding a horse called *Devadatta*, sword in hand, and in armour.³³

6. He, with a large army of the four arms, made a conquest almost of the whole of India:³⁴ the Northern Countries, the Madhyadeśas, the Vindhyan countries, the Aparantas, the Deccan, the Dravīḍas allied with the Singhalese, the Gandhāras, the Pāradas, the Palhavas, the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Tushāras (Tubaras, *Br.*), the Barbaras (Śabarās, *Br.*), the Pulindas, the Daradas (Baraḍas, *Br.*) the Khasas (Vasas, *Br.*), the Lampakas, the Andhakas, the Rudras (Pandras, *Br.*) and the Kirātas. These and the Vṛishalas were defeated by "the Master" (Kalki), and he established his empire.³⁵

The above detailed conquests are given in the chapter on the *Avatāras*. In the historical chapter, however, 8 dynasties are given after the Andhras and the last of these are the Hūṇas. There they are said to have been extirpated or struck by Kalki. Hence it is implied that Kalki suppressed the Hūṇas also.

7. His conquest was not merely political, but also religious. The powerful hero destroyed the Mlecchhas who paraded as kings³⁶ and he destroyed the irreligious and haters of the *dharma*.³⁷ He was surrounded by a large "Brahman army who had taken up arms."³⁸ When the Hindu religion had nearly submerged, he arose and by destroying completely the whole of the Mlecchhas and Dasyus he rescued it.³⁹ The popular character

²³ The knowledge of the Jaina chronologists about the end of the Gupta period was fairly accurate. But when they give 231 years to the Guptas, they are apparently dating their beginning a century too early. They are there obviously including in it some division of chronology like the Śaka-Satrap.

²⁹ कल्किर्विष्णुयशो नानापाशसर्वः प्रतापवान् । V. 36-103. Br. 73-104.

³⁰ Bhāg. 12-2-18, Viṣṇu, 4-24-26.

³¹ Ibid, Br. 73-110.

³² गात्रेण वै चन्द्रसमः । V. 36-111.

³³ Bhāg. 12-2-19. Bhaviṣya, III. 26-1 : स्वङ्गी वर्मोच चर्मपृक् ।

³⁴ V. 36-105-108. ³⁵ प्रवृत्तचक्रो बलवान् मेखानामन्तकन् बली । V. 36-109.

³⁶ नृपानिङ्गच्छद् : Bhāg. 12-2-20.

³⁷ उत्सादयित्वा पायशस्तानधार्मिकान्
M. 47-252.

नात्यर्थं धार्मिका ये च ये च धर्मद्विषः क्वचित् । V. 35-105.

³⁸ प्रगृहीतायुधैर्विभेदेवृत्तः शतसहस्रशः । V. 36-106 M. 47-249.

³⁹ Bhāg. 12. 2. नष्टे वैश्वये नृणां । (12) पात्यद्विप्रवृत्ते । (13) धर्मबाणाय सखेन । (16)

etc., up to (22).

of his movement is testified by the remark that the object of his undertaking was to do good to the people,⁴⁰ although the undertaking entailed a cruel procedure.⁴¹

8. He along with his following enacted the last act of his life-drama (*nishidhā*) and died between the Ganges and the Jumna.⁴²

9. His career of conquest covered 25 years.⁴³

IDENTIFICATION.

Now who was this great hero?—He was a patriotic and religious Napoleon of India in the late 5th and the early 6th century A.D. No character seems to have left a deeper mark on the latter period of the *Purāṇas* than he. We know his name: *Vishṇu-Yasas*; we know his place of origin and rise—Rajputāna; we are reasonably sure of his date—the end of the 5th century A.D.; we know his conquests—from the Dravidian South up to the Northern regions, from the Western Ocean up to the Khasa country (Assam), including the subjugation of the Huns.

In view of these data, we can propose with some confidence the identification of *Vishṇu-Yasas* with *Vishṇu*-(*Vardhana*)-*Yasas* (*Dharmān*) of Malvā.

Name.

'*Vardhana*' is a title generally imperial, e.g., *Harsha-Vardhana*, *Aśoka-Vardhana*. *Vishṇu* of *Vishṇu-vardhana* and *Yasas* of *Yasodharman* have been joined together. Both these might have been assumed after conquests, as they imply great prowess and possibly a religious significance. *Kalki* was probably the original name. The title of '*Vishṇu-Vardhana*' was assumed certainly later than that of *Yasodharman*. In inscriptions on the Mandasore columns of victory which were engraved after all the conquests, have only *Yasodharman*.⁴⁴ But the inscription of the year 589 of the Mālava era has also *Vishṇu-Vardhana*.⁴⁵

Religious aspect of the Career.

Vishṇu-Yasodharman claims to have rescued the land from irreligious and wicked kings 'of the present *Yuga*' who had transgressed the path.⁴⁶ He also claims to have undertaken his task for the good of the people (*lokapakāravratā*)⁴⁶ and that he did not associate with the rulers of that *Yuga*⁴⁷ and brought about the time of Manu, Bharata, Ālarka and Māndhātṛi.⁴⁷ In his lifetime his history was regarded as sacred, as 'destroyer of sins'⁴⁸ and himself as 'home of *dharma*.'⁴⁹ His Brahman Viceroy is also described to have brought about the *Kṛita* Age in the kingdom.⁵⁰ These claims tally with the Puranic description of the religious aspect of *Vishṇu-Yasas*' career. The claims coupled with the assumption of the style *Vishṇu* and the overwhelming military glory would warrant the *Purāṇas* in regarding him as 'an emanation of a portion of god *Vishṇu*.'

* लोकाहितायैय V. 36-103. धर्मवाणाय (*Bhāg.*)

⁴¹ कृत्वा जीवावशेषान् मर्हि कुरेण कर्मणा V. 36-114.

तेषां प्रजावितर्गश्च स्थविष्टः संविद्यति *Bhāg.* 12-2-22.

⁴² V. 36-116.

⁴³ पञ्चविंशति वयसा । विनिघ्नन् सर्वभूतानि मातृपानेव सर्वशः

V. 36-113.

⁴⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 146.

⁴⁵ Fleet, p. 146 (line 2 of the column inscription).

⁴⁶ चरितमवहरन्, line 8.

⁴⁷ Fleet, p. 15, line 17 of the Mandasore Stone Inscription.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 153.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* line 3.

⁵⁰ धर्मस्यायं निकेतः *Ibid.*

The Conquests.

The conquests also tally: the conquests from the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) river to the Mahendra mountain and from the Himalayas near the Ganges to the Western Ocean, of Vishṇu-Yasodharman, agree with the conquests of Kalki as detailed above. Both have the subjugation of the Hūṇas to their credit.

The Date.

The dates in both cases also agree. Vishṇu-Yasodharman defeated Mihirakula who would come after Toramāṇa and Toramāṇa's date is shortly after Budhagupta, 484-85 A.D. (*F. GI*, p. 159). Mihirakula was defeated by Yasodharman in Kashmir (see App. B). The defeat of Mihirakula would be at least 15 years after 484 A.D., as his father's (Toramāṇa's) time is about 484. Thus or shortly after 499 A.D. the defeat of Mihirakula could be possible. It is definite from the *Mandasor Inscription* of 533-34 A.D. that the victory was attained some years before 533 A.D. When the undated column inscription was engraved, the conqueror had not assumed the lofty title of *Vishṇu-Vardhana* as in the latter. The latter bears evidence of a peaceful administration which had already lasted for sometime, as the victory is said to have ended Kali by his good government. The undated inscription mentions Mihirakula's defeat. Therefore the date of Mihirakula's defeat in Kashmir would be more than a few years before 533 A.D.⁵¹

Lineage.

Vishṇu-Yasodharman is declared in the inscription⁵² to have had no lineage. Likewise Vishṇu-Yasas is the son of an ordinary man. Both are said to have built empires.⁵³

The points of identity are so striking that the conclusion seems to be nearly irresistible that Vishṇu-Yasas is no other than Vishṇu-Yasodharman.

Value of the reclamation of Vishnu-Yasas' history.

The identification, if correct, explains and confirms the inscriptions of Vishṇu-Yasodharman. But the establishment of the historical existence of Kalki, apart from the question of his identification, reclaims a lost chapter of Indian History, which is as important as that on Chandragupta Maurya, Pushyamitra or Saṅkarāchārya. The social and religious effects on Hindu Society produced by the movement of Kalki must be admitted to have been tremendous, in view of the joint testimony of the Jaina and Brahmanic records.

APPENDIX A.

The Two Jaina Chronologies.

The old *Gāthās* given in the Jaina documents⁵⁴ give 470 years from the death of the Mahā-vīra to the end of Saka and the birth of Vikrama, and 488 years down to the coronation of Vikrama (or 58 B.C.). The reckoning given by the Digambara author Jinasena gives a somewhat different order of chronology. But a comparison between the two shows that although the two are based on independent traditions, they come to the same conclusion as to the length of time.

⁵¹ If we accept the date given by Guṇabhadra, Kalki's career would fall between 503-543 A.C.

⁵² No ancestry is given in the inscriptions. Notice "स्वगृहपरिवारवत्तया," etc., in the column inscription and the proud expression *आत्मवत्तः* (lines 5-6) in the stone inscription "who is his own lineage."

⁵³ The above inscriptions say that he assumed the title of *Samrāt*, *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

⁵⁴ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 363; *ante*, Vol. XX, p. 347; also in the Svetāmbara books *Tītha-gulīya-Payanna* and *Tīrthoddhāra-Prakīrṇa* (cited by Vasu in his Hindi *Viśvakosha*, II, 350.)

(The Pattāvali Chronology.)

Pālaka, 60 years.
 The Nandas (the first of whom, as I have shown, conquered Avanti⁵⁵), 155 years.
 The Mauryas, 108 years.

Pushyamitra, 30 years.
 Balamitra and Bhānumitra, 60 years.
 Nahavāṇa, 40 years.
 Gardabhila, 13 years; Saka 4 yrs.
 Pre-coronation years of Vikrama 18 yrs.
 total .. 488

(Jainasena's Chronology.)

Pālaka, 60 years.
 Vijaya (the conquering kings), 155 years.

The Purudhas or Muruṇḍas⁵⁶ ruled over 'the whole of the country' for 40 years.
 Pushyamitra, 30 years.
 Vasumitra and Agnimitra,⁵⁷ 60 years.
 Rāsabha Kings, (Gardabhis) 100 years.
 The Naravāhas (Naravahanam) 42 years.
 total .. 487

The period given by Jinasena's chronology to the Mauryas (Purudhas) is too short, 40 as against 108 years of the Prākṛita *Gāthās*. The latter place the end of the Maurya rule in Western India (326 B.C.—108) about 218 B.C. or 18 years after Aśoka, which is likely. But the former would date it before the reign of Aśoka, which would be absurd. This difference of (108-40) 68 years has been adjusted by giving to the Gardabhin-Nahavāṇa period (100+42) 142 years as against the 75 (40+13+4+18) years of the Nahavāṇa-Vikrama period of the *Gāthās* (142-74=68).

In the Jinasena chronology the Saka rule of 4 years is included in the Gardabhin period. Possibly both were considered as belonging to the same stock. The *Purāṇas*, however, like the *Gāthās*, treat them separately.

The most noticeable feature of the Jinasena chronology is that it places Nahavāṇa (=Nahapāṇa) in 100 B.C.—58 B.C. as against 133 B.C.—93 B.C. of the *Gāthās*.⁵⁸

APPENDIX B.

Defeat of Mihirakula.

About Mihirakula's defeat there are two sources of information. Yuan Chwang says that the king Bālāditya (the Gupta king) defeated him and set him free on the recommendation of his own mother, to let him retire to Kashmir. In the inscription of Mandasor on the victory columns Yaśodharman is related to have defeated and humbled Mihirakula. On the basis of these two data Mr. Vincent Smith comes to a conclusion that there was a confederacy of "the Central Indian Rajas" and Bālāditya for the deliverance of their country from the oppressive rule of the Huns. The supposed confederacy has no evidence whatsoever behind it; it is a mere creation of imagination. Having created this imaginary confederacy Mr. Smith calls the description of the conquests of Yaśodharman "boasts," because 'Hiuan Tsang gives the sole credit for the victory over the Huns to Bālāditya, King of Magadha.' The conclusion is vitiated by the creation of a confederacy while in fact there was none. Dr. Hoernle points out the mistake and gives sound reasons to accept the inscription as the best possible and thoroughly trustworthy evidence (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, 92-95).⁵⁹ But Dr. Hoernle rejects the Chinese datum about the victory of Bālāditya over Mihirakula as a mere romance. Dr. Hoernle seems to think that the victory of one excludes that

⁵⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.* 1, 107.

⁵⁶ A corruption of *Mayuras* or Mauryas. *भूमएइलनखरिइलम्* denotes their imperial rule.

⁵⁷ To be read as agnimitra and vasumitra in view of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Purāṇas*.

⁵⁸ *J. B. O. R. S.* 1, 102.

⁵⁹ The mistaken view has been persisted in. See V. Smith, *Early History*, New ed., pp. 318-20.

of the other.⁶⁰ The point however clears up when we notice the fact that the two data refer to two victories in two distinct places. The Chinese pilgrim describes that Mihirakula invaded Magadha and under that pressure the populace and the king exerted themselves and defeated the invader, after which he was allowed to retire to Kashmir. The inscription, on the other hand, indicates that Mihirakula paid respect "to the two feet" of Yaśodharman in the Himalayas (Kashmir).⁶¹ The two data relate to two events, and not to one and the same. Possibly Mihirakula had already annexed Kashmir before he invaded Magadha and it is also possible that he retained his sway up to Gwalior after his Magadhan defeat.⁶² The *Mandasor Inscription* refers to the past achievements of the Huns over the Guptas. Hence it seems likely that Yaśodharman's claim of making the Himalayas easy of access refers to a period later than Mihirakula's defeat by Bālāditya. The *Mandasor Inscription* treats the subjugation of Mihirakula as an act separate from his *digvijaya*, whose route is broadly given. The *Purāṇas* also do not enumerate the Huns in the list of Kalki's conquests (*digvijaya*). The defeat of Mihirakula could very well be beyond the *digvijaya* period, that is, beyond 498 A.D.

APPENDIX C.

Summary of results and the Kalki Chronology.

431—473 A.D.—End of the Gupta power in Western India.

473 or 503 A.D.—Kalki's rule begins.

Circ. 485—Toramāṇa.

498 or 528 A.D.—Kalki's conquests of the Mlechchhas and others (*digvijaya*) completed.

498-99 A.D.—The Siddhānta year of the astronomers⁶³ (Āryabhaṭa, b. 476 A.D. at Tātiliputra).

498-533—Mihirakula's defeat after 498 A.D. Peaceful reign of Kalki (at least down to 533 A.D., possibly longer).

Columns of victory erected at Mandasor.

Assumption of the style of *Vishṇu-Vardhana*.

Possibly Kalki regarded as having brought about *Kṛita Age*.

Old age of Kalki, about 80 in 533.

Inscription of 533-34 A.D. at Mandasor.

Circ. 543 A.D. (?)—Death of Kalki.

Purāṇas not continued further.

Kali regarded as yet running.

784 A.D.—Jinasena writes about Kalki.

⁶⁰ J.R.A.S., 1909, 98.

⁶¹ Mihirakula's defeat is described in verse 6 which also says that the claim of affording a 'fortress' defence was also taken away from the Himālaya. (*GI*, p. 146).

⁶² It ought to be noticed that the tract from Gwalior to Kashmir is outside the limit of Yaśodharman's conquests defined in verse preceding the defeat of Mihirakula: from the Brahmaputra to Mahendra (on the east) and from the Himalayas near the Ganges to the Western Ocean (not from E to W and N. to S., as summarised by Fleet, 145-46). This shows that the *digvijaya*, as completed, excluded Mihirakula's dominions, and also that the expedition against Mihirakula was undertaken last.

⁶³ Their selection of the year 499 A.D. might have been due to some astronomical observation, and the political and astronomical landmarks might have coincided. But as it was not uniformly adhered to by the astronomers, the selection was more likely due to the importance of political events. It is possible that both political and astronomical events might have contributed to the selection both by the astronomers and the *Purāṇas*.

THE KADAMBA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF MALAVALLI.

BY DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.; BANGALORE.

THIS is published by Mr. Rice in Vol. VII of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* as No. 264 of Shikarpur Taluq; for literature connected with it see under No. 1196 of Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* which forms the appendix to Vol. X of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

I here wish to point out that this inscription has been wrongly understood and translated so as to yield the meaning that **Sivakhadavamman** was a king of the Kadambas and that he made the grant recorded in the inscription. This is wrong as can be seen by a reference to the original text (P. 252, VII, *Epigraphia Carnatica*; p. 326 of the Kanarese text in the same volume) which reads as follows:—

Vaijayanti-dhamma-mahārājādhirājē patikata-saujjhāyi-chachcha-parō Kadambāṇaṃ rājā Siva[khada]vammaṃd Mānavya-sagōttēna Hāriti-puttēna Vaijayanti-patinā puvvadattitī sotvēna parityakthēna manasū . . . piṣa mātulāya bitiyam dattam.

"The king of the Kadambas, Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja of Vaijayantī, who studies the requital (of good and evil) as his sacred text—having heard that [they] were formerly granted by Siva[khada]vammaṃ, of the *Mānavya-gōtra*, a *Hāriti-putra* and lord of Vaijayantī—there were granted,* a second time, with composed mind to the maternal uncle of . . . pi . . . "

The language of the inscription is not very grammatical; the nominative *Kadambāṇaṃ rājā* is not connected with any verb; the neuter singular *dattam* has for subject, or is connected with, the masculine plural *puvvochitā ggāmā*; and similarly we have *ētē ggāmā diṇṇam*. In spite of these and other irregularities, there can be no doubt, it seems to me, as to which word the instrumental singular *Siva[khada]vammaṃ* goes with. It should, naturally, be taken with the following instrumental singulars *Mānavya-sagōttēna Hāriti-puttēna Vaijayanti-patinā* and not with the preceding nominative singulars ending with *Kadambāṇaṃ rājā*. Nor can we say that, in spite of the nominative case, the words ending with *Kadambāṇaṃ rājā* should be taken as qualifying epithets of the instrumental *Sivakhadavammanā*; for, in this case, this latter word would be qualified by *Vaijayanti-dhamma-mahārājādhirājē* [forrājēna] and also by *Vaijayanti-patinā*, of which one would clearly be superfluous. The only correct way therefore is to keep the nominative singulars apart from the instrumental singulars and to translate the passage as I have done above.

This passage was originally translated by Mr. Rice as follows (*op. cit*; p. 142 of *Translations*):—

"By the Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja of Vaijayantī, versed in the views he has adopted on the sacred writings, rājā of the Kadambas, Siva[skanda]varmā, of the *Mānavyagotra*, a *Hāriti-putra*, master of Vaijayantī"¹

This translation of Mr. Rice was the original source for the mistaken statement that **Sivakhadavamman** was a king of the Kadambas; this statement has passed by the notice of Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 304) and Prof. Rapson (*Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*; p. LIII), who have touched upon this inscription and has even found a place in Dr. Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* referred to above and in the index thereof.

What has gone above must thus have made it clear that **Sivakhadavamman** was not a king of the Kadambas and that he was not the donor of the grant recorded in this inscription; on the contrary, the inscription, as I make it out, distinctly states that he was

¹ For an improved translation, which, however, still repeats the mistake about **Sivakhadavamman** being a king of the Kadambas, see footnote 3 on p. 23 in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*.

the donor of the 'former grant' (*puvva-datti*) referred to therein. Now, the inscription No. 263 of Shikarpur Taluq (No. 1195 of Lüders' List) which is engraved on the same pillar as, and immediately precedes, this inscription, records the grant of the village Sahalāṭavi to Koṇḍamaṇa of the *Kauṇḍinya-gotra*, the ancestor of the donee in No. 264. The village Sahalāṭavi too is no doubt the same as the village Sahalā which was one of the thirteen villages granted by No. 264. Nevertheless, the 'former grant' of No. 264 can not refer to the grant recorded in No. 263; for, No. 263 states that the grant is made by Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulananda Satakanni, of the *Mānavya-gotra*, a son of Hāriti and lord (*rājan*) of Vaijayanti-pura, and that the subject of the grant is but one village—Sahalāṭavi; while No. 264 names the donor of the 'former grant' referred to therein as Sivakhada vamma and by employing the words *bitiyaṃ dattaṃ . . . puvvōchitā ggāmā* says that the subject of that grant were the thirteen villages—Sahalā, Sōmapaṭṭi, Koṅginagaram, etc., named therein. We must therefore² assume that at some time between the making of the grants recorded in Nos. 263 and 264, Sivakhadavamma made a grant to Koṇḍamaṇa himself or to his descendant of the twelve villages Sōmapaṭṭi, Koṅginagaram, etc., in addition to the village of Sahalā which having been already granted to Koṇḍamaṇa by Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulananda Satakanni was in the donee's possession and enjoyment. These villages in course of time must have passed out of the possession of the descendants of Koṇḍamaṇa³ and the king of the Kadambas, hearing of this, granted the same again to them.

This Sivakhadavamma must have been a Śātakarṇi; for not only did he supplement the grant made by Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulananda Satakanni, as we saw above; but he is also styled like the latter, a *Mānavya-sagōtra*, *Hāritiputra* and lord of Vaijayanti. In all probability, he is the same as the prince Sivakhada-Nāga-siri whose name occurs in conjunction with that of Viṇhukaḍḍa-chuṭukulananda Satakanni, in a *Banavāse* inscription, No. 1186 of Lüders' List. (See also the index of personal names attached to that List.)

It is thus clear that Sivakhadavamma was not a king of the Kadambas; this name therefore must be deleted from the list of Kadamba kings.

A point worthy of note is that the unnamed king of the Kadambas already appears here with their characteristic *biruda*—*pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchā-pāra* (in its Prakrit form); he is not however styled a *Mānavya-sagōtra* and *Hāritiputra* as the later⁵ Kadamba kings are.

It is also interesting to find that this inscription (i.e. Sk. 264) quotes the following Prakrit stanza, which has not so far been recognised as such:—

Uktaṃ khaṇḍho

Viśvakammā Bahmaṃ dejjam (read Bahma-dejjam) *sē Kadambēsu riddhamātē |*
Visasattu chātu-vejjam siddhitam nigama-viditam cha. ||

This stanza being a quotation must have been composed before the time of the inscription (c. A. D. 250). It is therefore not unlikely that the Kadambas had acquired a renown for giving *brahma-dēyāni* long before the time of the inscription. The verse is also interesting as furnishing a specimen of the inscriptional Prakrit which was employed for verse about 230 A. D.

² Otherwise, if one wants to maintain, as Mr. Rice seems to do (p. 6, of Introduction to Vol. VII, *Epigraphia Carnatica*) that the 'former grant' referred to in No. 264 is that recorded in No. 263, one will have to assert that the composer or engraver of the former inscription has made a mistake as regards the name of the donor and as regards the number of villages granted. In view of the fact that No. 263 was there before the eyes of the composer and engraver, it seems most unlikely that such a mistake could be made. Mr. Rice's view seems to me therefore to be most improbable.

³ Koṇḍamaṇa and his descendants seem to have been priests officiating at the temple at Maṭṭapaṭṭi; and the villages granted seem to have been intended mainly for the maintenance of the temple.

⁴ The occurrence of this *biruda* which is characteristic of the Kadambas only, as well as the express mention by the inscription of *Kadambānam rāṣa* prove conclusively—if proof were needed—that this is a Kadamba inscription. Dr. Fleet's doubts on this point (*loc. cit.*, p. 304 footnote) should therefore be considered to be baseless.

⁵ See for example *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, Bl. 245; Vol. VII, Sk. 29; Vol. IV, No. 18, etc.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.; MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 124.)

The Romance and Sati of his Queen.

The accomplishment of Muttammāl's object, therefore, would mean not merely her self-sacrifice, but the murder of an infant. A strong objection, therefore, arose against the queen's resolution, and this was focussed and strengthened by the able queen dowager, Maṅgammāl, a woman of remarkable individuality and character, who, as we shall see presently, left an indelible influence in the history of Madura. It is not improbable that Maṅgammāl's endeavour against the *sati* of her daughter-in-law was inspired by a feeling of jealousy at her superior reputation; but the real fact seems to have been her sincere horror at the death of the only heir expected, and her real solicitude for the welfare of the kingdom. But Muttammāl was obstinate; and at length a compromise was arrived at, by which she was to be permitted to ascend the pyre after giving birth to her child.

The child that was born under such singular circumstances was christened Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha. On the fourth day of his entrance into the world, his mother who had more affection to her dead lord than her living child, and who had performed large charities in order to expiate the crime of delay in her *sati*, found that no preparation was made for her departure. She therefore took a large draft of rose water, thereby inviting a severe cold, which, owing to her delicate health, soon put an end, as she wanted, to her life. So ended the tender romance of her short wedded days.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MUGHAL SUPREMACY.

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha (1689-1731.)

SECTION I.

Regency of Maṅgammāl.²⁰

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha was scarcely three months old, when he was proclaimed king. The actual administration of the realm naturally devolved on his guardian and grandmother Maṅgammāl. The Queen Regent was one of the most remarkable women, who have distinguished themselves in Indian History and cut an undying figure in the rock of fame by the individuality of their character and the greatness of their achievements. No sovereign of the Madura line, except Viśvanātha I and Tirumal Nāik, has gained such a lasting remembrance in the memory of mankind. The kindly disposition and charitable deeds of Maṅgammāl, in fact, so much engaged the affections and gratified the hearts of the people that, even today, almost every choultry, every road, every tank and temple in the Districts of Madura and Tinnevely, is attributed to her liberality. The range of her charities, says an enterprising chronicle, extended from Kāśi to Comorin and the sphere of her reputation from the heaven to the earth. An exceedingly interesting,

²⁰ The events of the regency of Maṅgammāl are not well known owing to the loss of Jesuit letters from 1687 to 1699. The account given here is based only on indigenous chronicles. As Maṅgammāl was a mere regent, inscriptions during her regency are sometimes in the name of her grandson, e.g., the Tiruppuṣaimarudūr grant of 1695.

if imaginative,³¹ story is current in regard to Maṅgammā, which at once gives an adequate idea of the remarkable affection she commanded among her contemporaries, not only at Madura but abroad. It is a story illustrative of the generosity of the Queen-Regent and the parsimony of a contemporary king of Mysore. A few months before Maṅgammā's³² death the Mysore monarch, a miser, had died and gone to hell, while his crown was inherited by a more miserly son. About the same time, a Vaṅṅia merchant of Mysore died and was carried by the agents of the god Yama, but on reaching the city of death they were told that a wrong man had been brought by them. The Vaṅṅian was therefore about to be taken back to the earth, when the royal sufferer, who was undergoing the tortures of hell, recognised him as a former subject and took advantage of his return to the world of life to send a message to his son, the then king! The penitent and fallen chief said that, while he was ruling Mysore, he had amassed an abundance of wealth, but instead of spending it on behalf of the people he had buried it. No thought of charity or benevolence had ever entered into his mind and the result was his terrible fate. On the other hand, Queen Maṅgammā of Madura had done innumerable acts of benevolence, and the beings of heaven were erecting triumphal arches to receive her and honour her. The repentant chief therefore asked the merchant to proceed to his son, take the buried treasure out, and expend³³ it in charities, so that he might be emancipated from the trials of hell. The Vaṅṅian, the story continues, did so, and a lesson was learnt by all future kings.

The general events during her regency.

Such was the golden opinion that Maṅgammā inspired in her own days. What Tirumal Nāik did in regard to architecture, she did in regard to roads and choultries. The one was famous for his architectural monuments, the other for her philanthropic labours. The one appealed to the artistic instinct in man, the other to his heart. The former again dazzled men by his splendour, the latter won them by her generosity. And yet Maṅgammā's claim to greatness consisted not merely in her generous nature or her benevolent virtues. Endowed with many masculine virtues, she proved a politician of no mean talents. For a space of seventeen years³⁴ she conducted the affairs of State in such excellent spirit that her regency became, if not a model of good government, at least strong enough to secure order within the state and victory abroad. She had a certain vigour and independence of character which ensured the security of her reign and the discomfiture of her enemies. The circumstances under which she found herself in power were more gloomy

³¹ The Telugu Record of the Carnatic Governors from Tirumal Nāik onward.

³² Maṅgammā died in 1705 and Chikka Dēva in 1704. The latter is thus clearly the person referred to.

³³ The story, of course, is a myth and has been invented by a fertile imagination to contrast the liberality of Maṅgammā with the parsimony of the contemporary Mysore ruler, Chikka Dēva Rāja, (1672-1704) who, in spite of his victories, introduced a number of vexatious taxes, and never broke his fast every day till he deposited two bags of pagodas in the treasury out of the revenues. See Wilks, *Mysore*, I, 63; Rice I, 306 to 369.

³⁴ 1689-1705. The *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* attributes her reign to S. 1617-1635, i. e., A.D. 1685-1713, from Yuva to Nandana. The *Pand. Chron.* says that she was regent from Raudri for 12 years. It does not specify particularly the date. The *Supple. MS.* agrees with the *Hist. of Carna. Govrs.*, which assigns 19 years from Pramōduta to Vikrama. Kali Kavi Rayan's chronicle, with its usual vagueness, attributes 8 years to her regency and further says that she was the sister of Vijaya Rāga! The Telugu chronicle says that she ruled from 1707-1725. This is wrong. Epigraphy shows that she came to power before 1690. (Sewell's *Antiquities* II, 85.)

than encouraging. We have already seen how, during the reign of her husband Chokkannātha, the affairs of Madura had, thanks to the attacks of the Marathas, the Mysoreans and the Maravas, drifted into confusion and anarchy, and how the king, in despair of emancipating himself and his kingdom from the foul designs and intriguing cliques of his adversaries, died of a broken heart. We have also seen how his young and gallant son, Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, endeavoured to retrieve the losses sustained by his father, to restore and re-establish a settled government, and to extend the name and extent of Madura to what they were in the time of Tirumal Nāik. But before he could fully accomplish his task the hand of death, we have already seen, snatched him away during his 22nd year. The real work of consolidation, therefore, devolved on Maṅgammāl. And she proved not unequal to the task. Her remarkable vigour made her regency, when compared with that of her predecessors, one of tranquillity and progress. During the period of 15 years during which she swayed the destinies of Madura, she waged, as we shall see further on, four wars,—the first with Travancore, the second with Tanjore, the third with Mysore and the fourth with the Maravas; and from these she either came out successful or at least with the satisfaction that the interests of Madura did not suffer.

The Mughal Invasion.

True her regency was clouded by a misfortune in the form of Mughal invasion for the first time into South India and the consequent necessity on her part to pay the penalty of a suppliant kingdom. But this was due to the exigencies of the times, not to her incapacity. Any other ruler in her place would have had the same fate. Moreover the domination of the Mughal did not introduce any new feature in South Indian History. It was a mere case of change of masters. The Sultan of Bijapur had been for the previous thirty years the suzerain, and in his place there came the Maratha, and now there was the Mughal Emperor. Madura was equally subordinate to all of them. To bow to the majesty of the Empire and to purchase the immunity of the kingdom from war was therefore a service rather than disservice. Any other course would have meant disaster. The very victories which Maṅgammāl gained later on were due to this timely recognition of imperial supremacy.

A legend about Mangammal.

Such were the general features of the reign of Maṅgammāl. As has been already mentioned, the first thing that strikes the historian who reviews her regency is the intense solicitude she felt for the welfare of the people, which began to display itself immediately after her assumption of the reins of government. A strange story, and not an improbable one, ascribes her liberality to an alleged act of indiscretion on her part. On one occasion, when she was in a forgetful mood, she put betels into her mouth with her left hand.³⁵ An extremely orthodox woman, Maṅgammāl regarded this as a serious breach of the moral code, and summoning the orthodox men, who thronged the throne in those days, she narrated her error and asked by what means she could repair it; and her soft and credulous disposition listened with earnestness to their proposal that she should, in order to purify herself, undertake on a large scale the construction of public works! The consequence was a period of busy and philanthropic activity

³⁵ Vide *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* and the Telugu *Carna. Lords* which is more detailed. A typical charity of Maṅgammāl is described in the Telugu grant of Bālakrishṇa Maḥādānapura wherein she gave a whole *agradram* to Brahmans in 1700. (*Antiquities*, II, 4.). And to a certain Subbayya Bhāgavata for a feeding institute in 1701 (*Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 15); etc.

hardly equalled by the reign of any other sovereign of the Nāik dynasty except Tirumal Nāik. Roads and avenues, choultries and water booths, temples and tanks, rose without³⁶ number; and a loving and wonder-struck people echoed the praises of one who, though a woman, asserted her claim to high eminence in history. Imagination came in course of time to triumph at the expense of honest admiration and an admiring posterity attributed to her a chain of roads³⁷ and choultries from the distant Kāsi to the Cape,—a pardonable exaggeration which had its basis in the fact that in addition to her works of charity in her own kingdom, Maṅgammāl built a choultry for the pilgrims in the sacred city of Hinduism.

Her toleration.

Though the ruling passion of Maṅgammāl was a sincere attachment to the gods of Hinduism, and though in her religious policy she was entirely directed by the arts of orthodox flattery, yet the great queen was not so bigoted or narrow-minded as to persecute those who embraced other religions. She had an enlightened understanding of the value of religious toleration, and endeavoured to be impartial in her treatment of the different religions. In 1692, for instance, she permitted her ward and grandson to make an endowment to a Muhammadan for the maintenance of a mosque (*Antiquities*, II, p. 7). Again when she heard that Father Mello of the Jesuit Society was seized and imprisoned by the Sētipati, her indignation was awakened and she insisted, with success, on his immediate release. On another occasion,³⁸ the Jesuit missionary, Father Bouchet, who had heard of the liberal ideas of the Queen-Regent, paid a visit to her, and though he was not favoured with a personal interview, he received the solemn assurance that the Christians would be free from the mischief of fanatics and the ravages of thieves. The missionary was treated with the respect and the courtesy due to his position and person, and even honoured with a procession which escorted him, with much *éclat*, to his station. In 1701, again, she sanctioned a grant of lands near Trichinopoly for a Musalman *dargah* at Penukoḍa for an alleged successful prophecy in the Tanjore affair.³⁹

The Mughal Advent 1693.

In her foreign policy Maṅgammāl was, as has already been mentioned, both cautious and as a rule successful. With a calm mind, which saw clearly the possibilities and impossibilities of her arms, she guided the State in such a way as to obtain the maximum of gain with the minimum of sacrifice. This aspect of her policy is clear in her ready subjugation to the superior might of the Mughal Empire. In the year 1693, a formidable army under

³⁶ The *Telugu Chron.* says that she built choultries at the distance of every *kālam* (10 miles), dug tanks, and erected water-booths at the distance of every five *nāḷikas* (7 miles), and wells, with brick work and stone steps, at the distance of every *nāḷika* (1½ miles). All these being completed, it says she built a handsome choultry at Kāsi.

³⁷ *Madura Gazr.*, p. 54. Taylor thinks that Maṅgammāl's charity might be due to her repentance for some amorous escapade. See his *O. H. MSS.* II.

³⁸ Taylor's *O. H. MSS.* II, p. 227. It is said that the missionary saw the Daḷavāl, Narasappaiya evidently, and not the Queen. Narasa was a very orthodox man and had dismissed certain bombardiers out of service on discovering them to be "Farangia," i. e., European Christians. He however gave a warm reception to the Father, and took the presents the latter brought to the Queen and induced her to be generous as usual. The presents were a two-feet terrestrial globe, and nine-inch glass globe, magnifying and burning glasses mirrors, etc.

³⁹ See *Mair, Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 90. Mr. Krishna Sastri believes that the Tanjore affair here mentioned was probably the alliance with it against Mysore. The inscription mentions a Vīra Vēṅkaṭa Dēva as suzerain, and Mr. Krishna Sastri, instead of seeing that it is a formal affair, makes the mistake of reconciling this with Vēṅkaṭa II of the Chandragiri dynasty!!

the command of the celebrated Zulfiqar Khan, the general who was entrusted with the task of capturing Jinji and its illustrious Maratha occupant, Rāja Rām, the brother and successor of Sāmbāji, burst as a sort of diversion into the south, with a view to collect the tribute of the various tributary kingdoms. Till 1650 the South Indian powers had acknowledged the supremacy of the Deccan Sultans. The Marathas then obtained by their sword the right of collecting the tributes. With their head-quarters at Jinji, they succeeded, for the space of a generation, in extorting the allegiance of the South Indian powers; but in 1688, the ambition of Aurangzeb, which had not only extinguished the Pathan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, but compelled the Maratha ruler Rāja Rām to flee from his native country and take refuge at Jinji, desired to bring the various powers of South India directly under the Empire. It was with this intention that Zulfiqar Khan, who was besieging "the Eastern Troy" from 1690 onward, carried his army in 1693 further south. As might be expected, his march was a triumphal progress. The Maratha ruler of Tanjore, Shahji, readily obeyed and paid tribute. The turn of Madura then came. Maṅgammāl knew that the opposition against the Mughal arms would be suicidal; that far from procuring her independence it would mean ruin. Further north, even the powerful Chikka Dēva had conciliated the Mughals. Nearer, Tanjore had just submitted. Both traditions and present circumstance, therefore, both self-interest and precedent, told Maṅgammāl that she must yield. She therefore readily acknowledged the Empire and paid the tribute of a suppliant vassal. It is not known, however, how much she had to pay. Indeed Maṅgammāl did not only make the best of a trying situation, but positively made it a source of service and advantage to her. She seems to have utilized the arbitration and the resources of the Empire against Tanjore, whose encroachments into her territory did not cease. The *Bundela Journal* says that, in 1697, Zulfiqar Khan led a second expedition into the South, and that "when he arrived near Tanjore, the Zemindar of Trichinopoly sent a considerable offering, with requests of assistance to recover several places which the Raja of Tanjore had taken from him". Zulfiqar Khan complied with the request, and obliged Tanjore to restore them.⁴⁰

Her wise policy towards the Mughal Empire.

That she wisely endeavoured to acknowledge the imperial suzerainty and availed herself of it when attacked by enemies is clear not only from the incidents already described but from an event which took place in 1702. Niccolò Manucci⁴¹ tells us that, on April 20, 1702, she sent a letter to the Deputy Nawab of the Carnatic, Dā'ūd Khan, just then besieging the English in Madras,⁴² requesting him "to undertake in person to assist her in the war

⁴⁰ Scott II, p. 93. "The Raja of Trichinopoly was an infant, and the power of the State vested in his mother, a woman of great abilities who conducted affairs with masculine courage." It is not improbable that an invasion of the South by a certain "Mulla" in 1696 referred to in the *Tanjore Gazet.* p. 42, refers to this expedition. Zulfiqar Khan led a similar excursion in 1700. *Ibid.* p. 96.

⁴¹ See *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, p. 411.

⁴² For Dā'ūd Khan's dealings with the English, Manucci's part therein, and other details, see *Madras in Olden Times*, Vol. I, p. 375-406; *Storia do Mogor*, III, 384-414. Dā'ūd Khan completed the work of Zulfiqar Khan in the conquest of the Carnatic. In 1702 he captured Vellore, the last remaining possession of Rāja Rām in the south. See *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 421, and 486-7. Manucci gives a description of the Vellore fort, its ditch with its enormous crocodiles, and the practice of the people in throwing themselves into the ditch as a sacrifice for their sins, or sacrificing buffaloes, cows and goats. Dā'ūd Khan threw the thieves of Vellore into the ditch as a thank-offering for his success. For an account of Vellore under the Muhammadan chiefs, see Taylor's *Rest. MSS.* II. It contains some very curious and interesting facts, but is not germane to our purpose.

she was obliged to wage against the Prince of Aurapaliam (Uḍayār-pālayam), another tributary of the Moghul. This man had already seized some of her towns. The letter stated with much exaggeration the iniquity of the Rajah's proceedings, and was fitted with humble words and prayers intended to influence the general to come to her aid. With it came some very fine presents to be sent on to Aurangzeb, *some* for Dā'ūd Khan and some for the *diwan*. They consisted in a number of valuable trinkets and precious stones for the king, 20,000 rupees in silver coin for the general, and 10,000 for the *diwan*—a metal with more virtues in the eyes of these gentry than the most polished orations or the most loquacious tongues". Manucci proceeds to say that, most probably on account of the siege of Madras, Dā'ūd Khan wrote to her regretting his inability to respond to her prayer, but sent her a few troops.

The earnest endeavour on the part of Maṅgammāl to keep in good terms with the Empire at any cost is clear in another incident which took place at the end of 1702. Dā'ūd Khan had driven the Marathās completely from the Carnatic by that time, and Aurangzeb wrote to him "to force payment from the Rajah of Tanjore, the Queen of Trichinopoly, and some other neighbouring princes, of the tribute they had hitherto paid to the Mah-rattas." These sums were to be in addition to the tribute previously collected by him from these princes. In his order the emperor set forth his reasons for making such a demand. Of these, the principal was that he had disbursed enormous sums in the conquest of the Marathas and in rescuing these kingdoms from a state of never-ending pillage. It was a matter of justice, therefore, that they should bear a cost of the imperial war with the Marathas. In conformity with these orders, Dā'ūd Khan demanded an enhanced tribute from Tanjore and Trichinopoly, besides a contribution of 300 and 100 elephants respectively to the Empire,—to replace those that had been lost during the war. Both the rulers pleaded poverty in vain. But they knew that the Mughal's object was, as Manucci says, to dispoil them and "to become the master of all their territories and their treasures." They had therefore to purchase their safety by furnishing to the Mughal General "not the number of elephants he claimed, but as many as could be found in their states and belonging to their subjects."⁴³ After all, the Mughal did not give them efficient protection. For in May 1704,⁴⁴ the Marathas who, by this time, were penetrating into every corner of the Mughal Empire, raided the Carnatic, conquered the fortress of Serava once the capital of Carnatic Bijapur and now an imperial possession, once again; entered the country adjoining the territories of the kingdom of Trichinopoly and "realised a very large sum as tribute;" and then proceeding to Tanjore, sealed an alliance between the Maharashtra and the colony by the celebration of the marriage of the Tanjore princess with the son of Rāmachandra Pant, the great statesman in whose hands the administration of the Maratha affairs had been entrusted by Queen Tara Bai.

The Mysore invasion of the Koṅgu Province.

It seems that, immediately after her submission to the Empire, Maṅgammāl had to defend her kingdom against a formidable invasion of the Mysoreans. It is to the great credit of the Mysore king, Chikka Dēva Rāya, that while the other kingdoms of South India were tottering down, he was able to bring about an expansion of his kingdom. With rare diplomatic genius he persuaded the Mughals, who had seized Bijapur and organized its dependent possessions in

⁴³ *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 423-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 503.

the Carnatic into the new Mughal province of Sera⁴⁵, to sell Bangalore and its neighbourhood, which they had just seized from King Shahji of Tanjore, to himself for three lakhs of rupees. Assiduously cultivating an alliance with Aurangzeb, Chikka Dēva proceeded to extend his territories in directions that would not interfere with the Mughal activities. He deprived, for instance, Bednore of many of its districts. Above all, he invaded the possession of Maṅgammā], and carried devastation into the disputed areas of Saler and Coimbatore. Almost all the Polygars of Koṅgu Nāḍ yielded,⁴⁶ and agreed to pay the *peshkash* in future to Srirangapaṭṇam instead of Madura. Not contented, the Mysoreans under Daḷavāi Kumāra Rāya were soon at Trichinopoly itself. The Nāik capital was besieged, and Kumāra Rāya vowed that he would never return to Srirangapaṭṇam without capturing the city. The Daḷavāi, however, had more enthusiasm than success. An irruption of the Marathas into Mysore in the North necessitated the despatch of a large part of his army to Srirangapaṭṇam; and as a result of this, he had (apparently) to abandon the siege and return to Mysore. It is not improbable that Narassappaiya, the Daḷavāi of Maṅgammā], took advantage of the diminution of the Mysore army to take the offensive and compel its retreat, thereby recovering much, if not all, of the lost territory.

The War with Travancore.

The war with Mysore was followed in 1698 by a war with Travancore.⁴⁷ The Rājas of Travancore had, ever since its subjugation by the Vijayanagar Emperor Achyuta Rāya, saluted the Madura flag and paid tribute. But during the troublous times of Chokkanātha, the then ruler Ravi Varma availed himself of the exhaustion of Madura to violate the faith of the previous engagements and withhold the tribute. In the time of Raṅga Kṛishṇa there was a reaction, but once again, on the death of that monarch, the king of Travancore became disaffected and imperious. This attitude kindled the anger of the queen-regent. She immediately set military operations on foot, and in 1697, despatched a punitive expedition into the Western kingdom. After a laborious march, the Nāik army reached, by way of the rocky defile north of the cape, the town of Korkuḷam, identified by Nelson with Quilon, whither the forces of Travancore had already marched with a view to check the enemy. When the two armies lay opposite to each other, the Rāja of Travancore proposed that, in case his adversary co-operated with him in the overthrow of some of his ministers who had opposed his authority and insulted his dignity, he would surrender the place and agree to pay tribute. The Vaḷugas agreed; the obnoxious ministers were either taken and executed or exiled, and it remained for the Travancore ruler to fulfil his promise. He ceded the town, but he had evidently resolved on treachery from the very beginning. As soon as the forces of Madura occupied the town and felt themselves secure, they were suddenly attacked before they had time to gather, and were almost cut down to a man. A few fortunate men escaped to carry the tale of disaster. The revengeful spirit of Maṅgammā] was at once aroused to a pitch of fury. Mustering all her resources she organized a new and more powerful expedition under the command of the ablest general, Narasappaiya. The course of the war is uncertain, but we know that Narasa succeeded in avenging the recent disgrace, ravaged Travancore,

⁴⁵ Rice, I, p. 367-8. Wilks. I

⁴⁶ See Appendix *The Coimbatore Pāṭayams*, for details.

⁴⁷ From 1661 to 1677 the Travancore king was one Adityavarma. He and his relatives were murdered in 1677 and his niece Umayama Rāni became regent. Her administration witnessed a disaster in a Muhammadan raid, the raider establishing himself in Trivandrum itself. He was however driven out eventually by the General Kēraḷavarma. The regent's son Ravivarma attained age in 1684 and was then crowned. He ruled till 1718 and it was in his time that Maṅgammā] invaded the realm. See *Antiquities*, II, 239.

and besides gaining enormous spoils, compelled the Raja to pay the arrears of tribute and guarantee its future payment. The spoils of the war included some fine cannon, which were taken by the Daḷavāi and planted in the bastions of Madura and Trichinopoly.⁴⁸ The later Mr. Nelson instituted inquiries about them, but he was unable to definitely ascertain their fate!

War with Tanjore, 1700-1.

After the conclusion of peace with Ravi Varma, Maṅgammāl was compelled to declare war against King Shahji of Tanjore. With true Maratha ambition, he had been gradually encroaching into the Madura territory, and annexed a number of villages along the banks of the Kāveri. He had also instituted frequent raids into the Madura kingdom for the sake of spoils. The vigilance of the Toṇḍamān and the martial valour of the Sētopati baffled many a time the Tanjorean invaders; but Maṅgammāl could not brook the continuance of such a state of things. She therefore ordered Narasappaiya, as soon as he returned from his Travancore expedition, to take steps against Tanjore, Narasappaiya was at first on the defensive. Either the exhaustion of his army or the requirements of economy dissuaded him from an extensive programme and offensive enterprise. He therefore simply stationed his forces on the Southern banks of the river, with a view of checking the detached irruptions of the Tanjore cavalry. The agility and activity of the latter proved more than equal to the slowly moving army of the Vajugas. The depredations into Madura continued, and Narasa had to take firm and immediate steps to chastise the insolence of the Maratha. Not caring to engage the foes before him, he took the route direct to Tanjore. By slow and cautious march he soon found himself in the vicinity of the Maratha capital. Sudden floods of the tributaries of the Kāveri prevented an effective opposition on the part of the Tanjore general, and the army that came to meet the invaders was practically exterminated. There was at once a panic in the city. The king was alarmed and the people were in despair. Shahji felt that the disaster must be due to the inactivity and treachery of his minister, Vanoji Pandit.⁴⁹ Rightly or wrongly he held him to be the author of the trouble and threatened him with instant death, if the enemy were still suffered to progress. Vanoji Pandit vowed to sacrifice his life, if he did not make the enemy abandon the march and return to Trichinopoly in the course of a week. The shrewd minister depended for success, not on a new muster of forces or a new organization of the army, but on the enemy's love of money. In his view every person in the Madura kingdom had a price, and he resolved to coax Maṅgammāl and her Daḷavāi by heaps of coins to conclude peace. But the necessary sum was not forthcoming. The treasury was empty and the king unsympathetic. But to the desperate situation of the minister, the ways and means were not wanting. Poor people were compelled to part with their meagre hoards, and merchants were menaced to disgorge their profits. Everybody in the pay of Maṅgammāl was then made richer. The queen herself was satisfied by a big war indemnity. Her ministers were equally gratified, and above all, the father of Narasappaiya, a person whose love of money amounted to a passion, had full satisfaction! The result was that the Madura army was in a week on its way to Trichinopoly. The life of Vanoji Pandit, as well as the kingdom of Tanjore, was safe.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁸ For an account of Trichinopoly and its fort in 1719 by Father Bouchet, see Moore's *Trichinopoly Manual*, 130-131. He points out that the fort was the finest between Cape Comorin and Golkonda, that it was impregnable in the eyes of the people, and that its double wall, with its 60 towers, had 130 pieces of cannon mounted on it. The population, he says, was 300,000.

⁴⁹ He was the same as the Śrī Vanaji Paṇḍitar, an inscription of whom, dated 1686-7, is found at Paṭṭukkōttai fort, saying that he conquered all Sētopati territory as far as the Pāmbanār. (*Tanj. Gaz.*, p. 43.) We cannot say how far the Madura accounts are credible.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MAHIMNASTAVA AND ITS AUTHOR

This celebrated hymn is ascribed generally, though not unanimously, to Pushpadanta, a king of the *Gandharvas*. This is on the face of it a legend, — a figment of a clever brain who evidently meant to express his great veneration for the poem by associating with a 'lord of celestial musicians' and adding a few spurious verses to that effect at the end. A solitary commentator, Dechymātya, however, brings it back from heaven and preserves a tradition of its having been written by the celebrated Kumarilabhaṭṭa (*Descriptive Cat. of Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore*, No. 11120.) As to its probable age, Aufrecht (*Oxf. Cat.* p. 131) could not trace its verses earlier than the time of Ujjvaladatta, who quotes the line गतं रोहिण्यं रिरमाधि-
पुत्रस्य वृषा under L. 48 and 99. This is of little value, for a commentary itself by Vopadeva (Bhandarkar's sixth *Rep.* No. 433) carries us further back.

An earlier quotation is to be found in Sarvaṇanda's *Tukṣarvasa* (*Triv. Sans. Series*, Part I, p. 17), which was written soon after 1159 A.D. But a clear solution of both age and authorship is perhaps to be found in the following passage of सोमदेव's *दक्ष-
स्मृतिकवचम्*, (*Kāvya-mālā* Ed., Part II, p. 255) written in A. D. 959.

"अन्यथाभूतस्याततायाम्—आस्तांतथान्यदपि तावदतुल्य-
कलमैश्वर्यमीश्वरपदस्य निमित्तभूतं । त्वच्छेकलोपि भगवन्
गतोवसानं विष्णुः पितामहयुतः किमुतापरस्य ॥ इति रथञ्जोणी
यन्ता क्षतधृतिरग्रेन्द्रो धनुरधो रथाङ्गे चन्द्राकौ रथचरणपाणिः
शर इति । दिशोस्ते कोपं सिपुस्तनमादम्बरविधिर्वधेयैः
कीदृश्वो न जलु परतन्त्राः प्रभुधिया ॥ इति च ग्रहिल-भाषि-
तम् ॥" "रथञ्जोणी" is verse 18 of the hymn, and as there is nothing to show that it was a later interpolation, the whole hymn must have been written by one *Grahila*.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

BOOK NOTICE.

Intercourse between India and the Western World from the earliest times to the fall of Rome. By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I. E. S. Cambridge; at the University Press, 1916.

THE book has been very much praised on all hands, and, I think, rightly so. And it is a matter of great surprise to find a Professor of English writing such a well-informing and interesting book on such a difficult antiquarian subject. There can be no doubt that it supplies a long-felt want and that it will be very widely read both by Europeans and Indians, especially as it is written in a popular style. The book can certainly, on the whole, be safely recommended for general perusal. The author has evidently taken great pains to make himself acquainted with almost all that has been written on the subject by various scholars and antiquarians and has as a rule wisely used his power of discrimination where there is a divergence of opinion among the experts. The book, in short, is all that a most intelligent and painstaking layman can put together.

The book, however, is not entirely without faults, and if they are eradicated in the second edition, the necessity for which we have no doubt will be felt before long, it will leave nothing to be

desired. Here I shall refer only to those points to which attention has not already been drawn in its reviews elsewhere. On p. 85, the author says: 'Perhaps the latest reference to them (Yavanas) occurs in the inscription of the Āndhra queen Bālāsri, A.D. 144; who boasts that she rooted the "Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas" out of the Deccan for ever,' and mentions in a footnote that this inscription is at Karla. Here he has fallen into three blunders. In the first place, the name of the queen is not Bālāsri but Balaśri. Secondly, the person who rooted out these foreigners is not this queen, but her son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. And, thirdly, the inscription is not in a cave at Karla but at Nasik. The discritical marks sometimes are not properly used. Thus for *Tāgara* (p. 19) we should have *Tagara*, for *Anurādhapur* (p. 152) *Anurādhapur*, for *Pāduka* (p. 168) *Pāduka*, and for *Pātika* (p. 87) *Paṭika*. The expression 'the rape of Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,' (p. 141) does not bespeak the author's close acquaintance with Vālmiki's work or even its accurate translations. The word 'unsurmountable' occurring on p. 159 must be a misprint for 'in-
surmountable.'

Y. R. GUPTA.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 144.)

SIMULTANEOUSLY I had to push on preparations for the explorations which were to take our several parties into the waterless desert north and north-east of the extant Lop-nor. It was some help that the small colony of Lopliks, formerly living at Abdal, whom a slow impulse is gradually turning from semi-nomadic fishermen and hunters into somewhat casual agriculturists, had since 1908 transferred their homesteads to the patches of land now again irrigated from the stream of Miran. But apart from their exceedingly scanty resources and the struggle with their evasive cunning, I had another source of worry to face during those anxious days. Within a week of my arrival at Miran, I received a letter from Sir George Macartney bringing serious news. From the headquarters of the provincial Government at Urumchi an edict had issued ordering the district authorities to prevent all surveying work on our part, and in case of any attempt to continue our explorations to arrest and send us under escort to Kashgar "for punishment under treaty." There is neither room nor need here to discuss the probable motives of this intended obstruction, or the alleged regulations by the General staff of the Chinese Republic quoted in explanation. I knew that the intercession of our Minister at Peking had been immediately invoked from Kashgar by my ever-watchful friend and protector. But that help could make itself felt only after months. In the meantime I should have to contend, if not with an attempt at forcible interference, yet with Chinese passive obstruction easy enough to apply in my circumstances and particularly dangerous to my plans. Soon there arrived a copy of the edict from the officious Amban at Kara-shahr, whom I had previously asked for a Mongol interpreter. I could gauge the force of the import and language when I saw the sallow face of my poor shrivelled Chinese secretary turning a livid grey as he read through the document and explained it.

Evening after evening as I came back from the day's work at the ruins I looked anxiously among my indolent Lopliks for the first signs of the feared passive resistance to my plans which would have so well suited their natural bent. But fortunately the expected prohibition from Charkhlik never came. As I found out later, I owed this lucky escape to the opportune "revolutionary" outbreak. It had disposed of the original district magistrate before he could take any action. His rebel successor, who had taken charge of the Yamen and found the orders there, had more urgent and profitable business to attend to before he was killed himself. And subsequently the military commandants, in strict observance of Chinese official convention, had carefully abstained from looking into civil affairs, and kept the Yamen papers sealed up until the new Amban had arrived from Urumchi and taken charge of the seal of office. But what a relief it was when I had safely collected all I needed and could set out for the waterless desert where I should know myself completely protected from any risk of human interference! Great as were the difficulties and risks from lifeless nature to be faced there, I was buoyed up by the assurance of freedom for the timely execution of my plans.

On January 23 I had started Lal Singh northward by the Tarim to Tikenlik, where he was to pick up the seven strong camels I had asked Abdu'r-Rahim, the hardy hunter from Singer and our old guide in the Kuruk-tagh, to provide. Thence he was to carry out an exact survey of the ancient river-bed and its branches by which the waters of Konchedarya

once reached the area, now wholly desiccated desert, south of the Kuruk-tagh foothills, where Hedin in 1900 had first discovered the ruins of the "Lou-lan" site. The latter was to be our rendezvous. Surveyor Muhammad Yakub Khan, some days later, was sent off with five camels by the desert track to Tun-huang in order to carry a series of exact levelling operations from the eastern end of the great salt-encrusted basin which marks the ancient dried-up Lop Sea, towards the termination of the Su-lo Ho drainage.

My own tasks included the excavation of any ruins which the intended exploration of the dried-up delta of the "Kuruk-darya" and the search for the ancient Chinese route once leading eastwards from Lou-lan might reveal. In order to assure adequate time for the latter rather hazardous task and for the survey of the unexplored north and east portions of the great salt-encrusted sea-bed, which, there was reason to assume, that ancient route must have passed through or skirted, it was essential to effect excavations rapidly, and therefore to take along as many labourers as I could possibly manage to keep supplied with water, *recte* ice. What with big loads of ice sufficient to assure minimum allowances of water for thirty-five people for at least one month, with food supplies of one month for all and of an additional month for my own people, and what with the indispensable outfit of furs, felts, etc., to afford protection in the wintry desert exposed to icy gales, the thirty camels I had succeeded in raising, including our own, were by no means too many. It goes without saying that everybody had to walk, and that the labourers had to help by the carriage of light loads.

It was a great relief when, on February 1, I had safely started this big column for the desert north-eastward. Next day we took up our water-supply in the shape of big blocks of ice packed in bags from a terminal lagoon of the Tarim. Thence four marches brought us to my immediate goal, a large ruined fort which had first been sighted by Tokhta Akhun, my faithful old Loplik follower, apparently in 1910, when he returned from the Lou-lan site after guiding there Mr. Tachibana, the young Japanese explorer. By clearing the substantial dwellings within, we recovered plentiful relics in the shape of architectural wood-carvings, implements, coins, etc., these proved occupation to have ceased here about the same period, early in the fourth century A.D., as at the "Lou-lan" site. Wind-erosion had deeply scoured the ground outside, but had not succeeded in more than breaching in places the very solid enclosing rampart built of alternate layers of brushwood fascines and stamped clay, after the fashion of the ancient Chinese *Limes*. A well-marked dry river-course near the fort was easily traced by the rows of fallen dead trees once lining the banks, and the direction clearly proved it to have been a southern branch of the ancient Kuruk-darya ("the dry river"), which once had carried water to the Lou-lan site.

By following up this river-course we came upon a second and smaller fort, and a reconnaissance north of it soon led to the discovery of the scattered remains of an extensive settlement. The dwellings, built of timber and wattle after the fashion of those at the Niya site, had suffered greatly through the erosive action of wind-driven sand. Yet, where consolidated refuse heaps had helped to protect the original floors, we found ancient records on wood and paper in Kharoshthi and another Indian script, as well as in Chinese and Early Sogdian, besides very interesting and well-preserved remains of furniture, personal equipment, fabrics, and the like. There could be no doubt that this settlement, too, had been occupied down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and by people sharing the same well-developed civilization due to the mixture of Indian, Chinese, and Western influences which my finds of 1906 at the Lou-lan site had illustrated.

The exact antiquarian evidence here obtained has its special value, because it enables us to date a variety of physical features which I could observe in the immediate vicinity of the ruined settlement. They throw fresh light on the hydrography and early occupation of this part of the Lop-nor region during historical times and those immediately preceding them. For the latter the abundant finds of stone implements, such as Neolithic arrow-heads and jade celts, which were picked up from the eroded surface of the ground near these ruins afforded a very useful guide. The fact that these finds of stone implements continued over most of the wind-eroded ground up to the Lou-lan site had a significant bearing on the so-called "Lop-nor problem," the discussion of which has long been carried on without an adequate basis of surveys.

It was similarly important that on the two long marches which brought us there we met a succession of ancient river-beds all lined by rows of dead Toghrak (wild-poplar) trees, and clearly recognizable by their direction as having branched off from the "Dry River" skirting the foot of the Kuruk-tagh. It was plainly a considerable delta, not a large terminal lake, which had existed here during the historical times accessible to antiquarian evidence, and our new surveys have shown how far it extended south and south-west. Finds of Chinese Han coins and of small metal and pottery fragments of undoubtedly the same historical period mingled freely with those of the Stone Age, just on the ground where (according to a recent theory) we ought to have been crossing the position assumed for the Lop-nor of the epoch when Lou-lan was occupied.

It was long after nightfall on February 10 that we struggled through to the old Chinese station marked by the chief ruins of the Lou-lan site. It was very trying ground we had to cross all day, cut up by wind erosion into an unending succession of narrow and steep clay terraces all running east-north-east to west-south-west, the direction of the prevailing wind, and very difficult for the camels to pass. From our base camp at the foot of the familiar Stupa ruin I pushed out reconnaissances into the unknown desert to the east and north-east, while keeping my diggers at work on deeper deposits of refuse, etc., which had escaped attention during the stress of our previous visit. Among the numerous finds of ancient documents on wood and paper which rewarded this clearing, I may specially mention one, unfortunately fragmentary, which shows a script as yet unrepresented among all our former collections. The rest were in Chinese, Kharoshthi, and the Iranian language known since my finds of 1906-07 as Early Sogdian.

Quite as interesting to me were the series of close observations I was able to make on ground immediately adjoining the ruins, as to the levels at which the process of denudation and wind-erosion had been arrested from time to time by a temporary return of moisture and desert vegetation affording protection to the soil. These clearly showed that the process, striking as its effects everywhere are, had been neither constant nor uniform during the sixteen hundred years which have passed since the abandonment of the station. Hence a mere line of levelling carried across areas which wind-erosion has affected in such different ways, could not, in the absence of dateable marks in the shape of structural or other remains, be expected to yield reliable outlines of the hydrographic configuration of the ground at earlier periods.

But the chance for more exciting work came when I could follow up what the reconnaissance surveys, carried out particularly by Afrazgul Khan, my young Pathan surveyor, with great zeal and intelligence, had revealed towards the north-east. There on ground wholly untouched by human feet for so many centuries, I had hoped to find ruins near what

I conjectured to have been the line of the earliest Chinese route leading into the Tarim Basin from Tun-huang and the extreme west of China proper. A succession of important discoveries soon confirmed that hope. On the top of a large clay terrace or *mesha*, rising steeply some 35 feet above the eroded ground-level, I came upon most interesting remains of an ancient burial-ground. On the sides of the mound graves had been partially exposed and destroyed by wind-erosion undercutting the banks and causing them to fall. But the top of the *mesha* had been safe from this destructive agent, and there we found a series of large grave pits which yielded a rich antiquarian haul in quite bewildering confusion.

Mixed up with human bones and fragments of coffins there emerged here in abundance household implements of all sorts, objects of personal use such as decorated bronze mirrors, wooden models of arms, Chinese records on paper and wood, and, above all, a wonderful variety of fabrics which delighted my eye. Among them were beautifully coloured silks, pieces of rich brocade and embroidery, fragments of fine pile carpets by the side of coarse fabrics in wool and felts. It soon became evident that these remnants of garments of all sorts had been used for wrapping up bodies, perhaps partially embalmed. I could not have wished for a more representative exhibition of that ancient Chinese silk trade which we know to have been a chief factor in opening up this earliest route for China's direct intercourse with Central Asia and the distant West, and which had passed along here for centuries.

A variety of very interesting problems as to the origin of designs, etc., usually attributed to Persian art of the Sassanian period, had been raised by the fine decorated silk fabrics I had discovered on my former journey in the walled-up cave temple of the "Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang. Here a mass of far older and dateable materials was coming to light to help to solve those problems. I soon realized, from various indications, that the contents of these pits must have been collected, before the final abandonment of the Chinese military station of Lou-lan, from older graves which wind-erosion or some similar cause had exposed or was threatening. Consequently the relics, here saved in obedience to a pious custom still prevalent among the Chinese, could safely be assigned to that period of the rule of the Han dynasty, which followed the first expansion of Chinese trade and power into Central Asia about the close of the second century B.C. There was no time then to examine the wealth of beautiful designs and colours making a feast for my eyes. But I felt that in this utter desolation of the wind-eroded clay desert, where nature was wholly dead and even the very soil was being reduced, as it were, to the condition of a skeleton, there had opened up a new and fascinating chapter in the history of textile art. It will take years to read it in full clearness.

My satisfaction was equally great when, after a long and fatiguing tramp from our base, I found myself by nightfall at a large walled enclosure near to where one of the dry river-beds passing the Lou-lan site seemed to merge in the hard salt expanse of an ancient terminal marsh. We had struck the fortified *castrum* which, as close examination soon showed, had served as a *point d'appui* for Chinese missions and troops where they first reached Lou-lan territory after having crossed the salt-encrusted dry lake-bed and skirted its absolutely barren north shores. Its walls, built with regular alternate layers of clay and carefully secured reed fascines, and remarkably well preserved after two thousand years' exposure, showed constructive features in closest agreement with those observed in the westernmost extension of the ancient Chinese border wall, which I had discovered and explored in 1907 in the desert of Tun-huang.

There could be no doubt that the fort dated, like the Tun-huang *Limes* itself, from the first military advance of the Chinese into the Tarim Basin, about 104 B.C., and that it represented, as it were, the bridge-head of the desert route by which that advance was made possible. I had become so familiar with that ancient *Limes* and the technical skill displayed in its construction that I could not help rejoicing at the way in which this work from the hands of the same old Chinese engineers had withstood the attacks of that most formidable enemy in this region, wind-erosion. The walls of reed fascines had nowhere been seriously breached, while inside the circumvallation the force of the wind has worked terrible havoc, scouring out big hollows down to 20 feet and more below the ground-level and reducing a large central structure to a bare clay terrace strewn with scattered debris of timber. Under the shelter of the north wall, however, refuse heaps had survived, and these yielded Chinese records on wood and paper.

Beyond this fortified Chinese station other remains were traced. Of these it must suffice to mention a small ruined fort which occupied a commanding position on the narrow top of a precipitous clay ridge fully 100 feet high. It had evidently served as a stronghold and look-out post for some chief of the indigenous population of Lou-lan. Of the type, habits, and civilization of the Lou-lan people, as the Chinese found them on the first opening of the route through the desert, the Han Annals have preserved some curious notes. The accuracy of these was illustrated in a most striking fashion by the examination of the graves covering the other end of the clay ridge. Here we found the bodies of men and women, probably members of the old chief's family, in a truly wonderful state of preservation, due, no doubt, to the absolute dryness of the climate and the safe elevation of their resting-places. The peaked felt caps of the men decorated with big feathers and other trophies of the chase, the arrow-shafts by their side, the simple but strong woollen garments fastened with pins of hard wood, the neatly woven small baskets holding the food for the dead, etc., all indicated a race of semi-nomadic hunters and herdsmen, just as the Chinese describe them.

It was a strange sensation to look down on figures which but for the parched skin seemed like those of men asleep and to feel brought face to face with people who inhabited, and no doubt liked, this dreary Lop-nor region in the first centuries A.D. The features of the heads closely recalled the *homo alpinus* type, which, judging from my anthropometric records, worked up by Mr. T. A. Joyce, still supplies the prevalent element in the racial constitution of the indigenous population of Chinese Turkestan and is seen in its purest form in the Iranian-speaking tribes near the Pamirs. The general appearance of these Lou-lan people seemed curiously to accord with the significant juxtaposition in which small bronze objects of Chinese origin were picked up on the slope below the little fort together with stone implements. There were indications elsewhere, too, suggesting that the interval separating the latest Neolithic period in Lou-lan from the advent of the Chinese may not have been a very long one.

Apart from their direct interest, the discoveries here briefly indicated had a special importance by furnishing me with a safe starting-point and some guidance for the difficult task still before us, that of tracing the line of that famous ancient route through the forbidding desert eastwards. But it was impossible to set out for it at once. Incessant toil in the waterless desert with constant exposure to its icy winds had exhausted our Loplik labourers, hardy plants as they were and pleased with the rewards I gave them. When the last digging at the outlying ruins to the north-east had been done, I had to take them back

to our Lou-lan base camp, whence they could return in safety under Ibrahim Beg's guidance to the world of the living.

The season's initial sand-storm which had broken with full fury on the preceding night and which the Lopliks attributed to the wrath of the dead we had disturbed, made this march exceptionally trying, apart from the risks of straying, which the semi-darkness involved for the men. To my great relief I found Lal Singh safely arrived after accomplishing his survey tasks in the west on a circuit of some 400 miles. He had been duly joined by that plucky hunter, Abdu'r-Rahim, who with his life-long desert experience and his magnificent camels brought fresh strength for our column. It may serve to illustrate the stamina of his animals, bred and reared in the Kuruk-tagh, that the baby camel to which one of them gave birth at the Lou-lan site subsequently traversed with us all those waterless wastes of salt and gravel unharmed and almost throughout on its own legs.

Together we moved then north to the Kuruk-tagh in order to secure for our hard-ried camels a few days' rest with water and grazing at the salt springs of Altmish-bulak. The new route followed on the three days' march allowed me to examine more burial-grounds on the gravel glacis which overlooks the ancient riverine belt, now dried up and eroded by the wind. Their remains proved very helpful for explaining my previous finds east of the Lou-lan site. But even more welcome was the four days' halt at Altmish-bulak. Its springs, saline as they are, gave our brave camels their first chance of a real drink after three weeks, and on the reed beds around them they could gather fresh strength for the hard task still before them. After the dead world we had toiled in, this little patch of vegetation seemed delightful, too, to us humans.

After replenishing our ice supply and taking a carefully arranged store of fuel, we started on February 24 for our respective tasks. The one allotted to Lal Singh was to survey the unknown north-east shores of the great salt-encrusted basin, which represents the fullest extension of the dried-up ancient Lop-nor, and the barren hill ranges of the Kuruk-tagh overlooking them. I myself accompanied by Afrazgul and Shams Din proposed to search for the ancient Chinese route where it left the edge of the once inhabited Lou-lan area, and to trace it over whatever ground it might have crossed right through to where it was likely to have diverged from the line still followed by the desert track, which leads from Tun-huang along the southern shore of the great dried-up Lop Sea towards Miran. It was a fascinating task after my own taste, combining geographical and historical interest, but one attended also by serious difficulties and risks.

From what I knew of the general character of the ground before us, it was certain that we could not hope for water, nor over most of it for fuel to melt our ice with, before striking the Tun-huang caravan track, a matter of some ten days' hard marching judging from the approximately calculated distance. There was a limit to the endurance of our brave camels, and with the heavy loads of ice, fuel, and provisions which had to be carried for the sake of safety, I could not expect the animals, already hard tried by the preceding week's work in absolute desert, to remain fit for more than ten to twelve days. It was impossible to foresee what physical obstacles might be met and might delay us beyond the calculated measure of time in this wilderness devoid of all resources and now more barren, perhaps, than any similarly large area of this globe. And there remained the problem how to hit the line of the ancient route and to track it through on ground which long before the dawn of historical times had ceased to offer any chance for human occupation. For a careful search of any relics left behind by the ancient traffic, which had passed through what the Chinese Annals vaguely

describe as the terrible "desert of the White Dragon Mounds," there would be no time. Much, if not most, had to be left to good fortune—and, combined with what hints I could deduce from previous archaeological and topographical observations. Fortune served me better than I had ventured to hope.

Physical difficulties soon presented themselves as we made our way south through and across a perfect maze of steep clay terraces, all eroded by the same east-north-east wind which had sculptured the usual *yardangs* of Lou-lan, but of far greater height. Having thus regained the vicinity of the terminal *point d'appui* above mentioned of the ancient route, I soon found confirmation for my previously formed conjecture that the initial bearing of the route lay to the north-east. It was marked by the almost completely eroded remains of an outlying indigenous camping-place and of an ancient watch-tower of the type familiar to me from the Tun-huang *Limes*, which I opportunely discovered on towering terraces at the very edge of ancient vegetation. We had reached here the extreme eastern limit of the area to which the waters of the Kuruk-darya had once carried life. Beyond there were no ruins to guide us. The desert eastwards was already in ancient times as devoid of plant or animal life of any sort as it now is. As we left behind the withered and bleached fragments of the last dead tamarisk trunk lying on the salt soil, I felt that we had passed from the land of the dead into ground that never knew life—except on the route to be tracked.

As we steered onwards by the compass across absolutely barren wastes of clayey *shôr*, detritus or hard salt crust, chance helped us in a way which at times seemed almost uncanny. Again and again finds of early Chinese copper coins, small metal objects, stone ornaments and the like gave assurance that we were still near the ancient track by which Chinese political missions, troops and traders had toiled for four centuries through this lifeless wilderness. It is impossible to record here exact details of all such finds. But I may at least briefly mention two thrilling incidents which by their nature helped greatly to raise the spirits of my men and filled them with superstitious confidence in some spirits' safe guidance. At the time they made me to feel as if I were living through in reality experiences dimly remembered from some of Jules Verne's fascinating stories I had read as a small boy.

Thus, on the third day of our march, when the last traces of ancient desert vegetation had long remained behind, we suddenly found the ancient track plainly marked for about 30 yards by over two hundred Chinese copper coins strewing the dismal ground of salt-encrusted clay. They lay in a well-defined line running north-east to south-west, just as if some kindly spirit among those patient old Chinese wayfarers, who had faced this awful route with its hardships and perils, had wished to assure us that the bearing I was steering by was the right one. In reality they must have got loose from the string which tied them and gradually dropped out unobserved through an opening in their bag or case. The coins were all of the Han type, and seemed as if fresh from some mint. Some 50 yards further on in the same direction we came upon a similar scattered heap of bronze arrow-heads, all manifestly unused and looking as if newly issued from some arsenal of Han times. Their shape and weight exactly agreed with the ancient Han ammunition I had picked up so often along the *Limes* of Tun-huang, which was garrisoned during the first century before and after Christ. The way in which the coins and arrow-heads had been allowed to remain on the ground suggested that they had dropped from some convoy of stores in Han times which was moving at night-time and probably a little off the main track but still in the right direction.

Next day's long march brought another discovery equally stirring and useful. We had followed our north-easterly course across easy ground of bare clay and mica detritus

when it approached at a slant a forbidding belt of salt-coated erosion terraces clearly of the type to which the Chinese of Han times had applied the graphic designation of "White Dragon Mounds." I knew it foreboded the close vicinity of that ancient sea-bed encrusted with hard crumpled salt which I was anxious to steer clear of as long as possible, on account of the terrible surface it would present for our poor camels' feet. They were sore already and the painful process of "re-soling" had to be resorted to night after night. I was just preparing to climb the prominent *mesha* which had served as our guiding point and to use it as a look-out, when we found on its slopes Chinese coins, soon followed by quite a collection of metal objects, including bronze ornaments and a well-preserved dagger and bridle in iron. Evidently the terrace had served as a regular halting-place, and a careful inspection of the ground ahead suggested that it had been used for this purpose, because at its foot was the first piece of ground level and tolerably clear of salt which travellers would strike after passing through the forbidding maze of "White Dragon Mounds" and the dried-up sea-bottom beyond.

I had to decide whether I was to strike across the latter now or to skirt the ancient sea-shore by continuing the north-east course, which threatened to take us further and further away from where we hoped to find water. It might have meant a *détour* of days, and the interpretation I put on our lucky find encouraged me to avoid this by heading straight for the dead salt sea. That evening we had reached its shore-line, and the crossing effected next day proved how wise the change of direction had been. The march across the petrified sea, with its hard salt crust crumpled up into knife-like small pressure ridges, was a most trying experience for camels and us men alike. But when this weary tramp of 20 miles, more fatiguing than any I ever had in the desert, had safely brought us to the first spot of soft salt in front of the opposite line of salt-covered erosion terraces, and we could halt for a night's rest, I had good reason to feel glad for my choice and grateful for the find which had prompted it. As the following marches proved, we had crossed the forbidding sea of hard crumpled salt at the very point where it was narrowest, and had thus escaped a night's halt on ground where neither beast nor man could have found a spot to rest in comfort. It was, no doubt, this advantage which had determined those old Chinese pioneers in the choice of this line for their route.

Helped by finds of coins and the like, we continued to track the route over ground still absolutely barren, until we reached, three days later, the last offshoot of the low desert range which overlooks from the north the extreme eastern extension of the ancient dried-up sea-bed. Then, as we skirted its shore-line under steep cliffs looking exactly like those of a sea still in being I had the satisfaction of finding the ancient track in places still plainly marked in the salt-encrusted ground. It was a strange sensation when my eyes first caught the straight line of the ancient road, where it cuts for nearly 2 miles across a small bay of the petrified sea. It showed a uniform width of some 20 feet, and was worn down to a depth of about 1 foot in the surface of hard salt cakes, as a result of the passage for centuries of transport animals, and probably carts too. There was ocular evidence here of the magnitude of the traffic which had once moved through these barren solitudes. But how those patient old Chinese organizers of transport had maintained it over some 150 miles of ground without water, fuel, or grazing still remains somewhat of a problem.

(To be continued.)

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ALAMKARA LITERATURE.

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The Chronology of Alamkara Literature.

Part II.

(Continued from Vol. XL., p. 288.)

THE history of *Alamkāra* literature falls under two sections. One section should show how, from small beginnings, a complete theory of Poetics (including the figures of speech) was evolved. In this section we saw how at the outset there were only a few well-recognized *alamkāras* and how in course of time subtle distinctions were made between one *alamkāra* and another. It has been said, with a good deal of truth, that the Indian mind revels in subtle distinctions, divisions and classifications. This branch of Sanskrit Literature is as good an example of this tendency as any other. Sometimes even the most trivial circumstance has been thought sufficient to create a separate figure. In the second section, upon which we now propose to enter, we shall try to establish, as far as the materials at our disposal enable us, the chronology of the most prominent writers on the *Alamkāra-Sāstra*.

The first question that naturally arises is: What is the most ancient work on the *Alamkāra-Sāstra*? In reply to this question, the *Agnipurāṇa* is put forward as the original of all later doctrines on the subject. We shall therefore examine the claims of the *Agnipurāṇa* to be regarded as the most ancient work on the *Alamkāra-Sāstra*.

The Agnipurāṇa.

Some commentators of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* say that Bharata, in order to introduce through the medium of sweet poetry the tender minds of princes to more profound studies, composed concise *Kārikās*, the materials for which he drew from the *Agnipurāṇa*.¹ We think that this respect paid to the *Agnipurāṇa* is due to a misconception on the part of these writers and that the *Agnipurāṇa* is not entitled to the honour of being looked upon as the most ancient work on the *Alamkāra-Sāstra*.

The *Agnipurāṇa* is a hotch-potch, an encyclopædia of heterogeneous materials, something like 'Enquire within upon everything.' It is impossible to attempt to give even a brief summary of the contents of the eleven thousand verses of the *Agnipurāṇa* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series). The curious reader must refer to the preface of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. We shall give here a brief analysis of that part (chapters 336—346) which deals with figures of speech and other kindred matters. In chapter 336, after defining *Kāvya* and dividing it first into Sanskrit and Prākṛit and then into *gadya*, *padya* and *mīra* (as done by Daṇḍin), the subdivisions of *gadya* (five in number) and of *padya* are defined. In chapter 337 *nāṭakas* and some topics connected therewith are spoken of. In chapter 338 the *rasas* and *bhāvas* are treated of. In 339, the four *ritis* (*Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍī*, *Lāṭī* and *Pāṇchālī*) are described. In chapter 340, some points connected with acting are discussed. Chapter 341 speaks of gesticulation, *rasas* and nine *alamkāras* of *śabda*. Chapter 342 deals with such figures of *śabda* as *anuprāsa*, *yamaka* and such intricate arrangements of

¹ Maheśvara, in his *Kāvya-prakāśadarsa*, says: *Sukumārān rājakumārān evādu-kāvya-pravṛttidevāṃ gāhane Sāstrāntare pravartayitum — Agnipurāṇād-uddhṛitya Kāvya-ras-śavāda-kāraṇam = Alamkāraśāstram kārikābhīḥ Saṃkṣīpya Bharatamuniḥ prapṛavān.*

The *Kṛishṇanandini*, a comment on the *Sāhitya-kaumudī* of Vidyābhūṣaṇa, says: *Kāvya-ras-śavādanāya Vāṇī-purāṇād-udhṛitya saṃkṣīpya prakriyāṃ Bharatāḥ saṃkṣīptābhīḥ kārikābhīḥ nibandha.*

letters as *gômûtrikābandha*, *sarvatōbhadrā*, &c. Chapter 343 dilates upon the figures of sense and 344 on the figures of both word and sense. In chapter 345, seven *guṇas* of Poetry are spoken of, and in chapter 346 the blemishes of Poetry are dealt with.

The evidence for arriving at the conclusion that the *Agnipurāṇa* is not the most original work on *Alaṅkāra* literature is both internal and external.

The internal evidence may be stated as follows :—

I. We have some indications in the *Agnipurāṇa* itself showing that it was not Bharata who copied from it, but rather the reverse. The *Agnipurāṇa* says that the *riti* styled *Bhāratī* was so called because it was first promulgated by Bharata.² In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*³ of Bharata we are told that the four *vr̥ttis* *Bhāratī*, *Sāttvatī*, *Kaiśiki* and *Ārabhaṭī* were received by Bharata from Brahmā and that *Bhāratī Vṛtti* was named after the Bharatas. From the above it is clear that the *Agnipurāṇa* knew that Bharata was the originator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (or at least of the *Vṛttis* that form a very integral part of it) and that perhaps it had before it the very words of Bharata quoted by us above. Another noteworthy fact in this connection is that Bharata nowhere alludes to the *Agnipurāṇa* in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*, although he shows an acquaintance with works of the Purāṇa class.⁴

II. The very nature of the contents of the *Agnipurāṇa* precludes the idea that it is an ancient and original work. Even a cursory examination reveals the fact that the *Agnipurāṇa* is a professed conglomeration of heterogeneous material borrowed from many sources, especially in that part of it which deals with the various branches of Sanskrit literature. On the other hand the *Nāṭyaśāstra* appears to be a very original work. Bharata speaks of only four figures of speech,⁵ while the *Agnipurāṇa* mentions a large number. If Bharata had the *Agnipurāṇa* before him or if he had known more than four well-recognized figures of speech, he would have given a full exposition of them and would not have been held back by considerations of irrelevancy and prolixity. He defines and illustrates about a hundred different metres, which have as much connection with the dramatic art as figures of speech.

III. We shall later on adduce evidence to show that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata must be at all events earlier than A.D. 500. From an examination of the contents of the *Agnipurāṇa*, it follows that it was put together later than A.D. 700 or even A.D. 1000. Our reasons are :—

(a) The *Agnipurāṇa* refers to the seven *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Harivaṃśa*, to *Pingala*, *Pālakāpya*, *Sālihōtra*, *Dhanvantari* and *Suśruta*. It gives a short summary of the *Bhagvatgītā* in chapter 380, in which halves of verses⁶ occurring in different chapters of the *Gītā* have been combined in one verse. One of the most significant facts for our purposes is that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrows from the *Amarakōśa* in chapters 359—366. Almost all the verses are directly taken from the *Amarakōśa* or are formed by taking half verses from the *Kōśa* and then piecing them together. If Amara borrowed at all he would do so

² *Bharatena prāṇitāśād-Bhāratī ritir-uchyate.*—*Agnipurāṇa* 339.6.

³ *Mayā kāvya-kriyā-ketōḥ prakāṣitā dṛuḥ-djāyā.*—*Nāṭyaśāstra* 20.23; again at 20.25 we read *Sva-nāmadheyair-bharatāiḥ prayuktā sād Bhāratī nāma bhavet-tu vṛttīḥ* ||

⁴ *Anyēpi deśā ebhyo ye Purāṇe saṁprakṛitāḥ i tesu prayujyate hy-eśā prāvṛttis-to-Auṣṭr Māgadha.*—*Nāṭya*. 13.35.

⁵ *Kāvyaṣ-aite hy-alaṅkātrās-chātrāḥ pari-kṛitāḥ.*—*Nāṭya*. 16.4.

⁶ *Agnī 380.12 is the same as Gītā VI. 40 and VII. 14. Na hi kālyāṇakṛit kachid durgatim tādā gachchati i Dāiḥ hy-eśā guṇamayī mama mdyā duratyayā* ||

from works similar to his own, as he himself acknowledges in the words *samśhrity-ānya-tantrāṇi*, &c. It cannot be supposed that for a few of his *vargas* he fell back on the *Agnipurāṇa* and not on other *Kōśas*. The *Agnipurāṇa*, on the other hand, in its desire to include some account of every branch of Sanskrit literature would naturally draw upon the most famous *Kōśa* in its day, as it has drawn upon the *Gitā*, the *Śikshā* and other works. Therefore we may safely conclude that this portion of the *Agnipurāṇa* is taken from the *Amarakōśa*. Unfortunately scholars are not at one as to the date of *Amarasimha*. Max Müller arrived at the conclusion that Amara flourished about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Prof. MacDonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 433) thinks it not improbable that the *Amarakōśa* was written about A.D. 500. Dr. Hoernle fixes the date between A.D. 625. and A. D. 940. (*JRAS* of Great Britain for 1906, p. 940) on the strength of the fact that Amara's meaning of the word *Aṃsa* is based upon the meaning of the word as given by Vāgbhaṭa. Taking even the earliest date assigned to Amara, viz., 5th century A. D., we can at once assert that the *Agnipurāṇa* must be later than the *Amarakōśa* by some centuries. A period of two centuries would be absolutely necessary for Amara's work to come into general circulation and to be so highly esteemed as to be quoted by even orthodox writers. The *Agnipurāṇa* would not have gone out of its way to borrow from an unorthodox writer like Amara, if the latter's fame had not become world-wide in its day. Hence there is no objection in placing the *Agnipurāṇa* later than the 7th century A.D.

(b) The *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata have a number of verses in common with very slight variations that may have been due to the errors of scribes. We have said above that taking into consideration the nature of the two works, the greatest probability lies in the theory that the *Agnipurāṇa* copied from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Some of the striking common passages are:—*Nāṭya* VI. 39 and *Agni* 338. 7-8; *Nāṭya* VI, 36 and *Agni* 338. 12; *Nāṭya* 20. 28-29 and *Agni* 337. 11-12; *Nāṭya* 16.60-62 and *Agni* 342. 15-16.

(c) The definitions given by the *Agnipurāṇa* of *Sahōkti*, *Rūpaka*, *Utprekshā*, *Viśeshōkti*, *Vibhāvanā*, *Apahnuti* and *Samādhi* (*Agni* 343. 23; 343. 24-25; 343. 26-27; 343. 27-28; 344. 18; 344. 13, respectively) are almost the same as those of Daṇḍin (*K. D.* II. 351; II. 66; II. 221; II. 323; II. 199; II. 304; I. 93.) Besides these, there are a number of verses and phrases which occur both in the *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Kāvyaśāstra*; e.g., *Padyaṃ chatuṣpadi tachcha vrittāṃ jātir-iti tridhā*.—*Agni*. 336. 21 and *K. D.* I. 11 *Sā vidyā naus-tiṭirshūṇāṃ Gambhīraṃ kāvya-sāgaram*.—*Agni*. 336. 23 and *K. D.* I. 12 *Nagarāṇaṃ saṃsāritachandrārkaśrama-pādapaṇiḥ | Udyānasalīlakṛidāmadhupānaratōtsavaḥ* *Agni*. 336. 29 and *K. D.* I. 16; *Itihāsa-kathōdbhūtam-itarad-vā rasāśrayam*.—*Agni*. 336. 25 and *K. D.* I. 15. Daṇḍin almost everywhere gives his own examples and definitions. He mentions the *Bṛhatkathā* and the *Setukāvya*, but nowhere alludes to the *Agnipurāṇa*. It is highly improbable that a writer like Daṇḍin should go a-begging to the *Agnipurāṇa* for stray verses and half-verses; while it is quite in keeping with the character of the *Agnipurāṇa* to borrow from Daṇḍin. We shall discuss in detail the date of Daṇḍin later on. He seems to have flourished about the 6th century A. D. If we admit that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrows from him, the former must be placed a century or two later than the 6th century A. D.

(d) The definitions of *Rūpaka*, *Ākshepa*, *Aprastutapraisaṃsā*, *Paryāyīkta* and *Samāsōkti* are almost the same in Bhāmaha's work and the *Agnipurāṇa* (*Bhāmaha* II. 21 and *Agni* 343. 22; *Bhāmaha* II. 58 and *Agni* 344. 15; *Bhāmaha* III. 29 and *Agni* 344. 16; *Bhāmaha* III. 8 and *Agni* 344. 18; *Bhāmaha* II. 69 and *Agni* 344. 17 respectively)

Bhāmaha expressly says at the end of the 2nd Parichchheda that he gives his own examples only.⁷ Hence we must suppose that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrows from Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha belongs to the 7th century A. D. The *Agnipurāṇa* must therefore be later than A. D. 700.

(e) The most remarkable fact however is that there are a number of verses in Bhōja's *Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa* which are also found in the *Agnipurāṇa*. We shall quote only a few out of many such verses. *Dhvanir-varṇāḥ padaṁ vākyaṁ-ity-etaḥ vāṇmayasḥ matam* (Agni. 336. 1 and S. K. 1st verse); *ye vyulpattyādīnā śabdāṁ-alaṅkartum-īha kṣamāḥ* (Agni. 341. 18 and S. K. II. 2); *Uktipratyuktimaḥ vākyaṁ vākōvākyaṁ dvaidhaiva tat* (Agni. 342. 32 and S. K. p. 293). *Karṇikāyāṁ likheda-ekaṁ dve dve dikṣu vidikṣu cha | praveśanirgamau dikṣu kuryād-aṣṭa-chchhadambuje.*—(Agni. 342. 46 and S. K. p. 253). Besides these we may compare Agni. 341. 21 and 26 with S. K. pp. 154 and 157 (S. K. *Any'ktinām-anukṛitī-chhāyā sāpiha śadvidhā &c.*, and S. K. :—*Sābhīprāyasya vākye yad vachasō viniveśanam | mudrāṁ tām mut-pradāyī-tvāt kāvyamudrāvidō viduḥ* respectively), and Agni. 342. 10-11 with S. K. p. 224 (*Kārnāṇi Kauntali Kauṇṇi Kauṇkaṇi Bāṇavāsikā*). It is possible that both Bhōja and the *Agnipurāṇa* may have drawn upon a common source. Bhōja quotes a very large number of verses without acknowledgments from Daṇḍin and other writers. So we cannot dogmatically say that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrowed from him. Still we think that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility to say that the *Agnipurāṇa* copies Bhōja's work.

Thus the internal evidence is against the theory that Bharata based his work on the *Agnipurāṇa*. The external evidence points in the same direction. It is as follows :—

The *Agnipurāṇa* is not referred to by any ancient rhetorician. Leaving aside Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, Ānandavardhana and his voluminous commentator Abhinavagupta do not refer to it. Mammaṭa quotes the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, but nowhere the *Agnipurāṇa*. The first writer of note that distinctly mentions the *Agnipurāṇa* is Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (14th century A. D.). As regards the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the case is quite different. Every author of note from Ānandavardhana, Pratiharendurāja, Abhinavagupta down to Jagannātha quotes the dicta of Bharata with respect and even Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha seem to refer to him as we shall see later on. The conclusion that naturally follows is that the ancient writers on *Alaṅkāra* had no knowledge of the existence of the *Agnipurāṇa* or at least that part of it which deals with the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra*. The great authority to which they all looked up with reverence was the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Hence the claims put forward by later commentators on behalf of the *Agnipurāṇa* to be regarded as the original work on the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra* are not at all justified.

Here a question may naturally be asked :—how was it that the *Agnipurāṇa* came to be looked upon as the most ancient work on the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra*? The following appears to us to be the proper reply. There is no doubt that the origin and development of the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra* was due to such writers as Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. In the revival of Brahmanism that followed the decline of Buddhism, most of the extant *Purāṇas* took their present shape and in course of time rose in popular esteem. As they were associated with the name of Vyāsa, a halo of antiquity and sanctity was cast round them. The later commentators of works on *Alaṅkāra*, whose reverence for the *Purāṇas* far surpassed their respect for such writers as Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha naturally thought that the *Purāṇas* were very ancient and that they could not possibly have borrowed

⁷ *Swayam kṛitair-eva nidarṣanair-ityaṁ mayā prakṛiptā khalu vāgalanukṛitīḥ |*

from such secular writers as Daṇḍin. We hope that the foregoing discussion has established that the *Agnipurāṇa* is not the original work on the *Alaṅkārasāstra*, that it is later than A. D. 700 and that it is indebted to the writings of Bharata, Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha and possibly Bhōja.

The Nāṭyasastra of Bharata.

Bharata has a claim to be spoken of here for a twofold reason; firstly because he gives an elaborate account of the *rasas* which are of the essence of *Kāvya* and secondly because his work contains the earliest extant treatment of figures of speech.

Before proceeding further, it would not be out of place if we make a few remarks upon the Sanskrit drama in general. The origin of the Sanskrit drama, as that of many other branches of Sanskrit literature, is lost in the mists of antiquity. As far as our knowledge goes, the earliest and clearest reference to the dramatic art occurs in Pāṇini,⁸ who mentions Silālin and Kṛiṣāśva as authors of *Naṭasūtras*. An objection might be raised by sceptical critics that the two *sūtras* are spurious additions made later on. But it is not a sound one. Patañjali the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* takes these *sūtras* for granted and speaks of actors that had studied the *naṭasūtra* of Silālin.⁹ As Pāṇini speaks of *naṭasūtras*, it follows as a matter of course that a number of dramas must have been composed prior to the *naṭasūtras*. It cannot be said that the rules on the dramatic art were first laid down and that then dramas were composed in consonance with them. The canons of dramaturgy can be laid down only when a number of dramatic works already exist. Thus a very great dramatic activity appears to have preceded Pāṇini. There is a great divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of Pāṇini. Most scholars concede that Pāṇini did not at all events flourish later than 300 B. C. There are some who would place Pāṇini in the 7th or 8th century before Christ. We make bold to avow our adherence to this latter view. The dramatic works on which the *naṭasūtras* referred to by Pāṇini were based must therefore have been composed some centuries earlier than 300 B. C. at the latest. Nothing beyond their bare names is known of the *naṭasūtras* of Silālin and Kṛiṣāśva, nor of the dramatic works on which they must have been founded. In the times of Patañjali (140 B. C.) dramatic representations appear to have been much in vogue. Patañjali alludes in a number of places to actors and dramatic performances. In one place Patañjali tells us that in his day the killing of the demon Kāṁsa and the humiliation of Bali were represented on the stage.¹⁰ In another place he talks of the wives of actors appearing on the stage and declaring themselves as belonging to him who accosts them.¹¹ Although the drama thus flourished in the centuries preceding the Christian era, the Sanskrit drama appears to have had a struggle for existence. Considering the exuberant growth of almost every branch of Sanskrit literature, the number of Sanskrit dramas that have come down to us appears very small indeed. A large number

⁸ Mark the following *sūtras* :—*Pārāśarya-siddhībhāṣya* bhikṣu-naṭasūtrayōḥ and *Kaṁḍa-kṛiṣāśva*-*śāstra*. (Pāṇini IV. 3. 110-111.)

⁹ See *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 286. *Pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ śāilīnō naṭāḥ*.

¹⁰ *Iha tu katham vartamāna-kālaṭ Kāṁsaḥ ghātayati Balim bandhayati-iti chiraḥ kaṁṣe chiraḥaddhe cha Balau | Atrāpi yuktā | katham | ye tād-ete śābhanikā nāma ete pratyakṣam kaṁsaḥ ghātayanti pratyakṣam cha Balim bandhayanti-iti | Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn), Vol. II, p. 36. On the word *śābhanikā*, Kaiyaṇa remarks (he reads *śāubhikā*) *śāubhikā itī | kaṁṣeḍy-anukārinām naṭānām vyākhyānōpādhyādyāḥ | kaṁṣeṇukāri naṭāḥ sāmijikāḥ kaṁṣabuddhyā grīhītāḥ kaṁṣo bhāṣye evaḥkhitāḥ |*

¹¹ *Naṭānām striyō raṅgaḥ gata yō yaḥ prichchhati kasya yāyam kasya yāyam-iti taḥ taḥ tava tava : ity-āhuḥ. | Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. III, p. 7.

of Sanskrit dramas are mentioned by the *Daśarūpakāvalōka* and by the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, many of which are known to us only by their names. The dramas that survive are only a few of the masterpieces which people cared to preserve. It seems that time proved too much even for dramatists of the highest order of merit. In this connection may be noted the case of Bhāsa, who kindled the admiration of even Kālidāsa¹² and won the encomiums of a great writer like Bāṇa.¹³ None of his dramatic works (Bāṇa, it should be observed, uses the plural 'Nāṭakaiḥ') was extant till a few years ago and what remained of the dramatic genius of Bhāsa was a few verses quoted as his in anthologies.¹⁴ Scholars are divided in opinion as to the authorship of the dramas recently published by Mr. Ganapatiśāstri as Bhāsa's. This is not the place to enter into that question.

Among the extant works on the dramatic art, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha are the most widely known and most often quoted. Of these three, the work of Bharata is by far the most ancient and highly honoured. The complete work has been issued by the enterprising proprietor of the Nirnayāsagara Press, Bombay. It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter upon a minute and critical examination of the text of the work. Still, we cannot help saying that a critical edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, embodying the results of a patient investigation into all the works on poetics and dramaturgy that quote Bharata and into the numerous commentaries on the extant dramas, is a great *desideratum*.

The printed *Nāṭyaśāstra* has 37 chapters and contains about 5000 verses (mostly in the *ślōka* metre) interspersed with a few passages in prose here and there. The author Bharata appears to be a semi-divine person having access even to the gods. The work is said to be the fifth Veda¹⁵ and to have been received by Bharata from Brahmā. The work is of an encyclopædic character. It is not possible to give a summary of the work here. The chapters that most interest us from our present point of view are the sixth and seventh which treat of *rasas* and *bhāvas* respectively, and the 16th. In the latter, after speaking of 26 points in connection with poetry, the author defines and illustrates four figures of speech, *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Dīpaka* and *Yamaka*. All the examples are his own. Then the ten blemishes of *Kāvya* and the ten *Guṇas* of it such as *Śleṣa* (the names are the same as those in the *Kāvya-darśa* I. 41) are defined. The chapter winds up with a statement as to what particular metres or letters (*hrasva*, *dirgha*, *pluta*, &c.) should be employed in connection with the several *rasas*.

The date of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

At the outset it is necessary to remove a possible misunderstanding about the date of Bharata. It may be plausibly urged that, as Bharata is not mentioned by Pāṇini, the former is later than the latter. It must, however, be borne in mind that Pāṇini was not

¹² *Prathita-yasasīḥ Bhāsa-kavi-saumilla-kavi-mitrādīnāṃ prabandhān-atikramya katham vartamāna-kaveḥ Kālidāsaśya kriyāyām parīṣadō bahumānāḥ* : *Mālavikāgnimitra* 1.

¹³ *Sātradhārakṛitārāmbhāir nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ* : *Supatākair yaśō lebhe Bhāṣō devakulair-iva*.—Introduction to *Harshacharita*.

¹⁴ A similar but far more remarkable fate overtook a grammatical work, the *Saṃgraha* of Vyākṛi. It existed in the days of Patañjali, who alludes to it as an authority. *Saṃgrahē prādhānyena etat parīkṣitāṃ*.—*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 6. But in the days of the *Vākyapadīya* (about A. D. 500), the *Saṃgraha* had ceased to exist. *Prāyeṣa saṃkṣhepa-ruchin-alpavidyāparigrahān* : *Saṃprāpya vaiyākaraṇān saṃgrahē & etam-updgate*.—*Vākyapadīya* II. 484.

¹⁵ See *Nāṭyaśāstra* I. 15. *Nāṭyākhyatī pañchamaṃ vedatī setihṣatī karōmy-aham*.

writing a history of Sanskrit literature. If he mentions any word, he does so simply because he regards it as noteworthy from the grammarian's point of view. The tendency to jump from the mere non-mention of a writer by another to chronological conclusions about them has been a frequent and fruitful source of error. We wish to enter our protest against this tendency. The mere circumstance that Bharata is not referred to as a writer on dramaturgy by Pāṇini is not at all sufficient to place Bharata later than Pāṇini. We must adduce independent and positive evidence to prove the posteriority of Bharata to Pāṇini. We do not mean to say, however, that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* is as old as the *Sūtrakāras* mentioned by Pāṇini. There are certain indications in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself that point to an opposite conclusion. It often quotes verses in the *Āryā* metre with the remark *Atra Sūtrānubaddhe Āryā bhavataḥ* (on this point there are two *Āryās* composed in conformity with a *Sūtra*). This we interpret to mean that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* was preceded by works on dramaturgy which were themselves based upon older *sūtra* writings.

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the evidence establishing the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

1. The *Dasārūpaka* of Dhanañjaya is a well-known treatise on dramaturgy. The author tells us that he composed the work at the court of Muñja. This Muñja is most probably the same as the uncle of the Paramāra king, Bhōja. If this be so, the *Dasārūpaka* must have been composed before A. D. 1000. Dhanañjaya says at the beginning of his work that Brahmā took the essence of the Vedas and composed the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and that Bharata gave a performance in accordance with it.¹⁶ This makes it clear that the author of the *Dasārūpaka* was quite familiar with the traditional origin of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as contained in the latter¹⁷ and that he looked upon Bharata as a semi-divine sage belonging to those far-off times when men had free access to the gods. Hence it follows that Bharata's work must have been written (not necessarily in the form in which we have it now) a number of centuries before A. D. 1000.

2. Abhinavagupta, author of the *Lōchana*, a comment on the *Dhvanyāloka*, calls Bharata a very ancient sage and says that *Yamaka* and *Upamā* were regarded by him as figures of word and sense respectively.¹⁸ *Yamaka* and *Upamā* are treated of in the 16th chapter of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the learned author of a commentary entitled *Arthadyōtanikā* on the *Sākuntala*, quotes at every step Bharata's dicta and oftentimes names the very chapters in which the verses occur. A careful examination of his commentary would yield very valuable material for settling the text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He tells us¹⁹ that Abhinavagupta composed a commentary called *Abhinavabhārati* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. It should be noted that Abhinavagupta does not speak of Daṇḍin (6th century) or Bhāmaha (A. D. 700) as *chirantana* or as a *muni*. A

¹⁶ *Uddhṛity-ōddhṛitya sārāṇi yamakānigamān-nāṭyavedān Viriñchis-chakre yasya prayōgaṇi munir-apī Bharatas-tāṇḍavaṇi Nilakanthaḥ* 1

¹⁷ See *Nāṭyaśāstra* I. 1-4 and 11-16.

¹⁸ *Chirantanair-hi Bharatamuni-prabhṛtibhir Yamakōpame śabdārthālaṅkārateen-eshṭe.—Dhvanyālokalōchana*, p. 5

¹⁹ P. 6 (Nirṇayasāgara, 3rd edition.) *Idaṇi padyam Abhinavaguptapaddhāryair-Bharatattikāyām-Abhinavabhāratiyāṇi vyākhyātām*. The verse referred to is *Sūtradhāraḥ poṭhen-nāndim* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* V. 98). On p. 20 of the above edition, Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes a long passage from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 16th chapter and remarks *Abhinavabhāratiyām Bharatattikāyām-Abhinavaguptādhyair mahatōpabandhena bhinnatayā sthāpitāni*.

large number of centuries must have intervened between Bharata and Abhinavagupta to make the latter look upon the former with so much reverence. Abhinavagupta wrote his *Kramastôtra* in A. D. 991 and his *Bṛihatpratyabhijñānavimarśinī* in A. D. 1015.

3. Rudrabhaṭṭa wrote a work called *Śṛiṅgāratilaka* in which he says, 'Bharata and others have spoken about *rasas* in connection with dramaturgy; I shall treat of them as far as my light goes in connection with poetry.'²⁰ In the 6th chapter of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* there is an elaborate disquisition on the *rasas*. Quotations are taken from Rudrabhaṭṭa by Bhōja, Mammaṭa and others. If Rudrabhaṭṭa be identical with Rudrata, the author of *Kāvyaśaṅkara*, then the *Śṛiṅgāratilaka* was composed earlier than A. D. 900. Pratiharendurāja (A. D. 925) and Abhinavagupta (A. D. 960—1020) take a number of verses from Rudraṭa. Hence it follows that before A. D. 900 there existed a work going under the name of Bharata which contained a full exposition of the *rasas*.

4. Ānandavardhana, author of *Dhvanylōka*, a standard work on *Sāhitya*, often refers to Bharata's works. In one place he says that the *Vṛttis Kaiiki*, &c., are well-known from the works of Bharata.²¹ In another place he remarks that the author of the *Veṇisāhāra*, out of a slavish adherence to Bharata's rules, exhibits in his drama an *aṅga* called *vilāsa* of the *pratimukhasaṅghi*, though it is unfavourable to the development of the *rasa* intended.²² Ānandavardhana flourished under Avantivarman of Kāśmir²³ (A. D. 855—883). Before him the *Veṇisāhāra* was composed and the author of the latter, according to Ānandavardhana, regarded Bharata as a paramount authority in the domain of dramaturgy. Ānandavardhana thus shows us that Bharata's work contained in his day (and for the matter of that, even before the *Veṇisāhāra*) a treatment of the *saṅghis* and their *aṅgas*. The *aṅga* called *vilāsa* is referred to in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (19-71).

5. Mammaṭa quotes in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa* as from Bharata the words *Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhichārisaṅyōgād rasanishpattiḥ*.²⁴ These words occur in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the 6th chapter p. 62. Mammaṭa quotes the different views of Lōllaṭa, Sankuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Abhinavaguptapāda on the above *sūtra* of Bharata. We saw above that Abhinavagupta was living in A. D. 1015. He strongly criticizes Bhaṭṭanāyaka in his commentary on the *Dhvanylōka* (see pp. 19, 21, 33, 63, &c.). His criticisms leave an impression on the mind that Bhaṭṭanāyaka's memory was quite fresh in Abhinavagupta's day. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*²⁵ tells us that there was a learned Brāhman named Nāyaka at the court of Sankaravarman, who was the son of Avantivarman and came to the throne in A. D. 883. From this it seems probable that Nāyaka flourished about A. D. 900. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* tells us that Sankuka wrote a poem called *Bhuvanābhūdāya* and lived in the reign of Ajitāpīḍa who died in A. D. 813.²⁶ Thus Sankuka flourished about A. D. 800. We thus see that Sankuka, Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta are arranged in chronological

²⁰ *Prāyō Nāṭyaṁ prati prōktā Bharatādyaḥ rasasthitiḥ | Yathāmatī mayāpy-eshā kāvyāṁ prati nigadyate.*—*Śṛiṅgāra* I. 5.

²¹ *Yadi vā vṛttinām Bharataprasiddhānām Kaiikīyādīnām | Dhvanylōka*, p. 163. These *Vṛttis* are referred to in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VI. 25.).

²² *Yathā Veṇisāhāre vilāsakhyasya pramūḥhasaṅghyaṅgasya prakṛitarasanibandhanānanuṅgamapi ... Bharatamatānusarasamātrecheḥhayā ghaṭanam.*—*Dhvanylōka*, p. 150.

²³ *Muktākāṣh Śivasvāmī Kavir-Ānandavardhanah | Prathām Ratnākaraś-chāgāt sāmṛāḥye Ś vanti- varmanah || Rājatarāṅgiṇī* V. 34.

²⁴ See p. 84 of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (ed. Vāmanāchārya).

²⁵ *Devas-tayār-Nāyakaḥ Gauri-Śaṅkara-sadmanah | Chāturvidyāḥ kṛitas-tena Vāgdevī-kulaman-diram.*—*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. V. 163.

²⁶ *Kavir-budhamanassinidhu-sāśūkaḥ Śaṅkukābhīdhaḥ | Yam-uddiṣṭy-ākārāt kāvyāṁ Bhuvanābhūdayābhīdham || Rāja.* IV. 705.

order by Mammata. It would not be quite wrong to suppose that Bhaṭṭa Lōllāṭa whose views are put first by Mammata was also the first known commentator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Mammata's day. We shall not be wrong in assigning Lōllāṭa to about A. D. 700. Thus from the 8th century downwards we have a succession of commentators on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It naturally follows that the work must have been composed long before the 8th century.

6. Dāmōdaragupta, in his *Kuṭṣanīmata*, in a number of places refers to Bharata as a writer on dancing and speaks of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as composed by Brahmā.²⁷ Dāmōdaragupta was a minister under Jayāpīḍa²⁸ (A. D. 745—776).

7. Māgha says in one place 'like dramatic works the acts of which contain poetry composed by a poet familiar with Bharata'.²⁹ As Māgha is quoted by Ānandavardhana (9th century) and by Vāmana³⁰ (about A. D. 800), he cannot be placed later than A. D. 750. Before this date dramas existed, which according to Māgha, followed Bharata's rules on dramaturgy. So a long time before A. D. 750 a *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Bharata was in existence.

8. Bhāmaha (first half of 8th century) seems to refer to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* in a number of places. In one place he says, '*Nāṭaka*, &c., have been treated of at length by others.'³¹ In another place he remarks: 'Others enumerate only five figures of speech, viz., *Anuprāsa* with *Yamaka*, *Rūpaka*, *Dipaka* and *Upamā*.'³² It should be noted that of all extant works on the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra*, it is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* alone that speaks of such a small number of figures of speech. It is true that Bharata speaks of only four and omits *Anuprāsa*. But all the other figures are the same and *Anuprāsa* may be supposed to have been omitted by Bharata on account of its close similarity to *Yamaka*. In another place Bhāmaha criticizes those who divide *Upamā* into three varieties, *Prasāṅgā*, *Nindā* and *Sādṛśya*.³³ Bharata speaks of five varieties of *Upamā*, viz., the above three and two more *Kalpita* and *kiñchit-sādṛśī*.³⁴

9. Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacharita* refers to Bharata as the writer of a *sūtra* work on *Tauryatrika*, i. e., *Nāṭya*.³⁵ Bhavabhūti, it is well-known, was patronized by Yaśovarman and flourished, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, at the end of the 7th century (Preface to *Mālatīmādhava*, p. x). Mr. V. A. Smith gives A. D. 728 as the date of the accession of Yaśovarman (*JRAS* of Great Britain for 1908, p. 793). He looks upon Bharata as a contemporary of Vālmiki, the first poet who received his poetic fire from Brahmā himself.

²⁷ *Brahmōkta-Nāṭyaśāstre gite munajādīvadane chaiva | Abibhāvati Nāradādīn prāvīṇyaṁ Bhaṭṭa-putrasya.*—*Kuṭṣanīmatam* verse 75; *Bharata-Viśākhila-Dantila-vrikshadyurveda-chitrastūtreṣu* | Verse 123; see also verse 81 in which Kōhala is associated with Bharata.

²⁸ *So Dāmōdaraguptākhyān Kuṭṣanīmata-kāṛiṇam | Kavīn Kavīn Balī-iva dhuryam dhīśachīva vyadhāt.*—*Rāja*. IV. 496.

²⁹ *Bharatajñā-kavi-pravīṇa-kāvya-grathitāṅkā iva nāṭakaprapaūchāḥ.*—*Śiśupālavadha*, 20. 44.

³⁰ The verse *Trāsākulāḥ paripatan paritō niketan*, &c., quoted by Dhvanyalōka, p. 144, is *Śiśupālavadha* V. 26 and the verse *Ubhau yaśī vyōmnī*, &c., quoted by Vāmana under *Ati-ayōkti* (IV. 3. 10) is *Śiśupālavadha* III. 8.

³¹ *Nāṭakān Dvīpādī Śamyā Rāsaka-Skandhakādī yat | Uktān tad-abhīnēyārtham-uktāṇyaḥ-tasya vistarāḥ* || *Bhāmaha*, I. 24.

³² *Anuprāsaḥ sayamakō Rāpakān Dipakōpame | Iti vāchām-alaṅkādrāḥ pañcōhaivānyair-udāhṛtāḥ.*—*Bhāmaha*, II. 4.

³³ *Yaduktān triprakārateṣāṁ tasyāḥ kiñchīn-mahātmabhīḥ | Nīndā-prasāṅgā-sādṛśyabhedād-atrābhī-dhīyate.*—*Bhāmaha*, II. 27.

³⁴ *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 16. 48.

³⁵ *Uttararāma 4th act. Tam cha evahasta-likhitam munir bhagovān vyas'jad-Uharatisya munē-tauryatrikasūtrākārasya.*

10. Bāṇa gives a list of the arts and sciences in which prince Chandrāpiḍa attained proficiency. At the head of the list figures the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata.³⁶ A very long period of time must have intervened between the the composition of Bharata's work and Bāṇa before the latter could look upon the study of the former as a *sine qua non* in the education of a prince.

11. Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* refers to a work on dramaturgy in the words 'Nāṭaka and others are treated of at length elsewhere.'³⁷ In another place he says that what are called *saṁdhyāṅga* (*āṅgas* of the five *saṁdhis*) and *Vṛittyāṅga* in another *śāstra* (*āgama*) are looked upon by us as *alaṅkāras*.³⁸ The five *saṁdhis* and their *āṅgas* are spoken of in the 19th chapter of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Vṛittis* in the 20th chapter. In the present state of our knowledge we must conclude that the work referred to by Daṇḍin is none else but the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. We shall see later on that Daṇḍin flourished about the 6th century A. D.

12. Kālidāsa has a very pointed reference to Bharata in the *Vikramōrvaśīya*. 'The Lord of gods, together with the guardians of the worlds, has a mind to see that performance containing the eight *rasas*, which has been entrusted to you (the *Apsarases*) by the sage Bharata and which will be rendered with fine acting.'³⁹ There are three points here that deserve special attention; firstly, Bharata is spoken of as a *Nāṭyāchārya*; secondly, it is said that the business of a drama is to evolve the eight *rasas*; and thirdly, the *Apsarases* are said to be the actors who help Bharata to bring a play on the stage. All these three are found in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In it also, Bharata is said to be the *Nāṭyāchārya* of the gods, the *rasas* are said to be eight,⁴⁰ and the *Apsarases* are said to have helped Bharata.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that to Kālidāsa also Bharata is a semi-divine sage. Bharata must have been placed by tradition a number of centuries before Kālidāsa in the latter's day. It seems to us not unlikely that Kālidāsa had before him some work of Bharata. The date of Kālidāsa is yet far from being settled. He is certainly much earlier than the Aihole inscription (A. D. 634) in which he is highly praised along with Bhāravi. He is also earlier than A. D. 472, the date of the *Mandasor Inscription*⁴² the author of which shows his great familiarity with Kālidāsa. If Kālidāsa is thus earlier than the 5th century A. D., Bharata must be older still by a number of centuries.

13. Every ancient writer from Bhaṭṭi (somewhere between A. D. 500—650), Daṇḍin (6th century), Bhāmaha (A. D. 750), to Vāmana and Udbhaṭa (latter half of 8th century) mentions more than thirty figures of speech. It is Bharata who speaks of only four figures. We have said above that Bharata would not have scrupled to give a more elaborate treatment and a larger number of figures if he had known them. For this reason also, he must be placed a number of centuries before Bhaṭṭi and Daṇḍin.

³⁶ *Bharatādīpranīteshu nrityaśāstreshu*.—*Kādambarī*, p. 75 (ed. Dr. Peterson).

³⁷ *Mīśrāṇi Nāṭakādīni teshām-anyaṣṭra vistaraḥ* | *Kāvyaḍarśa* 1. 31.

³⁸ *Yachcha saṁdhyāṅga-vṛittyāṅga-lakṣhaṇādy-āgamāntare* | *Vyākaraṇam-idaṁ chesṭam-alaṅkāra-layaiva naḥ*.—*Kāvyaḍarśa* II. 367.

³⁹ *Muninā Bharatena yaḥ prayogaḥ bhavatiṣṭu-aṣṭarasāstrayā niyuktaḥ* | *lalitābhīnayaḥ tam-adya bharta marutāṁ drashṭumānāḥ salōkapālāḥ* || 1st act.

⁴⁰ See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 15.

⁴¹ *Apsarōbhīr-idaṁ sārḍhaṁ kriṣṇāṇyaika-ḥṣṭukam* | *Abhishṭhitaṁ mayā svargē seditā Nāradaṇa cha* | *Nāṭyaśāstra* 37. 19.

⁴² See Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 79 ff.

In the foregoing discussion, we hope we have advanced cogent arguments for asserting that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata was composed not later than the 5th century A. D. If it be conceded that Kālidāsa had in mind the work of Bharata, then the latter must have been composed at the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. We do not mean to assert that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as composed by Bharata has come down to us intact. We are quite prepared to admit that interpolations may have been inserted from time to time. What we contend for is that the main outlines of the work were just the same about the 7th century as they are now. We have seen that comparatively ancient writers like Ānandavardhana, Rudrata and Abhinavagupta refer to particular portions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We see that Abhinavagupta regarded Bharata as a very ancient sage and that according to him Bharata spoke of the two figures, Yama and Upamā. It has been our endeavour to establish that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is at all events older than A. D. 500. There is no other extant work on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* that can be placed before A. D. 500. We may therefore provisionally regard that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata contains the oldest extant treatment of *Alaṅkāras*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 163.)

So ended the Tanjore war; and the two powers became not only tacit observers of peace, but positive allies, offensive and defensive. In the enthusiasm of their new alliance, they even prepared for war with a third power. The Rāja of Mysore had just constructed a dam across the Kāveri and caused thereby untold hardship to the people of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly kingdoms. Cultivation had to be suspended, and the grim prospect of famine loomed large in the horizon. The two powers therefore at once resolved to send a joint expedition against Mysore. But fortunately at this crisis, Providence intervened and averted the war. A timely flood⁵⁰ of the river swept away the Mysore dam and furnished the parched kingdoms with water, copious enough for irrigation.

The Successful revolt of the Sētopati. 1702.

The last military undertaking of Maṅgamāi (1702) was against the turbulent Marava chieftain, Raghunātha Sētopati,⁵¹ whose policy of persecution we have already seen. The arms of Madura were not attended with the accustomed success in this war. The loosely combined mercenaries of the Nāik army could hardly prevail against a people who, owing to their community of race, language, religion and interests, had a strong sentiment of national solidarity. The war in consequence resulted, in spite of the assistance which Tanjore rendered on this occasion, in a serious diminution of the prestige of Madura. The great general, Narasappaiya himself, fell in battle, and the confederates were driven in disgrace into their kingdom. Tanjore suffered more. The brunt of the war fell specially on the South and Eastern districts of that kingdom which were devastated with fire and sword by the exultant Maravas.

⁵⁰ See E. G. Buchanan, I, p. 427, where he describes a dam built by "Cavery Cāda Rāya, one of the family of Chika Dēva Rāja of Mysore" at Naringapetta. It is, of course, not at all certain that this dam is the intended one.

⁵¹ In 1700, one Daṭṭavāi Sētopati repaired the Śiva temple at Tirumōkūr, 6 miles north of Madura. He was evidently a general of Raghunātha and then in friendly terms with the Central Government. See *Antiquities*, I, p. 295. The war presumably took place after this.

The tragic and mysterious death of Maṅgammā.

It is an irony of fate that a ruler, who did so much for her country and was so popular with her subjects, ended her life, if we are to believe tradition (no MSS. mention it), under circumstances of a most tragical character. In the year 1706, Vijaya Rāga Chokkanātha attained his majority, and had to be invested with the royal power; but Maṅgammā was unwilling to part with it. A historian, whose views are of a most unreliable nature, says that the queen was in guilty intimacy with a singer, that the Prince Vijaya Rāga Chokkanātha flogged him; that the queen kept him in consequence in prison for three years; that he, however, successfully intrigued with the officers of the army, effected his escape by means of a rope ladder, proceeded to the temple, and crowned himself; and that though Maṅgammā feigned satisfaction and pretended to welcome the new *regime*, the prince put her in prison, where she remained, till her death, for 40 days.⁵² The imperious voice of tradition imputes to her a guilty motive, inspired by her friendship and alleged love for her minister Achchaya. An enquiry into the conditions of the time, however, would seem to warrant the supposition that she was actuated by honest intentions in refusing to entrust Vijaya Rāga with the burdens and responsibilities of royalty. As we shall see later on, Vijaya Rāga acquitted himself, during his reign of 27 years, so badly that he became notorious as a foolish, unjust and feeble spendthrift. Maṅgammā and her minister seem to have formed a true estimate of his character and abilities, and honestly felt that it would be better for the kingdom if Vijaya Rāga assumed the reins of government after some more experience in statecraft. The queen's hesitation was thus, in all probability, due to her regard for the people; but her attitude was mistaken for ambition, and her confidence in her minister declared by the voice of scandal to be an unrighteous and criminal intimacy. A strong and formidable party arose, in consequence, against them and did not hesitate to stain their hands with her blood. Inspired more by brute force than by gratitude, they seized her by treacherous means and condemned her to a prisoner's life in her own palace, the building which is now occupied by the Taluk and other offices. There she had to expiate her alleged treason and greed by a cruel and ignominious death. She was slowly starved, her distress being enhanced by the frequent placing of food outside her prison at such a distance that she could see and smell it, but not reach it. To be practically within life's necessity and yet brutally debarred from its touch and enjoyment, was a tantalising penalty hardly deserved by a true philanthropist and benefactor of mankind.

Such was the fate of the celebrated queen whose guilt was, to judge from the entire circumstances of the case, most probably a simple act of indiscretion. That she was tactless may be conceded; but her treason or ambition is yet to be proved. There are no sufficient evidences to prove that her conduct was such as to provoke universal discontent or popular indignation. The author of the *Madura Gazetteer* evidently believes in the truth of the stories of her guilty love. A "slight confirmation of the tradition," he says, "is derived

⁵² One account says that Maṅgammā was queen till 1712. Muthiah's account on which Wilson bases his, says that when the prince was 13 years old, the Daḷavāi Kastūri Rāga organized a revolt, put the queen in prison, and seized the reins of government. Maṅgammā soon died in the prison (*J R A S* III, 234). The latest inscription in her name is dated 1706 (S. 1628, *Vyaya*) "during the reign of Venkaṭadēva Rāya at Ghānagiri," *Antiquities*, II, p. 17). Inscription 494 of 1207, dated S. 1626 (*Tāraṇa*), recording the construction of a shrine by a Brahman in her regency, at Uyyakkonḍān-channel, is of course earlier.

from the facts that in the little chapel built by Maṅgammā on the west side of the 'golden lily tank' in the Madura temple is a statue of a young man who is declared to be her minister and paramour, and that in a picture on the ceiling of the chapel is a portrait of the same person opposite to one of the queen, who (be it noted) is dressed, not as an orthodox Hindu widow should be, but in jewels and finery appropriate only to a married woman."⁵³ The confirmation afforded by these is slight indeed. The appearance of the minister by the side of the queen is no proof of unlawful intimacy, nor is there anything uncommon in a royal lady, though a widow, adorning her person. Public appearance necessarily demanded a decency in keeping with her station. The true cause and excuse of Mangammā's death, therefore, is, and is ever likely to be, a mystery.

And she has lived, and will live, in history. Throughout the wide kingdom of Madura the great queen has left her undying monuments. Her roads and avenues have afforded happiness to travellers and her choultries shelter and food to pilgrims without number for the past two centuries. Distant corners, unfrequented regions, have celebrated her name and cherished her memory. Even to-day the lone and solitary wanderer whom the love of antiquity draws to the western parts of the Tinnevely district, so far from the seat of the noble queen's government, will notice the most illiterate man blessing the name of the great good woman who made that winding road at the sight of the hills, that planted those tall majestic trees and that built those welcome bowers which give shade and water to his exhausted and sun-struck person. Even to-day he will find her choultries and rest-houses as at Sôlavandân⁵⁴ and at Madura playing their parts of service, though under different management and under different ideals of charity and benevolence. Even to-day he will find her the theme of simple anecdotes and amiable remembrance in holy places of pilgrimage. At Palni,⁵⁵ for instance, the very steps by which she once went to the temple are remembered and have been perpetuated by an anecdote. It is said that while she was going up the flight of steps leading to the Daṇḍâyudhapāṇi shrine, "she came upon a young man who, perceiving her, retreated in confusion. She called out graciously to him '*Irunkol!*' or 'Pray wait!' and he and his sons' sons thereafter always took this word as their name." But while posterity has revered and loved her memory the actual place where she underwent her tragic end is in ruins. On the site which her palace once occupied has now been built the central market of Madura⁵⁶; and of her residence and its environments nothing now remains but the small Māriamman's shrine near the southern entrance to the market, the compound wall at the northern side, and a few huge, well polished black-stone pillars similar to those in Tirumal Nāyak's palace, in the north-eastern corner. The artistic excellence of the edifices is proved by the excellent patterns of the still existing perforated stucco windows and the well-carved wooden doorways in the west, which have defied time. And with regard⁵⁷ to her foul murderers the story runs that, owing to her curse, their descendants, nay the very caste to which they belonged, have sunk in obscurity and been unable to rise to any position of trust or dignity in the State.

⁵³ *Madura Gazr.*, p. 55.

⁵⁴ See *Madura Gazr.*, p. 157-8 and 291, for the history of these choultries.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁵⁶ *Arch. Rep.*, 1910-11, pp. 16-17. Moore in his *Trichinopoly Manual*, however, points out that a small room near the large hall in the Nawab's palace, called Maṅgammā's Hall, is generally pointed out as the place of her death.

⁵⁷ Oral tradition.

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha.

SECTION II.

Personal Rule (1706-1731.)

The death of Maṅgammāl paved⁵⁸ the way for the actual exercise of sovereign power by Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha. The character of this monarch is simply and easily described. Throughout his long reign of 26 years (for he ruled till 1731), he shewed⁵⁹ himself, by his conduct, an exceedingly pious and god-fearing man. In fact he led the life of a saint, of a pilgrim, rather than that of a king. His mind was always occupied in the efficient observance of religious ritual and the speedy propagation of the religious spirit. Caring solely for the applause of the clergy by whom he was surrounded, he spent every moment of his life and every penny of his revenues in indulging their desires and furthering their interests. A Telugu chronicle observes that it was his custom to set out every two years, on an extensive religious tour, throughout his kingdom. He would in the course of the tour, visit the shrines of Srīraṅgam, Jambukēśvaram, Madura, Tinnevely, Alvār Tirunagiri, Srī Vaikunṭham, etc. On these occasions the pious monarch would expend, with a reckless extravagance, immense sums for the increased offerings and anointings of the images. The priests of many a rich temple who understood the real character of the king practised deception and found means to fill their already full coffers. They would set aside the silken robes and the costly ornaments⁶⁰ of the shrine and substitute in their place plain white clothes and other semblances of poverty. The plates and charters of previous royal endowments would be carefully hidden, and a small number of faintly flickering lights would be kept burning at the altar. The king on seeing these miserable provisions invariably bestowed, without the least enquiry into the past history or the present resources of the shrine, numerous vestments and monetary gifts of the value of 2,000 or 3,000 *maḍais*, amounting to 1,000 or 1,500 star pagodas. In this manner every tour of the king absorbed lakhs of rupees of the revenue. The extravagance of donations was repeated during every tour; for the king, with an extraordinary pride and singular notion of charities, deprecated all inquiry into past gifts on the ground that such an enquiry would destroy the spiritual fruits of the gifts themselves. To those men of business and of sense

⁵⁸ Nelson points out that there are no Jesuit letters to illustrate this reign. We have to depend solely on Chronicles and the meagre and secondary evidence of English historians.

⁵⁹ An inscription of his, dated 1710, is in the eastern Gōpura of Madura. Further epigraphs in his name dated 1716, 1724, 1727, 1729, and 1731 are given by Sewell. Two of these are grants to Durga and Siva temples; but the deeds are always engraved with Vaishṇava figures. A curious fact to be noticed is that an alleged suzerain Rāya is always given. Inscription 697 of 1909 records a grant of is in 1728 (*Ep. Rep.*, 1909, p. 59).

⁶⁰ For an interesting account of a few of the jewels given by Vijaya Raṅga to the Srīraṅgam temple, see *Ind. Ant.* I, p. 131. His are some of the oldest jewels possessed by the temple,—necklaces, gold and silver vessels, etc. [from the *Athenæum*, Jan. 17, 1872].

who represented the necessity of enquiry, he would reply that things once given to a deity ought not to be inquired after. "If a garment be given to a man," he argued, "and it be afterwards said, *we gave it*, the merit of the act is nullified; and in the case of a god," the king continued, "it would be a sordid sin." Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha was, in fact, a Brahman's king. He always liked to have them around him, to listen to their counsels and teachings, to serve them and worship them. No money was *valued*, he sincerely believed, when spent on their behalf. They were his very limbs, the breath of his life. Envidable was the position of the Brahmans under the Nāik regime, it was never so enviable as in the days of their favourite, Vijaya Raṅga.

Official oppression and corruption.

The result of this subordination of the king to the clergy was, as might be expected, a thorough disorganization and dislocation of the state. The conversion of the palace into a place of prayer, of the king into a saint, and of the state into an agency for religious propaganda, naturally brought the affairs of the kingdom into a state of extreme misery. The king's indifference to the duties and responsibilities of royalty made his officials tyrants and oppressors, and exact as much as possible from the helpless people.⁶¹ The voice of distress and the tumult of discontent filled the kingdom. Nelson describes how in 1709, four years after the king's accession, there was, in consequence of the cruelty and injustice of the Daḷavāi Kastūri Raṅga, a serious riot at Madura. An inscription (No. 6 of 1915) belonging to the Temple of Madura clearly bears out this statement and gives a clue as to the condition of the country. It states that the king's officers levied certain taxes on the people of the four villages of Sāmanattam, Sikkalai, Pūṅgaṅkuḷam and Seṅguḷam which they had hitherto enjoyed as *sarvamānya*, for their service as the bearers of the image of Chokkanātha during festivals. "Being unable to bear the hardship, they made up their mind to go in a body to commit suicide, one of them actually got upon the gopura, fell down and died. On this the people of the place assembled in the temple to guard its four gates. The officer in charge of the fort, the *maṇiyam* of the place, the *samprati*, the day-watchmen (*dinasarikkārar* ?) and others met together and summoned the assembled people and the bearers of the god and declared that the four villages enjoyed⁶² by the latter were, as usual, *sarvamānya*, free of all taxes." Mr. Krishṇasastrī remarks that this is not surprising as from 1710 to 1720 the country suffered from the miseries of a widespread famine. The inscription clearly states that the Daḷavāi at this time was Kastūri Raṅgaiya and the Pradhāni Vēōkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya.

⁶¹ See Nelson: *Madu. Man.*

⁶² *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 116. Even in this time the king was very generous in his endowments to Brahmans. In 1708-9 he registers a gift of villagers to the Śaṅkaraśāhārya *maṭha* at Jambukṣvaram for the feeding of Brahmans. *Ibid.* In 1721 he gave a grant to one Narasa Pantulu, evidently a doctor who was to offer prayers to Dhanvantari. *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 15. In 1708-9, Vijaya Raṅga also gave a grant to Vyāsārāya *maṭha* of Sosale by which "whatever dues were paid in the Madura kingdom to the temple at Chokkanāthapura were to be paid to the *maṭha* also." *Mya. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 55.

Nelson proceeds to say that the King woke up from his dream and dismissed his minister; but the new minister Naravappaiya was, we are told, hardly better than his predecessor. His boundless avarice speculated the sum to be distributed as pay among the army, and thereby gave rise to a mutiny of a serious and threatening nature. With greater tact than Kastûri Raṅga, Naravappaiya hoodwinked the king, and represented the case in such a light that the latter believed in the honesty of his minister and the unreasonableness of his soldiers. Instead of wisely removing the cause of discontent and conciliating the army, the king listened to the counsels of the Daḷavâi and called the Sêṭupati for help. The Sêṭupati of the time, Kīḷavan, as he was called, readily responded to his suzerain's call, but instead of joining him in the chastisement of the mutineers he advised him to grant the arrears of pay and win back their loyalty by a wise policy of justice. The king apparently saw his own folly and the villainy of his minister. He immediately paid the pay of the discontented men, and the mutiny ended. We do not know whether the Daḷavâi was dismissed or not; but from the fact that we meet with a new name, that of Vēṅkaṭarâghavâchârya, in his place, we have to infer that he must have been dismissed. As for Vēṅkaṭarâghavâchârya, who, to judge from his name, was evidently a Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahman, we have no direct evidence to prove that he was worse than his predecessors. But one remarkable incident which the *Telugu Record of the Carnatic Governors* gives about him, shews that he was not probably free from their weakness. He had, it is said, accumulated ready money to the value of a lakh of pagodas and jewels of immense worth. As he grew old and felt the hand of death he expressed, no doubt with the idea of preventing the annexation of his immense acquisition by the Crown, a desire to see the king. The latter condescended to honour his servant. On his arrival at his habitation he found himself seated on a jewelled throne and honoured with all honours. 300 trays, moreover, full of pagodas and *mohars*, of rupees and *fanams*, 300 more of gems and golden jewels, and 400 of costly attire, were placed by the minister at the feet of his master. It is difficult to read the motive of Vēṅkaṭa Râghava in bequeathing this enormous wealth to the king. Perhaps he felt that the inheritance of such enormous riches by his heirs would surprise the ignorance and excite the jealous avarice of royalty, thereby causing their transfer to the royal coffers. To make the king acquainted with the extent of his resources and to justify his vanity by a bequeathal of a portion of it to him, was perhaps a device to ensure his son's inheritance of the rest. Or it is possible that the Daḷavâi felt a remorse, and thought of satisfying his conscience by sacrificing a portion to the State. Whatever the fact was, whether the Daḷavâi's motive was one of vanity or remorse, or of policy or foresight, the result was a triumph which he could hardly have expected. For, as soon as the king's eyes fell on these presents, he exclaimed in the name of God that it was a sin to look at the valuables of a Brahman, much more so to take possession of them! Looking hard at the Daḷavâi, he then added that, in case he had been inspired in his conduct by the apprehension of future insecurity, he was labouring under a mistake. Not satisfied with the assurance, the reckless monarch presented the Daḷavâi with 30,000 pagodas, directing that part of it should go to his comforts and the rest to the performance of charities. Only

one thing remained for the king,—the removal of the sin he had committed by looking on a Brahman's property; and that was done by the liberal distribution of cows, lands and food to the needy and the indigent!!

Vijaya Raṅga and Kandy.

Such was the reckless folly and culpable extravagance of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha. For the sake of his gods and his Brahmans he sacrificed his State and his subjects. Conservative as the Nāiks were in their social policy, none was so conservative as Vijaya Raṅga. This is exemplified in his relation with the contemporary king of Kandi. The Sinhalese monarch⁶³, Kumāra Singh Mahā Rajah, was unmarried owing to the lack of girls in his family. He therefore sent, at the instance of his officers and subjects, an embassy to Trichinopoly to solicit an alliance with the Nāik family. With costly garments and ornaments, the Ceylon messengers reached the Nāik Capital, and in an interview with Vijaya Raṅga, expressed the object of their embassy. But no sooner did the son of Raṅga Kṛishṇa hear of this than he expressed his abhorrence of the proposal. He asked the strangers whether their master was of his own caste, and whether there had been any intermarriage in the past, and on being replied in the negative, dismissed them without ceremony, commanding the Chobdars to take them forthwith outside the fort. The king also issued an order that none of his relatives or castemen should give a daughter of his house to the Sinhalese monarch. The king's order however was honoured more by breach than by observance; for an ambitious member of the caste, more anxious to have a royal grandson than to preserve the caste rule or to obey the royal mandate, treated secretly with the messengers, and in return for gifts of many *huns* and robes, accompanied them stealthily to Kandy and celebrated his daughter in marriage with the king.

The State at Vijaya Raṅga's death.

The result of this unsatisfactory state of things was that when the king died⁶⁴ in 1731 the state was in a dangerous situation. The treasury was empty, the vassals turbulent, and Vijaya Raṅga was childless. The Mysore occupation of the northern parts of the kingdom moreover had become permanent. An inscription of 1714, for instance,⁶⁵ says that the townsmen, tribesmen, religious schools and Vêdic divisions of a town in Āttūr sold a piece of land to a Brahman, and that they recognized in it "Shrimad Rajadhīraja Raja Parameshvara Rajamartanda Praudā Pratapa," the conqueror of kings, "the unrivalled Kṛishṇa Raja Udayar," whose standard "bore the image of the earth-goddess with the boar," as their sovereign.

⁶³ See *Account of the Singhalese Kings*, Appendix.

⁶⁴ According to Muthiah, he died in 1734; to Orme, in 1736. The real date is 1731.

⁶⁵ *Salem Manual*, II. p. 86.

SECTION III.

The Setupati affairs.

The weakness of Vijaya Raṅga is best illustrated in the Ramnad affairs. His inability to control the army at home necessarily weakened his hold on the Polygars, and many of them shewed signs of defection and independence. Kilavan⁶⁶ Sētopati was the first and foremost to do it. We have already seen how he based his rule on popular welfare and military efficiency, and how besides changing the seat of government to Rāmnāḍ, he ruled his state well.

A tremendous storm.—1709.

In 1709 Rāmnāḍ suffered from not only a famine but one of the most destructive cyclones recorded in the history of India. Beginning in the early morning of December 18, it raged, with constant violence, till noon⁶⁷; and after a temporary lull which lasted for four hours, broke out again with tremendous vigour, and lasted throughout night. The storm was accompanied by a violent rain, the torrent of which flooded the land. The next day the sun rose on one of the tragic scenes of history. The embankments of tanks already, owing to the monsoons, full to the brim gave away, and their waters, joined to those from above, converted the kingdom into a vast lake, interspersed here and there with precarious lands. Cattle and goats, dogs and men, struggled in the floods, and their carcasses and corpses floated in grim and hideous company. Rāmnāḍ became an extensive field of death, a scene of horrifying tragedy in which thousands, old and young, men and women, found a simultaneous watery grave. Trees of strong build and gigantic growth measured the ground, and the corn fields were covered and destroyed by a thick layer of sand and earth, the removal of which was an expense intolerable to the ruined peasants. Tanks and wells were fouled and poisoned and the stench of corpses filled the atmosphere and bred disease. The after-effects of the cyclone were even more destructive. For a space of four years the kingdom became subject to an acute and all-penetrating famine. Many people died of starvation,⁶⁸ and many more left Rāmnāḍ for ever, and sought shelter in Tanjore and Madura.

(To be continued.)

⁶⁶ See *Madura Manual* and O. H. MSS. He performed the Hiranyagarbha sacrifice. For his grants in 1707 and 1712 to the Vyāsārāya maḥa at Sōsale (through his agent at Rāmēśvaram) see *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 55. The inscription enumerates all the titles of the Sētopati.

⁶⁷ Such storms were very frequent. It was a tremendous storm of 1480 that broke Adam's Bridge. See Ferguson's *Gold, Gems and Pearls, in Ceylon and S. India*, p. 300. See also Col. Love's *Vestiges of Madras* for similar storms in 1640, 1662, 1668, 1674, 1679, 1687, 1717, etc.

⁶⁸ Nelson points out from the Jesuit authorities that it was due not to mis-government but to the failure of monsoons. Prices rose 32 times. *E.g.*, eight Ramnad *marakāls* of rice usually costing one *fanam* cost in 1713, 32 *fanams*. See *Madura Man.* p. 242.

MISCELLANEA.

MAGHA AND HIS PATRONS.

In the colophon to his *Śiṣupālavadham* Māgha mentions his grandfather Suprabhadra as having been the minister of a certain king, whose name has naturally been made a sport of in various MSS. giving us any number of variants. An inscription from Vasantagadh dated 682 V. S., (A. D. 625) has brought to light the name of a king coinciding with one of the variants, Varmalāta, and most of our scholars have proposed a happy identity of the two kings, giving A. D. 650-700 as a fairly approximate date for Māgha. The only thing that stands in the way is the well-known verse of Māgha's poem (II. 112)

अनुसूचपदव्यासा सवृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना ।
सङ्घविद्यैव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पृशा ॥

where the words *वृत्ति* and *व्यास*, according to Mallinātha, convey a covert allusion to the *Kāśikā* and its commentary *Nyāsa* (by Jinendrabuddhi). Jayāditya, one of the authors of the *Kāśikā* died, according to I-tsing, in A. D. 661, and the *Nyāsa*, which is not mentioned in the elaborate account of I-tsing, was evidently not yet written in A. D. 695, when I-tsing left India. Māgha cannot therefore be placed earlier than the middle of the 8th century, making the proposed identification of Varmalāta rather impossible. The learned editor of the inscription, following his collaborator Dr. Konow, has indeed sought to reconcile the two conflicting evidences by making Māgha, with some stretch, a contemporary of Jinendra, and placing both early in the 8th century. (*Ep. Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 190). But perhaps Mallinātha's interpretation could better be rejected in face of the palpable epigraphic evidence. For even though we may admit Mallinātha's comment in Māgha's passage, a different meaning have certainly to be sought for the words *वृत्ति* and *व्यास* as they occur in a strikingly similar passage of Bāṇa's *Harjaṇḍarita*, which may not unlikely have been the original from which Māgha drew :

प्रसन्नवृत्तयो मृहीतवाक्या कृतगुरुपदव्यासा लोक
इव व्याकरोषि । (Nirn. S. Ed. p. 96). Here we have evidence of earlier *vṛttis* and earlier *nyāsa* in the domain of Sanskrit grammar. The ancient commentator Śaṅkara, without referring to particular works, explains *वृत्तिः सूत्रविवरणं व्यासो*

वृत्तिविवरणं and thus lends a strong support to Dr. Kielhorn, who similarly rejected Mallinātha's glossary (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 499). The word *वृत्ति* itself occurs in an introductory verse of the *Kāśikā*, and Haradatta and Jinendra in their comments thereon have preserved to us the names of no less than four earlier *vṛttikāras*, viz., Kuṇi, Chālli, Bhatti and Nallūra (Bengal MS. reads निर्गुर; *Kāśikāveivaraṇapanjikā*, pp. 1-2).¹ It is evident that along with these earlier *vṛttis* there were also earlier *nyāsa*, which led both Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Māgha to form their respective conceits.

But beyond being called upon to settle the date of Māgha, the discovery of this new inscription has not it seems been pushed to its proper conclusions. It seems to be generally forgotten that the *प्रभावकचरित* alone preserved what now appears to be the correct form of the king's name as *वर्मलात* and it is but fair to take the author at his word when he further says that he was king of श्रीमाल, capital of the Gurjara Kingdom. (Nirn. S. ED. pp. 196-7). It appears therefore that *वर्मलात* is the earliest king of the great Gurjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, whose name has yet been brought to light. Brahmagupta the great astronomer who styles himself "Bhīllamallakāchārya" wrote his work in A. D. 628 under king Vyāghramukha of the Śrīchāpa dynasty, who according to V. Smith (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 923 sqq.) was presumably a king of Bhinmal. Vyāghramukha must then have been the immediate successor of Varmalāta, the date A. D. 625 marking the closing period of the latter's reign. It is therefore difficult to push Māgha's date beyond A. D. 700 in view of his alleged reference to *Jinendranāyaka*. For Hsien Tsiang, who visited Bhinmal about A. D. 641-2, described the reigning king as a young man of only twenty. He is evidently the immediate successor of Vyāghramukha and may therefore be looked upon as the contemporary and patron of our poet, the grandson of Varmalāta's minister, as shown below :—

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Varmalāta (circa 600-625) | Minister Suprabhadra |
| Vyāghramukha (625-640) | Dattaka |
| (born circa 620, asc. 640) | Māgha |

¹ According to कैयट Kuṇi preceded the भाष्यकार "भाष्यकारस्तु कुणिरुद्धनमशिप्रियत्" (कैयट on I. i. 75). A *Chullikabhaṭṭavṛtti* (?) according to Aufrecht (*ZDMG* 28, p. 113) is quoted in a MS. of एवमुक्तं's comm. on Amara and may refer to Chālli. A निर्गुरवृत्ति is found quoted in अपिपितृवत्'s कातन्त्रपरिशिष्टः the passage which seems to embody a good chronology is here given in full—
'भाषायामपि चर्करीतिमिच्छन्ति उक्तेरि भाष्ये भाषायामपि यज्ञो लुगस्ति निर्गुरवृत्तौ (v. l. निर्गुरवृत्तौ) चोक्तं भाषायां यज्ञो लुगस्तीति लुगधिकारि यज्ञो बहुलमिति चान्द्रे च पञ्चमे काशिकायामपि छेदलुगवृत्तिरिह नेट्टरुक्तं भागवृत्तिकारस्तु वीनवीर्यैव न छान्दसमिति मन्यते ॥ वृत्ति on चर्करीति-व्यासस्य (सन्धिप्रकरणं). निर्गुर is here placed between the भाष्यकार and चन्द्रगोमि Perhaps in point of time.

Now it is a significant fact that all the three works—*प्रभावकचरितम्*, *प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि* and *भोज-प्रबन्ध*—that give us accounts of the poet Māgha make him a protégé of that literary magnet of the 11th century A.D., King Bhoja of Dhārā. The *भोजप्रबन्ध* may be dismissed as a most reckless piece of patchwork but the other two works are never so wantonly fanciful. Both of them agree in making Māgha a native of Śrīmāla and the *प्रभावकचरित*, while recording genuine history in Suprabhadeva having been a minister of Varmalita of Bhinmal, almost in the same breath associates Māgha (the grandson of Suprabhadeva) with Bhoja: तस्य श्रीभोजभूपालवान्निधिं कृतीश्वरः । श्रीमाघो नन्दनो ब्राह्मीस्थन्दनः शीलचन्दनः ॥ (*श्रीसिद्धार्थनरिसिद्ध* v. 15, p. 197.) Moreover the following verse is quoted in the *सङ्क्षिप्तकर्मामृत* under the joint authorship of Bhojadeva and Māgha :

रैवतीवदनोच्छिष्ट परिपूतपुटे वृषो ।

वहन् हलीपवली वः पानगोष्ठ्य पुनानुवः ॥

भोजदेवमापयोः

(I. 48. 4, p. 62, *Bibl. Indica* Ed.)

It is therefore not unlikely that the association of Māgha with Bhojadeva has some truth behind it, and now that the date of Māgha has been fairly settled, we should seriously consider the question of the existence of more than one Bhojadeva in the history of Western India. Col. Tod in his *Rājasthān*, stated on the strength of a *Jaina Chronogrammatic Catalogue* (obtained from the temple of Nadole), that there were three Bhojas, all belonging to the Pramāra race of Mālava, reigning respectively in A. D. 575, 665 and 1042. The last Bhojadeva is very well known and Col. Tod corroborated the existence of the second Bhojadeva of A. D. 665 by the *Mānsarowar inscription* (found near Chitor) of the Pramāra king Māna, son of Bhoja of Mālava dated 770 V. S. (A. D. 714) (*Vide Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 92, note § and pp. 799-801 : ins. No. III). This inscription, to which Col. Tod justly attached so much importance, has it seems been entirely missed by all later scholars and does not find place in *Kielhorn's List*. It is not known if the inscription can now be traced after such a length of time. But relying on Col. Tod's account of it we can

well believe in the existence of a Bhojadeva, Pramāra of Mālava, reigning round about Chitor in A.D. 665 and his patronage of Māgha can no longer be a myth in point of chronology.

Bhojadeva and his son Māna are described in the inscription as kings of Mālava. This can well be elucidated by a reference to the travels of Hiuen Tsiang. Hiuen Tsiang turned South-East from the Gurjara Kingdom and came to Ujjayini. To the North-East of Ujjayini lie the small kingdom Chi-chi-to (Chitore ?) and to the North of Chitor again lie Maheśvarapura. All these three kingdoms are described as having been reigned over by kings of the "Brahmin Caste" (meaning evidently non-Buddhist) and inhabited by like peoples. It is apparent that the great kingdom of Mālava in its Eastern portion—the Western portion, the Ma-lo-pa of Hiuen Tsiang, already annexed according to Smith to the kingdom of Valabhi—then comprised a group of these three not very powerful kingdoms reigned over by different branches of the same race, the Pramāra. Bhojadeva the elder evidently ruled over the kingdom of Chitor, where his son's reign ended. Maheśvarapura may also have been named after Maheśvara, one of the illustrious kings of the early Pramāra race mentioned in the above inscription. It is also important that in Hiuen Tsiang's time the reigning king of Chitor "encouraged men of merit and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers" (Watter's *Yuan Ching*, Vol. II, p. 251). It is possible that the king whom Hiuen Tsiang saw was either Bhojadeva himself, if we allow him a long reign, or his father, and this allusion to his magnanimity is significant as showing that Bhojadeva the elder was also as great a patron of learning as his famous descendant and namesake of the 11th century. Evidently the respective literary traditions about each came in course of time to be confused and went to create an ideal, a sort of *Magnus Bhoja*, the very prototype of the legendary Vikramāditya, round whom all sorts of literary stories gathered. By this existence of an earlier Bhojadeva it is possible to clear many of the apparently absurd synchronisms, such as that of Bāna and Mayūra with Bhoja.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

5. Proceedings for a Lease in 1682.

12. October 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. Maumud Edgdee [Mahmūd Hājī], a Persian who hath severall years laid Claime to a peece of ground in the middle of this Factory and given our predecessors and selves Continually trouble aboute keeping it, the business now being brought to an agreement for pagods: 157, he signing a lease for said ground to the Honorable Company for ninety nine years before the Codgee & Co. officers (gāzi and other officers), and severall other eminent Persians who have sett their hands and seales to the said lease, in witness thereof tis therefore ordered the 157 pagod: be Immediately paid him according to

agreement. The Governour of this towne pretend he hath much befriended us in the making up of this business and that the owner of the ground hath spent more then he receives in the procurement of orders from Court to have a Right and Justice done him here, therefore desires us to Consider him and give him some small Tacharife [*tashrif*, complimentary present] that he may goe away Contented, which to oblige the Governour, Councell have thought fitt to present the aforesaid Maumud Edgdee with 3 yards Broadcloth rose-water and beetle [*betel*] which was gratefully received by him. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

R. C. T.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 172.)

IT was a great relief when by the ninth day from Altmish-bulak we came upon the first scanty scrub and reeds growing on sandy soil by the shore of the ancient dried-up sea. Next day a long march to the south-east brought us safely across the wide, salt-encrusted expanse, here showing patches of actual salt bog to the lonely caravan track towards Tun-huang. There at the well of Kum-kuduk I had the great satisfaction of finding brave Lal Singh just arrived after carrying out an interesting survey of the north-eastern shores of the dried-up sea-bed, and the straggling low ranges which abut upon them. One day later our successfully arranged concentration was completed by the arrival of our heavy baggage from Miran.

Letting it move on towards Tun-huang by the caravan track we turned once more north across the end of the dried-up Lop Sea, and continued to explore the ground close to the foot of the Kuruk-tagh where the ancient route had passed. Further to the north-east the desert area near the present terminal basin of the Su-lo Ho River, with its dried-up depressions and mazes of lacustrine *Meshas*, offered opportunities for geographically interesting new surveys. There I picked up Surveyor Muhammad Yakub Khan, who had carried a carefully observed line of levels all the way up from the southern shore of the ancient dry sea. Coupled with other observations, its result has confirmed my belief that the water of the Su-lo Ho at a period relatively recent in a geological sense had drained into the Lop-nor Basin. We found them still percolating, in the same direction, the sandy soil at the foot of the Kuruk-tagh within a few feet from the surface. Evidence that this drainage had been more considerable during historical times was furnished by the remains we traced of a canal, which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of carrying water along a portion of the ancient Chinese route where it approached the eastern end of the dried-up salt sea.

Leaving the surveyors behind for supplementary tasks, I reached by March 16 the westernmost point of that fortified ancient Chinese border line which I had first discovered and successfully explored in 1907. It was a cheering experience for me during the next few days to revisit the ruined watch-stations of the "Great Wall" in this desolate gravel waste and clear up on the spot antiquarian questions raised by the ancient records they had yielded. I felt quite at home here, as I followed again the tracks still clearly visible for long distances which the tramp of the patrols marching along the wall for centuries had worn into the soil. The fact that in places I could quite distinctly recognize my own footprints of seven years before, and those of my little dog, was the best illustration how long this bare gravel surface might retain traces of regular tracks, even if trodden about the time of Christ. From Lake Khara-nor onwards I then completed my detailed exploration of the Tun-huang *Limes* by searching all the ruined watch-towers along the portion of the line where circumstances had in 1907 obliged me to leave a gap in my survey. These small watch-stations usually occupied the top of high erosion terraces, and their ruins and refuse heaps were thus well protected from damp. So our search was rewarded by plentiful finds of Chinese records on wood, curious articles of equipment and other interesting relics going back to Han times.

Before the close of March, 1914, I had regained my old haunts of Tun-huang, and after a very brief halt to allow men and animals to recover from our trying winter campaign I started for the explorations planned eastwards. They were to take me mainly into the deserts which fringe on the south and east the great barren hill region usually designated as the Pei-shan Gobi. The distances were great and short the remaining season during which that waterless ground could be visited before the great summer heat set in. But even thus I could not forego a renewed visit to the famous cave temples of the "Thousand Buddhas" south-east of Tun-huang. There in 1907, I had been fortunate enough to secure such abundant antiquarian and artistic spoil from the walled-up temple *cella*, in which a whole library of Buddhist and other manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk had been hidden away early in the eleventh century, together with a multitude of other relics.

I could not expect to make such a haul now. For when a year after my own visit, Professor Pelliot, on a mission from the French Government, had with his expert knowledge of Chinese, searched the hoard and carried off a considerable selection of its remaining manuscripts, the attention of the authorities at Peking had been attracted to the old library, and its transfer to the capital was decreed. Of the careless and in reality destructive way in which the order had been carried out, I found evidence in the many scattered rolls of Chinese-Buddhist texts, undoubtedly derived from this source, which were offered to me for purchase at a number of towns both in Turkestan and Kansu. So it was satisfactory to find that somehow a considerable quantity of Chinese manuscripts from the walled-up *cella* still remained behind at the "Thousand Buddhas," and that my old priestly friend, Wang Tao-shi, was prepared to part with them in regard for a proper compensation for his pious establishment. He showed me with genuine pride the good use to which he had put the sum previously received from me, by building some gaudy new shrines and comfortable pilgrims' quarters. It was also reassuring to see that his personal relations with the pious people of Tun-huang and their official guardians had evidently in no way suffered by our former little transaction. The only regret which it had left behind in the quaint little monk was that he had not been shrewd enough to accept the offer made by me in 1907 for the whole hoard, and had thus failed to save it from dispersion, and to secure its full value for his shrine. Our reunion was throughout very cordial, and when we parted again my collection had received an appreciable addition of cases with old manuscripts and other relics in evidence of Wang Tao-shi's good will, and his appreciation of my ever-faithful attachment to the memory of holy Hsüan-tsang.

My immediate task, and one cherished ever since 1907, was to trace the line of the ancient Chinese *Limes* as far as possible to eastward, and to explore whatever ruins might have survived along it. After striking across a difficult belt of salt marshes, which nearly embogged my camels, I came again upon the ancient border wall half-way between Tun-huang and An-hsi. From there we succeeded in exploring its line for close on 250 miles eastwards. For almost the whole of this distance the wall, with its watch-towers and small military posts, had been built across what already in ancient times was absolute desert ground. The resulting immunity from human interference had contributed greatly to the preservation of the remains for fully two thousand years; but the remarkable method of construction employed was an even more important factor. The most destructive of natural forces in this region has always been slow-grinding but relentless wind-erosion. The wall or *agger*, built of carefully secured fascines of reeds, brushwood, or tamarisk branches, whichever

of these materials were available in the immediate vicinity, was specially adapted to withstand it. Even where the watch-towers, once massively built in sun-dried bricks or stamped clay, had been under-cut by erosion at the base and been subsequently reduced to shapeless low mounds, difficult to recognize from a distance, the direction of the wall still clearly revealed itself, as it stretched away in a characteristic straight line across wastes of gravel or drift-sand.

The remains proved to have suffered most along that stretch of ground where the *Limes*, after crossing the Su-lo Ho to its right bank east of An-hsi, ran close to the deep-cut river-bed, and in a due easterly direction. On the bare riverine loess crossed here by the wall the erosive force of the prevailing north-east winds, blowing down with great violence from the gravel plateaus of the Pei-shan, could fully assert itself. But even where all structural features had been completely effaced it was easy for us with the experience gained elsewhere accurately to determine the position of the posts once guarding the border, from the fragments of pottery, coins, metal objects, and other hard débris which could be picked up at these points from the wind-worn surface. It was quite an exciting chase to search for these indications, and my Indian assistants and Turki followers had by now become expert in the game.

Where the Su-lo Ho valley bends sharply southward the line of the *Limes* was found to turn to the north-east, and to approach closer and closer to the foot of the Pei-shan. The ground crossed by it had remained so far unsurveyed, and the difficulties of our search were much increased by the distances which separated the long-forgotten border from the nearest water. Fortunately the days had now grown longer, and I was able to take out my little detachment of diggers mounted on the big hardy donkeys which abound at the oases of this region. Ample finds of ancient Chinese records on wood, articles of furniture, fragments of arms and implements rewarded the rapid search of the ruined watch-stations. That all these had been left behind by the Chinese troops, who during the first century before and after Christ had guarded this most dismal of frontiers, was made clear on the spot by conclusive archaeological evidence. The finds of records still await expert examination by M. Chavannes, my learned Sinologue collaborator at Paris. They may be expected to furnish an important addition to the collection of early Chinese records resulting from my former explorations, which he had published in 1913.

Interesting light was thrown on the climatic conditions prevailing here from early times by the fact that here too the inscribed slips of wood, the "waste paper," to use an anachronism, thrown out of ancient office-rooms, were found often in refuse layers covered by a few inches only of gravel or débris. Their preservation in such conditions presupposes a remarkable dryness of the climate for the last two thousand years. Apart from this and the uniform barrenness, there was considerable variety in the natural features of the ground traversed by this eastern portion of the *Limes*. Thus all the more opportunity presented itself of observing the remarkable skill and topographical sense with which those old Chinese engineers of Han times had adapted their defensive border-line to different local conditions.

That they were prepared for great and sustained efforts demanding real powers of organisation in the face of formidable natural obstacles was clearly demonstrated when, some 30 miles to the north-east of the little oasis of Ying-p'an ("the garrison") we found the *Limes* boldly carried into and through what since ancient times must have been a big area of drift-sand. Where not completely buried by high dunes, the wall built with

tamarisk fascines, and of the usual thickness of 8 to 9 feet, still rose to close on 15 feet. Special difficulties must have been encountered in assuring water and supplies for the men guarding this section. In order to safeguard what evidently was an important line of communication and supplies leading to it, a chain of small fortified stations had been constructed to the south independently of the wall, but at the same period. It ran in the direction of the big oasis of Su-chou, an important Chinese base ever since Han times, and to this I turned when early in May it became necessary to make preparations for our next move northward.

I had planned to follow the united course of the rivers of Su-chou and Kan-chou down into southernmost Mongolia, and to explore the ruins which the reports of Russian travellers had led me to expect along it and in its terminal delta. I was specially attracted to this ground by its geographical character, which suggested close resemblance to that of the Lop-nor region, and by the interest attaching to its earliest historical past. For we know that this region of the Etsin-gol, as the river is called by the Mongols, had been included in the wide dominion held by those earliest nomadic masters of Kansu, the "Creat Yüeh-chih," the later Indo-Scythians, and the Huns, whose successive migrations westwards were destined to affect so deeply the history of Central Asia as well as of India and the West.

The effective intercession of H.M.'s Minister at Peking had secured for me a very friendly reception by the Chinese administration of the Kansu Province. The Tao-tai of Su-chou agreed to provide me with a recommendation to the chief of the Torgut Mongols who now graze in the Etsin-gol delta, and on May 10 I was able to set out northward. The track I followed down the river of Su-chou allowed me to approach once more the area where we had previously lost the line of the ancient frontier amidst high dunes. Pushing a reconnaissance into the stony desert north-west of the Chint'a oasis, I came upon remains of the *Limes* where it emerged on less impracticable ground near the south-eastern extremity of the Pei-shan. Thence we tracked it right through to the north of the Mao-mei oasis, the last Chinese settlement. There Lal Singh rejoined me after having followed a hitherto unsurveyed route along the river of Kan-chou, where it breaks in a picturesque gorge through the westernmost hill range of the Ala-shan.

In the valley of the Etsin-gol, nature, by affording water and grazing, has ever provided an easy route for raids and invasions from the Mongolian steppes into the line of the westernmost Kansu oases, which itself constitutes the great natural highway connecting China with the Tarim Basin and innermost Central Asia. Ruined forts of imposing size and evident antiquity were found to guard the point where this route of invasion cuts through the ancient border-line drawn by the Chinese, when they first occupied those oases in the reign of the great Han Emperor Wu-ti. One fort built with clay walls of exceptional strength looked an exact counterpart of the ancient frontier post of the "Jade Gate," famous in Chinese historical records, and previously identified by me on the Tun-huang *Limes*. We found evidence that the fortified border-line after crossing the Etsin-gol, north of Mao-mei, had continued through the desert eastwards. But when we came back in June from the Etsin delta the summer heat had become too great to permit of further search on this waterless ground.

We found even in May our long marches trying as we moved down by the sandy bed of the Etsin-gol, nearly a mile wide in places, but absolutely dry at that time. Only at rare intervals could water be obtained from wells dug in deep hollows below the banks. Some 90 miles below Mao-mei the river passes through a low rocky spur thrown out from

the easternmost Pei-shan, and spreads out in a delta, which extends for over 110 miles to the north, terminating in a line of brackish lakes and marshes. The conditions brought about here by a succession of low-water seasons furnished a striking illustration of the appearance which the ancient Lou-lan delta we had explored in the winter may have presented before its final desiccation. Where river-beds lined by narrow belts of riverine jungle had been left dry for long years, we found many of the wild poplars already dead or dying. The wide stretches of ground separating the several beds showed but scanty scrub, or else were absolutely bare. No wonder that we heard sad complaints in the scattered camps of the two hundred odd Mongol families, which are established in the Etsin-gol delta, about the increasing difficulties caused by inadequate grazing. Their chief, whom I visited on May 25 in his modest encampment, proved a well-meaning but weak individual, and his subjects as indolent as they were "much given to deceit," to use an expression of my Chinese patron saint. It was no easy matter to secure an adequate number of labourers for my intended excavations, and still more difficult to keep them at work, in spite of very generous pay.

Advantages of geographical position must at all times have invested this extensive riverine tract, limited as are its resources, with considerable importance for those, whether armed host or traders, who would make the long journey from the heart of Mongolia in the north to the Kansu oases. It had been the same with the ancient Lou-lan delta, without which the Chinese could not have opened up the earliest and most direct route for the expansion of their trade and political influence into Central Asia. The analogy thus presented could not fail to impress me even further when I proceeded to examine the ruins of Khara-khoto, the "Black Town" which Colonel Kozloff, the distinguished Russian explorer, had been the first European to visit during his expedition of 1908-09. There remained no doubt for me then that it was identical with Marco Polo's "City of Etzina." Of this we are told in the great Venetian traveller's narrative that it lay a twelve days' ride from the city of Kan-chou, "towards the north on the verge of the desert; it belongs to the Province of Tangut." All travellers bound for Kara-koram, the old capital of the Mongols, had here to lay in victuals for forty days in order to cross the great "desert which extends forty days' journey to the north, and on which you meet with no habitation nor baiting place."

The position thus indicated was found to correspond exactly to that of Khara-khoto, and the identification was completely borne out by the antiquarian evidence brought to light. It soon showed me that though the town may have suffered considerably, as local tradition asserts, when Chingiz Khan with his Mongol army first invaded and conquered Kansu from this side about 1226 A.D., yet it continued to be inhabited down to Marco Polo's time, and partially at least for more than a century later. This was probably the case even longer with the agricultural settlement for which it had served as a local centre, and of which we traced extensive remains in the desert to the east and north-east. But the town itself must have seen its most flourishing times under Tangut or Hsi-hsia rule from the beginning of the eleventh century down to the Mongol conquest.

It was from this period, when Tibetan influence from the south seems to have made itself strongly felt throughout Kansu, that most of the Buddhist shrines and memorial Stupas dated, which filled a great portion of the ruined town and were conspicuous also outside it. In one of the latter Colonel Kozloff had made his notable find of Buddhist texts and paintings.

But a systematic search of this and other ruins soon showed that the archæological riches of the site were by no means exhausted. By a careful clearing of the débris which covered the bases of Stupas and the interior of temple *cellas* we brought to light abundant remains of Buddhist manuscripts and block prints, both in Tibetan and the as yet very imperfectly known old Tangut language, as well as plenty of interesting reliefs in stucco or terra-cotta and frescoes. The very extensive refuse heaps of the town yielded up a large number of miscellaneous records on paper in the Chinese, Tangut, and Uigur scripts, together with many remains of fine glazed pottery, and of household utensils. Finds of Hsi-hsia coins, ornaments in stone and metal, etc., were also abundant, particularly on wind-eroded ground.

There was much to support the belief that the final abandonment of the settlement was brought about by difficulties of irrigation. The dry river-bed which passes Khara-khoto lies some 7 miles to the east of the nearest branch still reached by the summer floods. The old canals we traced, leading to the abandoned farms eastwards, are removed considerably further. It was not possible to determine by conclusive evidence whether this failure of irrigation had been the result of desiccation in the Etsin-gol delta or been caused by some change in the river-course at canal-head, with which the settlement was for some reason unable to cope. But there seemed to me good reason to believe that the water-supply now reaching the delta during a few summer months would no longer suffice to assure adequate irrigation for the once cultivated area. Even at the Mao-mei oasis, over 150 miles higher up the river, and with conditions of ground far more favourable for the maintenance of a system of canals, serious trouble had been experienced for years past in securing a sufficient discharge early enough in the season, and much of the once cultivated area seemed to have been recently abandoned.

With the rapidly increasing heat, work at the desert sites had become very trying both for the men and our camels, upon which we depended for the transport of water. With the completion of our task at Khara-khoto, and of the surveys which had meanwhile taken Lal Singh to the terminal lake-basins of the Etsin-gol, I was glad to let the hard-worked camels depart for their much-needed summer holiday in the Kongurche hills north-eastward and to start myself with Lal Singh south to the foot of the Nan-shan. The new route, which we were able to follow for part of the journey, took us through hitherto unexplored portions of the desert hills to the east and north of the river of Kan-chou. But owing to the heat and the scarcity of spring it implied serious fatigues, and it was a relief when Kan-chou was safely reached before the close of June.

A short but refreshing halt in that large and pleasant oasis was devoted to the arrangements needed for the new surveys I had planned in the Central Nan-shan. Their object was to extend the mapping, which in 1907 we had effected in the high mountains near the sources of the Su-lo Ho and Su-chou River, by accurate surveys of the high ranges further east, containing the headwaters of the river of Kan-chou. In conjunction with our labours in the Etsin-gol region, they were intended to complete the mapping of that large north-western portion of Kansu which, inasmuch as it sends all its waters into drainageless basins, may well be claimed in respect of its hydrography and general physical conditions as belonging to Central Asia rather than to China. Knowing the reluctance of the local Chinese to venture far into those mountains, I was prepared for the difficulties experienced at the outset in securing transport. But a fortunate chance brought just then an old Chinese friend to the military command of Kan-chou in the person of worthy General Tsai, whose kindness I remembered so well from my visits to Su-chou in 1907, and his opportune help enabled us to set out for the mountains by the first week of July.

The route followed during the first marches acquainted me with a series of old Buddhist cave temples at Ma-ti-ssu, containing sculptures of Sung times, and with other interesting Buddhist remains in the pretty little town of Nan-kou-chêng at the foot of the mountains. The visit did not pass without profit for my collection of antiques, and also helped to make me realize that we were now near a dividing line of distinct geographical interest. For while to the west cultivation, whether in the plain or along the foot of the mountains, requires irrigation, we now came upon loess slopes and big alluvial fans which rainfall alone suffices to make fertile. Our approach to the watershed of the Pacific Ocean was appropriately foreshadowed by this marked change in climate conditions.

Following the route which leads towards Hsi-ning and ascending through the picturesque gorge and the pass of O-po, we reached the broad valley where the easternmost feeders of the river of Kan-chou gather at an elevation of over 11,000 feet. Thence we were making our way westwards over high alpine grazing grounds frequented in the summer by Tangut herdsmen and horse-breeders, when I met with a serious riding accident which might well have put an end for ever to all my travelling. My Badakhshi stallion reared suddenly, and over-balancing himself fell backwards upon me, with the result that the muscles of my left thigh were severely injured. For over two weeks I was unable to leave my camp bed or to use the crutches we improvised. But fortunately the arrangements already made allowed me to let Lal Singh proceed for the topographical tasks I had planned. He carried them through with all his wonted devotion and energy, and no time was lost in our programme. Nearly three weeks had passed when, with my leg still feeling the strain severely, I managed to get myself carried down in a litter to Kan-chou.

During a ten days' halt there I experienced much kindness from Father Van Eecke and other Belgian missionaries, and received the first confused news of the great European conflagration. Then I set out by the third week of August for the long-planned journey through the Pei-shan Gobi. It was to take me back to Turkestan for the work of the autumn and winter. Eight long marches brought me to Mao-mei by a new route skirting the hills on the right bank of the river of Kan-chou, and allowed me to view the remains of the late mediæval "Great Wall" which runs on to and ends near Su-chou. The complete decay into which it has fallen for considerable distances, notwithstanding its relatively recent origin, helped me to appreciate all the more the time-resisting solidity which the methods of construction employed by the engineers of Han times had assured to their *Lime* wall. I reached Mao-mei exhausted by the effort which it had cost me to do this journey on horseback, because of the severe strain to my leg. But I found there my brave camels safely arrived and was cheered by Lal Singh rejoining me. By exceptional efforts my indefatigable old travel companion had succeeded in extending our Nan-shan surveys eastwards over an area quite as large as that mapped in 1907.

On 2 September 1914 we commenced the journey which was to carry us right across the great desert area occupied by the ranges of the Pei-shan, where its width is greatest, in the direction from south-east to north-west. The routes we followed for close on 500 miles had never been surveyed, and I knew that only at one point, the cross-roads of Ming-shui, could we expect to touch ground the position of which was known relative to the routes previously visited by Russian travellers. Wherever possible we moved in two parties and by different routes, in order to increase the extent of the area mapped. For this purpose I had secured at Mao-mei the only two guides available, both Chinese. But

their local knowledge, even when combined, proved very inadequate, and after less than half of the journey it gave out altogether. We were thus obliged to trust largely to the guidance of the faint caravan tracks traceable and to what information we opportunely obtained at the single small Mongol camp encountered. The scarcity of wells and of grazing implied serious risks in this mode of progress and made it an anxious time for me, especially as I had found the strain of riding too painful and was obliged to direct our moves from an improvised pony litter.

It was reassuring when, after passing the well of Ming-shui, the great snowy mass of the Karlik-tagh came into view, far away to the north-west, and served to direct us in the rough. But great difficulties still awaited us in the last barren hill range through which we had to make our way, owing to want of water and the very confused and, in places, rugged configuration of its valleys. It proved an easternmost extension of the T'ien-shan system. When we had safely emerged from it through narrow tortuous gorges, which ever threatened to stop our camels far away from water or grazing, it was a real relief to look down on the open Dzungarian slopes and sight some 15 miles away a tiny spot of dark trees. It was the little village of Bai, for which I had wished to make all the time, and after nearly four weeks of continuous travel it was no small satisfaction to have safely reached it without the loss of a single animal. There was reward for our troubles in the extensive plane-table surveys, supported here as all through our journeys by astronomically observed latitudes and by many careful height observations with mercurial barometer and clinometer. They will throw fresh light, I hope, on the morphology of the Pei-shan ranges.

A rapid journey subsequently carried me during October along the north foot of the eastern portion of the T'ien-shan range, already bearing its first winter snow, to Barkul and Guchen (Ku-ch'êng-tzu). The ground crossed here, topographically better known, had a special interest for me, as it helped to acquaint me with the peculiar physical conditions of a region, through which many of the great historical migrations westwards, like those of the Yüeh-chih or Indo-Scythians, Huns, and Turks, must have passed. These valleys and plateaus of Dzungaria, favoured by a climate less dry and possessed of abundant grazing-grounds, have often played an important part in the history of Eastern Turkestan. They have again and again afforded a temporary home to nomadic tribes. They could never have maintained their flocks and herds in the arid planes of the Tarim Basin, but they were always able from across the T'ien-shan to carry out their raids into it and exact tribute from its flourishing oases. I could observe a curious if faint reflex of those great tribal movements in the numerous camps of Muhammadan Kazaks, fine men of Turkish speech and descent, whom the Mongols had driven south under Chinese protection, since they secured the "independence" of Outer Mongolia.

After leaving Guchen I surveyed, near Jimasa, the remains, extensive but badly decayed, marking the site of an ancient capital of this region, which under the names of Chin-man and Pei-ting often figures in the Chinese Annals from Han to T'ang times. Its connection with the Turfan oases to the south had been a very close one from an early historical period, and as Turfan was to be my base for the winter's labours I was very glad to march there by the most direct route, hitherto unsurveyed. It led me across the Bogdo-ula range, a rugged portion of the T'ien-shan rising to numerous snowy peaks, by a pass close on 12,000 feet and once again confirmed the accuracy of the early Chinese itineraries in which this route is described.

The first week of November 1914 found the four parties into which my expedition had divided since September safely reunited at Kara-khoja, an important ancient oasis in the centre of the Turfan depression. A combination of geographical and archaeological reasons had made me fix upon Turfan as the base and chief ground for our labours of the ensuing winter. It was certainly the natural and most convenient starting-place for the series of tours I was anxious to organize for the exploration of unknown or as yet inadequately surveyed portions of the Kuruk-tagh and Lop deserts to the south. I myself, ever since my brief visit of 1907, had felt drawn back to Turfan by the hope that its abundant ruins of Buddhist times were not yet completely exhausted, even though, easily accessible as they are, within or quite close to oases, they had received much attention from successive archaeological expeditions, Russian, German, and Japanese. Finally, geographical and antiquarian interests united in prompting me to make an accurate large-scale survey of the Turfan Basin; for, apart from its containing in its terminal salt lake what probably is one of the deepest depressions below sea-level of our globe, there is the important fact that, within close topographical limits, and hence in a concentrated form, as it were, it exhibits all those characteristic physical features, which make its great neighbour and counterpart, the Tarim Basin, so instructive both to the geographer and historical student.

This detailed survey of the Turfan depression, on the large scale of one mile to an inch and with clinometrically observed contours, was taken in hand by Surveyor Muhammad Yakub, almost as soon as he had joined me after a difficult desert crossing from the terminal drainage basin of Hami or Kumul. A few days later I could send off R. B. Lal Singh, pining as always for fresh hard work, to the Kuruk-tagh. The rapidly increasing cold, felt even here close to sea-level, gave hope by then that he would be able to overcome the difficulties arising in those truly "Dry Mountains" from the want of drinkable water, by the use of ice formed on salt springs—or of snow if such happened to fall.

With my remaining two Indian assistants I had already started the archaeological labours that were to keep us busy for the next three and a half months. The ruined town, known as Idikut-shahri, which was their first scene and adjoins Kara-khoja, has long ago been identified as the site of Kao-chang (or Khocho in early Turki), the Turfan capital during T'ang rule (seventh to eighth century A.D.) and the subsequent Uigur period. Massive walls of stamped clay enclose here an area, nearly a mile square, containing the ruins of very numerous structures, built of sun-dried bricks or clay. Most of them were Buddhist shrines and several of imposing dimensions. For generations past these debris-filled ruins have been quarried by the cultivators of the adjoining villages in search of manuring earth for their fields, and many of the smaller structures had been levelled to gain more ground for cultivation. Since the excavations made here between 1902-06 by Professors Grünwedel and Von Lecoq, of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, the villagers had extended their destructive operations in the hope of securing manuscript remains and antiques as valuable by-products for sale to Europeans. Of such finds I was able to acquire a fair number. But it was more satisfactory to find that in some ruins deeper debris strata had escaped exploitation. Their systematic clearing was rewarded by a variety of small but interesting remains, such as fresco pieces, fragments of paintings on paper and cloth, stucco reliefs, illustrating Buddhist art at Turfan. Manuscript fragments in the Uigur, Tibetan, Chinese, and Manichean scripts were also recovered. The discovery of a hoard of well-preserved metal objects, including decorated bronze mirrors, ornaments, etc., offered special interest, as the large number of coins found with it permits the date of its deposit in Sung times to be fixed with approximate accuracy. Simultaneously with these clearings I had an exact plan of the whole site prepared.

After rapid visits to smaller sites in the eastern portion of the Turfan Basin I turned, towards the close of November, to the ruins in the picturesque gorge of Toyuk. There numerous rock-cut caves, once occupied by Buddhist priests, honeycomb precipitous cliffs rising above the small stream that waters a flourishing little oasis, famous for its grapes. Where the slopes are less steep, narrow terraces have been built, bearing small Buddhist shrines, now in ruins. At the most conspicuous of these the second German expedition had made important manuscript finds. Stimulated by these in their monkey-like emulation, native searchers for antiques had subsequently wrought terrible havoc among ruins which had before remained more or less untouched. Lower down, however, we succeeded in tracing remains of shrines which had been protected by heavy covering masses of debris, and the employment of large numbers of diggers to clear them was easy. After the difficulties to which my previous work at desert sites far away from habitations and water had accustomed me, conditions of work in the Turfan district seemed, in fact, quite "suburban," as it were. In the end we recovered at Toyuk a considerable quantity of fine frescoes and stucco relief pieces. Fragments of Chinese and Uigur texts were numerous.

From Toyuk I proceeded by the middle of December to an important Buddhist site below the village of Murtuk. It occupies a conglomerate terrace on the steep west bank of the stream watering the Kara-khoja oasis, where it breaks in a narrow wild gorge through the barren hill range overlooking the main Turfan depression. The extensive series of ruined shrines, partly cut into the rock, had been decorated with frescoes representing scenes of Buddhist legend and worship in a great variety of subject and style. In richness and artistic merit they surpassed any similar remains in the Turfan region, and recalled the pictorial wealth of the "Thousand Buddhas" caves near Tun-huang. In 1906, Professor Grünwedel, with his intimate knowledge of Buddhist iconography and art, had carefully studied these big wall paintings, and a considerable selection of fresco panels was then removed to Berlin. For long centuries the frescoes had been liable to suffer casual injury at the hands of iconoclast Muhammadan visitors. During recent years they had been exposed to even greater damage from natives, who, in vandal fashion, cut out small pieces for sale to Europeans. The risk of further destruction in the near future was only too obvious and careful systematic removal presented the only means of saving as much as possible of these fine remains of Buddhist art. Fortunately, I could utilize for this long and difficult task the trained skill and manual experience of Naik Shams Din. Working with devoted energy, and valiantly helped by Afrazgul, he successfully accomplished it in the course of six weeks. Carefully drawn plans had been prepared for their guidance. Meanwhile I was able to pay a rapid visit to Urumchi, the provincial headquarters, where I had the great satisfaction of seeing again my old Mandarin friend, learned P'au Ta-jên, then holding high office as Financial Commissioner of the 'New Dominion.' As on my former journeys he did his best to help me in my scientific aims.

Early in January 1915, work had progressed sufficiently to allow me to apply myself to the clearing of smaller Buddhist ruins near Murtuk, and then to a task which proved as fruitful as it was to me novel and in some ways unpleasant. Below the debouchure of the gorge which brings down the streams of Murtuk and Sengim, and above the large village of Astana adjoining Kara-khoja from the west, there extends over the gravel-covered waste a vast ancient burial-ground. It is marked by small mounds covered with stones and by low lines of embanked gravel which enclose these mounds to form scattered groups. The mounds

indicate the position of tomb chambers which are cut into the underlying hard layer of fine conglomerate or sandstone. A narrow rock-cut passage, originally filled in again, led deep down to the entrance of each tomb, which itself was closed with a wall. Most of these tombs appear to have been searched for valuables during the last Muhammadan rebellion, and probably also earlier. But drift-sand had completely closed up the passages of approach, and only during the last few years had the tombs attracted attention from local antique-hunters. Their operations had not proceeded far, and gave anyhow useful assurance as to the absence of any local prejudices.

Willing labour could be secured in plenty, and made easy the opening of very numerous tombs in rapid succession. The systematic search of each has conclusively demonstrated that the cemetery dates from the early T'ang period, and mainly the seventh century A.D. Then Kao-chang, the present Turfan, was an important administrative centre and garrison of the Chinese after their reconquest of Eastern Turkestan. Exact dates, names of persons, and other details are furnished by the Chinese inscriptions on bricks, which were found intact near the approaches of many tombs. Their decipherment by my distinguished Sinologue collaborator, M. Chavannes, is likely to clear up the question as to whether the tombs were occupied exclusively by Chinese or contained also dead from among the indigenous population. Without a detailed examination and comparison of all these finds and observations, which may not be possible for some time, it would be premature to interpret the interesting burial customs revealed by these tombs; nor can I find space here to discuss them and their variations.

The dryness of the Turfan climate accounts for the remarkable state of preservation in which most of the bodies and the objects deposited with them were found. The latter comprised a great variety of articles of food, dress, personal use and the like, which the dead were supposed to need. Among them I may mention pastry of many shapes, showing familiar Indian ornamental motifs; boxes with ladies' toilet outfits; arms, etc. Whether of actual size, or reproduced in miniature, these objects, together with the painted stucco figurines representing attendants, richly caparisoned horses, household animals, etc., acquaint us with many aspects of the daily life led in Turfan at that period. I cannot pause to give details. It must suffice to record that the archaeological spoil has been as varied as it was abundant. But I may at least briefly refer to finds strikingly illustrating the position which Turfan and probably other oases of Chinese Turkestan occupied at that period, as places of trade exchange between Western Asia and China. Thus we found Byzantine gold pieces regularly placed, much in the fashion of the classical obolus, in the mouth of the dead, and Sassanian silver coins over their eyes. The custom of wrapping up the bodies in torn pieces of manifold garments has provided us with a rich collection of fine silk materials. Among these there is a curious abundance of brocades and other decorated fabrics showing designs which are usually associated with Persian work of Sassanian times. Paintings on silk, too, were found, meant to decorate the dwellings of the dead, and a quantity of manuscript records, mainly Chinese.

Interesting and fruitful as this search was, I felt a strong longing for a chance of resuming exploratory tasks in the open air of the desert. But my leg had not yet recovered from the accident in the summer, and could not face long tramps such as a return to the wastes of the Lop Desert would have necessitated. So I had to be content with what satisfaction Lal Singh's safe return towards the close of January from his expedition into the 'Dry Mountains' brought me. In the face of great physical difficulties and risks he had accomplished important survey work. After reaching Singer, the only permanent homestead in that vast area of barren plateaus and hills, he had started triangulation; and in accordance with my instructions carried it south-east to the vicinity of the Lou-lan ruins in the wind-eroded desert. His patient wait there for a week, amidst icy gales and with temperatures falling well below zero Fahrenheit, was rewarded when the dust-laden atmosphere cleared at last and allowed him to connect his triangles with previously 'fixed' high peaks of the snowy K'un-lun range from 150 miles south. Thus it became possible later on to realize my hope of getting the Indian triangulation system extended by this link to the Tien-shan range in the north.

With Abdur Rahim, the experienced hunter of wild camels from Singer, whose help had proved so valuable to us a year before, Lal Singh had then pushed into the unexplored and absolutely sterile region to the north-east of Altmish-bulak. His fuel supply had given out for several days, and he had to brave the severe cold of the nights without a fire before he decided to turn again westwards from beyond 91° long. He then picked up an old desert track once used by hunters of wild camels from Hami, before certain salt springs had dried up, and followed it down to the salt marsh that forms the deepest part of the Turfan Basin. There he took numerous observations with the mercurial barometer which, I hope, will make it possible to determine its depression below sea-level with greater accuracy. In spite of all he had gone through, Lal Singh allowed himself but a brief rest at our base, and by the first week of February set out afresh for the Kuruk-tagh.

The packing of our plentiful "archæological proceeds" from Turfan had cost great efforts. But at last, on February 6, I could start my big convoy of antiques, making up fifty camel-loads, under Ibrahim Beg's care for its two months' journey to Kashgar. On the same day, I sent off Afrazgul Khan to the Lop Desert for a supplementary survey of the Lou-lan region and the dried-up ancient sea-bed to the east and south. I myself proceeded to Yar-khoto for a detailed survey of this curious site, where a maze of ruin dwellings and shrines, carved out of the loess soil of an isolated and naturally strong plateau, represents the remains of the earlier Turfan capital during Han times. Some days more were taken up by arrangements for the completion of the large-scale map of the Turfan depression in six sheets and by the collection of supplementary data bearing on its extant irrigation resources. Their comparison with those which must be assumed to have existed in Buddhist times is made particularly instructive by the fact that now the greater portion of the cultivated area is irrigated from *karez*s or springs tapped by underground canals, a system which is known to have been introduced into Turfan only during the eighteenth century. My last days at Turfan were made somewhat anxious by a renewed attempt at Chinese obstruction, now directed against my archæological activity. Fortunately this time, too, I was on the point of starting into desert parts where no interference with my plans was practicable, and the safe transit of my antique collection, about which I had reason to feel apprehensive, was secured by the prompt steps my old friend, Sir George Macartney, took to parry the stroke from Provincial headquarters.

(To be continued.)

RELIGION IN SIND.

BY G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S., HYDERABAD.

THE fact that a religion has no literature whatever is no reason why an attempt at elucidating its mysteries should not be undertaken. In Sind religion in a large measure takes the place which caste does elsewhere in India, and local cults are the nuclei around which society becomes concrete. Such cults are of all ages, from that of the Sun as the first giver of heat to that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which seems to be a relic of Portuguese missionary enterprise. The essentially Sindhi cults, however, are based on the two principles of a male fertilising element in the River and a female reproductive element in "Nature" or vegetation, as an examination of a number will show.

Let us begin with the cult of Shekh Tâbir, as recorded in the *Tuhfatul-kirâm*, an unpublished history of Sind, dated A. D. 1768. "Jâhejo is well known for the *dargâh* of Shekh Tâhir, who is called Uderolâl by Hindus. Intoxicated with the wine of Divinity he spent the early part of his life in roaming through a desert. One day when he was holding something to eat in his hand a camel suddenly appeared on the scene. Observing the camel with his inward spiritual eye he addressed it thus:—'Oh God, since thou hast appeared before me in this form, deign to share my food with me.' The camel, however, would not stop and the Shekh persisted in following it, until at last the Shekh attained fame and spiritual greatness. The fact is the Sheikh had been blessed with a wonderful vision. Many pilgrims and visitors go to his shrine. On appointed days the shrine is also visited by a large number of betrothed and married females from far and near."

So was one Musalman version of a cult peculiarly Hindu. The cult of the river Indus, Darya-panth, is indeed so peculiarly Hindu that that only Sindhi Lohanas are its votaries. The cult, so far as I have ascertained, is one of pure ritual and that of the simplest. Regular monthly ceremonies and occasional annual ones complete the tale. Its chief features are the perpetual burning of lights on an altar in an otherwise empty Holy of Holies, and the ceremonial worship of the river at evening time on the days of the new and full moon. On those days the lamps are tended, trimmed and cleaned and ceremonial oblations are offered. The formal address to the Deity is "*Lahar bahar jâ Sâin meharbâni de—Master of the waves, grant a favour.*"

In various parts of Sind the cult of the River has become slightly localised. Just as the Deity at "Uderolâl" has been converted for the benefit of Mussalmans to Sheikh Tâbir, so at Sukkur Zinda Pir—the living God—has become Khwaja Khizr and near Tatta, Shah Jhando, the saviour ferryman. At Bohara, on the Baghâr canal, the Deity is addressed as Wâman Jianti Har Vasso. Here on the morning of 10th Bado the Darya-panthis make boats of straw and set them afloat on the river. The boats contain small country lamps, made of the dough of wheat flour in which *ghî* is burnt as oil, and also small plates of dough containing rice and curds.

Uderolâl, Lal Wadero, the Holy Chieftain, is the incarnation of the River God. His 'vehicle' is the *pulla*. In times of stress Uderolâl emerges from the River, an armed and gallant knight, to rescue his people from oppression.

Two fragments of lore may illustrate the popular attitude to the cult. The *pulla* is never found north of Sukkur. It comes up the river only to do homage at Khwaja Khizr's shrine and, having done so, it returns to the sea, always with its face towards the shrine. It is never found with its head down stream. Again, when the River erodes its banks, it is said that Khwaja Khizr is sending earth (fertility, wealth) to his brother Iliās (Elijah), who lives in a desert, and that these two with Nabi, Isa (Jesus), who lives in the firmament above the earth, constitute one Trinity. (This is a Baloch distorted version of the cult.)

Two points in connection with the history of the cult must be remembered, (a) Muhammadanism on two occasions made serious attempts at proselytising Hinduism: one on the occasion of the Arab conquest of Sind (eighth century) and one in the thirteenth century under the influence of the Multani Revival. The two best examples are the modification of the Raja Gopichand cult in the first period and the desecration of the Śaiva altar at Sehwan in the second. (b) A fragment of pottery discovered by the writer at Mirpur Khas bears paintings of a fish (?) *pulla*. The place, where it was found, is that of the fourth century Stupa which stood on the bank of an old river (Dhoro Purano).

Now let us turn to the cult of the crocodile, *wāgho* the wild beast. It is not an uncommon thing to find a close connection between a *pir* and crocodiles, so close in fact that the local Musalmans resent any attempt at shooting the protected beasts—though every effort may be made to extirpate those not protected. The classic case is, of course, that of Mangho Pir—'Magar' Pir—just outside Karachi; but there are others. In some places, even where there is now no crocodile, tradition keeps alive the story by dubbing the locality *wāghodār*, the crocodile's door or lair. There is the one near Rerhi, one at Amirpir, north of Tatta, and one, fourteen miles east of Hyderabad on the Dhoro Phital, an *abandoned* river bed. It cannot be pretended for one moment that respect for the crocodile is Musalman; such zoolatry finds no place in Islam. One must look for its origin locally. One reads for instance in Burnes (*Bokhara*, p. 46) that "the Sailors of Sinde are Mahommedans. They are very superstitious; the sight of a crocodile below Hyderabad is an evil omen, which would never be forgotten;" and also that along different lengths of the river propitiatory offerings had to be made to avert malignant influences. Now one finds among the sacrificial symbols in use in the Lar an occasional brass *makara* head.

Now, when one turns to consider Vegetation cults, one finds a close association in several aspects with femininity. Midway between Tatta and Mirpur Sakro is a tomb, the central place of the cult of Pir Jhareon—*jhareon* being in fact a feminine plural word meaning trees. While it is customary at various burial places to hold on fixed days in the month commemorative services at which all present partake of a kind of Agape, to which all have contributed something, the common meal being divided in charity among those present, it is regarded as a ridiculous custom—i. e., by outsiders—that those present at Pir Jhareon's festival should eat such a *stupid* kind of food as they do. Here the Agape consists of a dish made of grain of all kinds—*jawari*, *bajri*, barley, rice, pulses,—steeped in milk. Not only do Hindus respect the Pir, but, regardless of caste, partake of the

common dish at the monthly festival. Now the Pir's *khalifa* is a woman of the Hingora Clan.

Of course there is a story that Pir Jhareon's real name was Sultan Hussain and that he is a Hussaini Sayyid who came here direct from Mecca, where he had earned his name by performing menial work at the Holy Places—as if his name should be Pir of Dusters. The Multani proselytising influence can be discovered in the alleged date of his death, A. H. 666.

An independent form of the cult of Pir Jhareon survives in Ghorabari Taluka just outside the boundaries of the modern Deh Jhareon. The shrine or 'place' of Mai Pir is situated near the R. Richhal. In form it is a coppice enclosed by a low bank of earth about 100 yards in circumference, within which bounds no man is allowed to set foot. Even the Khalifa must send his wife in, if he wishes any work to be done inside; for the Mai Sahib was a virgin and a man's coming would defile her place. The shrine itself is a rude hut from the roof of which a score of cattle bells hang. Two stone *chirâghs* and the inevitable flag complete the furniture. Rice is the only food divided in charity and portions from the common dish are scattered about for jackals and other wild animals to partake of. As at Pir Jhareon's place, the monthly festival is held on the first Monday of each month. The emblematic tree is dead and fallen. It was formerly inside the bank of earth, and to solve the problem of eliminating dead wood without removing it (for as will be seen below it is sacrosanct) the bank was "repaired" and rebuilt so that the fallen trunk may lie outside the enclosed holy spot.

At Bohara "Bibi Syed's Tomb" is just such another place, though there the cult has been merged with the Ashura rites—a feast of tabernacles, celebrated at Muharram time. Here there is no tomb, no monthly festival. A tree, dead but standing, is enclosed by a low bank of earth, within which no one is allowed.

Among Hindus in Sind two festivals call for notice in this connection. On the 12th of Srawan Sudi the women of a house sow in a pot seven kinds of grain—whence Sâtâno, the name of the festival. After seven days the seedlings are plucked up and thrown into the river for luck. It must be remembered that at this season the Indus is in full flood, irrigating the whole countryside.

Three days later occurs a strange ceremony, obviously a revolt against the eternal prayers for children and wealth. At evening time Hindu boys and girls repair to the fields and throw grain and mud images of bullocks among the crops reciting this verse:—

ڪانوَ وڻ چڙهيو ڏي اُپاسي؛
مان نه ڪٿان ڪٽي منهنجي ماسي.

This is usually understood to mean:—"Crow, climb a tree and yawn; let my aunt (*mâsi*) weave, not me"—deriving ڪٿان from ڪٽڻ to weave. This however, makes nonsense and the word should be derived from ڪي, which is now only used with

reference to "heat" in dogs. There is still, however, the difficulty of the invocation to the crow.

Cutting right across all other customs is the world-wide one of respect for holy trees. It is no uncommon thing for a man to tie a rag to a *kabbar jhâr* tree as a token of invocation, or for women to tie wisps or bundles of hair. Tomb of holy men are usually located under the *kabbar jhâr*, the 'jhâr,' though a grave will sanctify even a tamarisk. Again no such tree, nor, in fact, any tree on holy ground may be cut. Even on abandoned village sites the position of the mosque, where nothing of the village remains will be brought into remembrance by the preservation of a tree or shrub on its site. Such a tree is taboo; indefinable trouble will overtake the rash person who cuts it down. Not even fallen dead wood in sacred groves may be removed; when it falls, there it lies. On Ashura day Mohanos gaudily decorate their favourite *kabbar jhâr* shrub throughout the Lar.

Or, Brahui custom may be referred to as throwing light on local customs. "On the new moon of the seventh month seven kinds of grain—to wit, barley, wheat, Indian corn, peas, millet, pulse and *juari*—are boiled together uncrushed in a large cauldron. Seven kinds of grain there must surely be in all. Small dishes of this pottage are sent out to the kinsfolk. The dishes are never sent away empty; each comes back with some trifle for the looked-for babe." (*Life History of Brahui*, by D. Bray, p. 7).

Now, how did this interconnected mass of custom arise, if, and there is no disagreement on the subject, the *makara* was the 'vehicle' of Varuṇa, who was first a sky-god and then a water-god.

My reasoning is thus. Stone-age man, the dwarf who lived in the Kohistan, and annually moved in the cold weather to the rich grass plains of the Indus—as he still does—was terrified by the swamp and jungle of the lowlands, and above all by the crocodile, whom he elevated to the rank of a malevolent deity who must be propitiated. The generally beneficent floods of the Indus facilitated among the Aryans the evolution of the River-god from Varuṇa, but the *makara* cult could not be simultaneously evolved because of the pre-existing and inferior cult of the demonic crocodile. The required "vehicle" was found in the *pulla*, whose peculiar habits rendered it a specially appropriate companion for the incarnate Uderolâl. The crocodile continued to typify the demonic force of the Indus in anger, in excessive flood, when it changes its course and in a season alters entirely the face of the country. Closely associated with these floods are the rich crops of grass and grain of the Indus flood plain. Without the strength of the river there is no sweetness of vegetation. Thus one may associate a male principle of the River and a female one in vegetation, Shah Jhando and the chaste virgins, the Satyun of Tatta, Uderolâl and Mai Sahib, the coquettings of the Sâtâno festival. This seems to represent the course of early religion in Sind. Buddhism did not affect it—for the fish adorns the pottery of Mirpur Khas. Saivism passed it by, for the Gupta cult of Siva is still localised at Sehwan. Muhammadanism modified it for its own proselytes, but could not obliterate it, for there is, indeed, in Sind only one problem—what will the River be like next year, good or bad, divine or demonic?

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 190.)

Kilavan Sētopati's death.

At this crisis, the great man, who had guided the destinies of Rāmnād with such conspicuous ability for the space of 25 years, passed away. It seems that to the calamities of flood and famine were added the calamities of war during his last years; for we hear of a war which he had to wage, for reasons as yet unknown, with Tanjore. As usual, he secured victory for his arms. But the combination of ills which afflicted his country soon told on the octogenarian, and hastened his death. Noble and generous, tactful and wise, Kilavan was the only man who could have freed the kingdom from its miseries. His sympathy and liberality would have revived the drooping spirit of his ryots, and his martial skill would have kept the kingdom safe from the encroachments of neighbouring powers. But it was not so to be. He died, leaving the kingdom not only amidst the visitations of famine and pestilence, but bequeathing to it a legacy of trouble in the form of a succession dispute. Forty-seven of his wives followed him to the other world through the funeral pyre, and the scene of the tragedy is even now visible in the vicinity of Rāmnād.

Accession and administration of Vijaya Raghunātha.

At the point of death Kilavan Sētopati appointed his illegitimate son, Bhavāni Saikara Tēvan, as his successor. But no sooner was the body of the great chief cremated than the Maravas set aside his choice and chose an adopted son (in reality the son-in-law) of the deceased, Vijaya Rāghunātha⁶⁹ by name, as the Sētopati. Vijaya Raghunātha (1709-23) was an able soldier and abler statesman. He was perhaps the most versatile of the Sētopatis.⁷⁰ In a time when the Pālayams were, as a rule, tottering down, he laid the foundations of the permanence of his State by his wise reform of the revenue administration. In place of financial chaos he introduced an orderly system, and in place of exaction, a definiteness of demand. The kingdom was divided into eight revenue districts, and the villages which composed each were provided with able accountants of the Veļļā caste from Madura, and made to maintain regular accounts. This salutary measure created an era of comparative contentment among the people, which seems to have been the secret of the immense resources and the numerous buildings and charities for which Vijaya Raghunātha became famous. The chronicles narrate with eloquence the grandeur of his palace, the size of his establishments, and the liberality of his charities. Endowed with a religious turn of mind, he took a personal interest in the extension of the Rāmēsvaram temple. A staunch devotee of Rāmanātha, he did not allow a single day to pass without a visit to the shrine. In spite of a pressure of business he would leave Rāmnād every day some time before sunset, and arrive at Rāmēsvaram in time for evening devotions. A watchful staff kept in readiness horses at intervals on the road leading from the Capital to Tōpitturai, and an efficient boat service to convey the royal

⁶⁹ He was the Muttu Vijaya Raghunātha Sētopati Kāttā Tēvar of the inscriptions. A copper-plate grant of his dated 8. 1635 (*Vijaya*) records the gift of houses and lands at Attiyāttu to 14 Brāhmaṇa families. Vijaya Raghunātha is said there to have performed the Hiraṇyagarbha sacrifice. *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 15.

⁷⁰ See *Antiquities* II, 231 based on Raja Rama Rao's *Manual*.

devotee across the Pamban. Festivals in honour of his favourite god never tired him. On one occasion he vowed that the revenue of one whole season's pearl fishery should be devoted to the adorning of the image. Almost every year saw the grant of extensive lands and estates to the temple. The orthodoxy of Raghunātha secured from his suzerain Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha the image of Durga, for whose reception he built a temple at Rāmnād, which attracted thousands of pilgrims. An idol of the Brahmans, Raghunātha had a veneration for Vedic rites and ceremonials, thereby reviving the ancient days of Hinduism.

His persecution of Christians.

It is not surprising that, under the regime of such an orthodox ruler, there came into existence a period of vehement opposition to the proselytising labours⁷¹ of the Christian fathers. During the last years of Kīlavan, the missionaries of Christ had enjoyed not only perfect freedom of worship, but a felicitous opportunity for active proselytism. Hundreds of people had forsaken the religion of the gods and of their ancestors. The spread of Christianity alarmed the orthodox, and their agitation converted Vijaya Raghunātha from a passive spectator into a zealous persecutor. The prospects of the religion of Christ became gloomy, but the timely support of a prominent member of the royal family saved it from ruin. The Sētupati had an elder brother, Vaḍuha Nātha, who felt in the doctrines of Christianity greater chances of salvation than in the worship of the Hindu gods. So zealous was he in his belief that he gave up all his prospects and ambitions, and became a Christian. The position and the character of the illustrious convert was a tower of strength to the Fathers, and though their recent period of prosperity did not return, yet the future was not absolutely dark and clouded.

The rebellion of Bhavāni and Toṇḍaman.

Great as Vijaya Raghunātha was as a man of God, he was equally great as a soldier. His martial activity was a matter of necessity; for the repose of his rule was constantly disturbed by the intrigues of his rival, Bhavāni Śaṅkara, a man whose unusually sanguine temperament scoffed at failures and persevered in his aim of acquiring the crown. The Sētupati in self-defence divided his kingdom into 72 military divisions, placing each under a feudal chief who paid service instead of tribute. He established a chain of forts throughout the realm,—at Rājaśīgamaigalam, Orūr, Arantāṅgi, Tirupattār, Kamerdy and Pāmban. He organized an artillery service, his two guns, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, being a terror to his adversaries and an inspiration to his own soldiers. An Army so zealously maintained could not but bring success to the Sētupati arms, and from Tiruvālūr in the North to the District of Tinnevely in the South he reigned supreme. However, in 1720, Bhavāni obtained the assistance of the Toṇḍamān and the Maratha king of Tanjore once again attempted the recovery of his crown. The combined armies of Pudukkōṭṭai and Tanjore soon encamped at Arantāṅgi. The Sētupati promptly marched against them, and defeated them, but when he was about to return an epidemic of a virulent nature broke out in the camp. The dread visitant struck down a large number of men and then seized the royal family. Eight children and eight wives of the Sētupati succumbed to it, and soon the Sētupati himself became a victim. At the point of death he was taken to Rāmnād, only to breathe his last there.

⁷¹ Nelson and Chandler.

The death and character of Vijaya Raghunātha.

The death of Vijaya Raghunātha was⁷² a great calamity to Rāmnāḍ. A good and able ruler, he had endeared himself to his people. No doubt there were defects in his character. For instance he was, like most of the chiefs of his day, a votary of pleasure. His harem contained the large number of 360 women and 100 children, though, strangely enough, none of the latter survived him to inherit his throne. His epicurean nature is also seen in the construction of the Rāmalinga Vilāsa, a long and elaborately worked hall, adorned by scenes of Marava warfare and of Kṛishṇa's life, at the expense of a Musalman Sayad, Kadir Marakkayar. In addition to the unduly excessive pursuit of pleasure, Vijaya Raghunātha had been characterised by an extraordinary vanity and love of praise. A curious story illustrates the zeal with which he looked on those who surpassed him in renown. His beneficence to Rāmēsvaram had the effect of attracting an enormous number of pilgrims and, in their wake, the wealthy merchants of Malabar, Cochin and Benares. To assist these Raghunātha appointed the husband of his two daughters as the commandant of the Pāmban fort. He was expressly ordered to help the pilgrims in their passage over the channel, then across the sands of the island, to Dhanushkōṭi. The commandant was a man of wisdom and practical genius. He levied a small boat-duty on all those who went from the mainland to the island, and used the proceeds in the construction of a stone road across the sands. With tactless imprudence, the author of this monument called it after his own name. The small mind of Vijaya Raghunātha could not endure this. Believing that his honour was scorned, he ordered the decapitation of his son-in-law! The prayers and remonstrances of his daughters did not move his stony heart, and they preferred death to widowhood by ascending the funeral pyre of their lord. The memory of the noble husband and the nobler princesses is even to-day preserved by the Akkāḷ and Thaṅgachchi *maṭams*, reared on their ashes, in the weary road from Pāmban to Rāmēsvaram; and the service which the choultries render to the exhausted pilgrims has been, ever since their tragic death, the best index of their lord's minds.

War of Succession between Bhavāni Saṅkara and Taṇḍa Tēvan.

The death of Vijaya Raghunātha was immediately followed by a dispute in succession. At the point of death he had nominated Taṇḍa Tēvan, a great grandson of Kijavan's father, as his successor. But the confusion caused by Vijaya Raghunātha's death was availed of by Bhavāni Saṅkara Tēvan to once again aim at the crown of which he had been deprived. His struggle against Raghunātha had been a struggle of selfish ambition against popular support, of illegitimacy against legitimacy, and it had ended in failure. Now, as against Taṇḍa Tēvan, Bhavāni was under no comparative disadvantage. The former had as remote a claim to the throne as himself. It seems that popular sympathy also turned at this time in his favour. At the same time he gained a new resource and a friend by his politic marriage with a niece of the chief mistress of Vijaya Raghunātha. The consequence was, he was able enough to effect a *coup d'état*, to deprive Taṇḍa Tēvan of his short tenure of power, and assume the title of Sētupati, a title which had been bestowed upon him by Kijavan Sētupati nearly a decade back. But Taṇḍa Tēvan had tasted power, and would not give up what he considered his birthright. Driven out of Rāmnāḍ, he proceeded to Madura, and persuaded Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha to take up his cause. At the same time he gained over the Toṇḍamān, lately the

⁷² *Antiquities*, II, 230-1

ally and the dupe of Bhavāni Saṅkara—for the latter had not ceded to him certain villages he had promised for his assistance—by promising him to cede the village of Kīlānilai and the important fortress of Tirumaiyam. The confederate army then came near Arantāṅgi, and here for a second time the possession of the Rāmnāḍ crown was contested. The allies had the advantage of numbers and of strength, and Bhavāni Saṅkara was defeated and had to flee for his life to the Tanjore court. Here he pleaded, with success, his cause before the Maratha, and gained his alliance by promising to surrender, as its price, the whole of the Rāmnāḍ kingdom to the north of the Pāmban river. Three months after this treaty, a formidable Maratha army was at the foot of the fortifications of Rāmnāḍ. Tanḍa Tēvan had taken due precautions. He had once again applied for and obtained the help of Madura and Pudukkōttai. In the war which followed the valour and conduct of the Tanjore general, Ānanda Rao Peishwa, obtained two signal victories. In the first he vanquished the Madura men and prevented their junction with their confederates; in the second, he vanquished the Tondamān and captured two of his sons. The latter thereupon concluded peace, and withdrew from the contest. The victorious general then laid siege to Rāmnāḍ, and before long entered it. Bhavāni Saṅkara thus triumphed. The pride of conquest was, according to one version, not blended with the spirit of moderation, and Bhavāni Saṅkara incurred the odium of posterity by putting his rival to death.

Bhavāni's success and misrule.

So ended the long struggle of Bhavāni Saṅkara for the Marava crown. He had twice got it and lost it, but now, after the seizure and death of Tanḍa Tēvan, his triumph was complete. For nine years he governed the kingdom in peace, but at the end of that period ill-luck and imprudence resulted not only in the loss of his crown, but the dismemberment of his kingdom. Bhavāni's name was very unpopular among his vassals and Polygars. His cession of a large part of Rāmnāḍ to Tanjore caused discontent. The exercise of a little tact would have silenced opposition and overcome jealousy; but Bhavāni was wanting in that indispensable virtue. The feudatories therefore rose against him. Their leader was one Saśivarṇa Periya Uḍaya Tēvan, a Hercules in valour, who was the Polygar of Vellikōttai, one of the eight divisions of Vijaya Raghunātha. He was indeed connected by marriage with the Sētopati, but the tie of blood had been irrevocably snapped by oppression on the one hand and hatred on the other. The rising however was premature; Saśivarṇa was defeated, deprived of his estate, and compelled to seek safety abroad. He went to the Court of Tanjore, and there made friends with Kāṭṭa Tēvan, the Polygar of Arantāṅgi, and the uncle of the unfortunate Tanḍa Tēvan who had, after the tragic death of nephew, sought his refuge in the Tanjore kingdom. The two chiefs then planned together for the overthrow of their common enemy. Their first work was to induce, by extravagant promises, the Tanjore king to give them help. The story goes that the Tanjore king was unwilling to overthrow a man whose greatness had been his own work, but that he was compelled to do so by a word which he accidentally uttered. Either the desire to get rid of his guest's pressure or the joviality of a drinking bout made him promise assistance to Saśivarṇa in case he entered the cage of a fierce tiger. To the Marava Hercules, however, the fight with a tiger was a pastime. Entering the cage, he fought with the tiger and killed it. Unable to withdraw from his word, the surprised king of Tanjore placed a large army at the disposal of Saśivarṇa and Kāṭṭaya. His ambition, however, had taken care to obtain from them the promise of the lands to the North of the Pāmban in case of success.

His Tragic End.

The plan of the confederates was a well-devised one. The two chieftains bound themselves by a mutual agreement that, after the recovery of Rāmnād from their adversary, the kingdom south of the Pāmban was to be divided into five divisions, and that three of them were to go to Kaṭṭa Tēvan and the other two to Sasivarna. The Tanjore general Ānanda Rao Peshwa,⁷² was immediately after the fulfilment of his task to receive the territory north of the Pāmban. These arrangements completed, a Tanjore army soon found itself in 1729 within the territory of Rāmnād. Bhavāni Saṅkara had not been unprepared. He marched to meet the allies, but in the battle at Orūr he was signally defeated and taken prisoner, and taken to Tanjore in irons.

The Partition of Rāmnād.

With the tragic end of Bhavāni Saṅkara, the history of a united Rāmnād ends. Henceforward it became divided into two estates, one of which continued under the old name of Rāmnād and the other under that of Sivagaṅga. The head of the former continued to be styled the Sētupati. The chiefs of the post-partition period were obscure chieftains as compared with the predecessor of Bhavāni Saṅkara, whose valour had defied, often with success, the armies of Tanjore, of Madura and Pudukkōṭṭai. With the loss of union power was lost, and the Sētupati, once a rival to Tanjore and a terror to Pudukkōṭṭai, was from this time a Zemindar of minor status and worn out prestige. In fact, Rāmnād became less powerful than its child, Sivagaṅga; for the latter, though smaller in size, was more fertile by nature, and with the advance of time the sterility of the bigger province was not overcome, while the fertility of the smaller was improved.

It is thus a strange coincidence that Rāmnād, as a united power, was a power only so long as Madura was a united power under the Nāiks. For, within a decade of the partition of Rāmnād, the dynasty in Madura was, as we shall see presently, to fall, and both were to come under dominance of the Nawab of Arcot.

CHAPTER X.

Queen Minākshi (1731-1737)⁷⁴ and the Extinction of the Naik Raj.

On the death of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha, the Puritan, his queen Minākshi, a figure around whose name and career a good deal of pathetic and melancholy interest has gathered, assumed the duties of government. Wilks⁷⁵ says, on what authority I have not been able to discover, that Minākshi was the survivor of his three wives (the two others having committed *sati*)—an arrangement, he says, due to the dying king's communication to his confidential minister that his eldest queen should succeed him to the government.

⁷² He was the minister of the Tanjore kings, from 1686 to 1736,—the Anandarāyamakhin of literary fame. An inscription of Kōṭṭūr (463 of 1912), of year Śubhakarī says that he gave a grant to the local temple. *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1913, p. 139.

⁷⁴ The date of her accession is, as usual, different in different chronicles. According to the *Carna. Govs.*, she came in S. 1644, *Virōdhikrīt* (1732); to the *Pand. Chron.* in *Virōdhikrīt Mātī*; but according to the *Telugu Chron.*, in 1669. The last is of course wrong. Calicavi Rāyan's Account gives Maṅgammāl in place of Minākshi and attributes 5 years. This is, of course, wrong. For epigraphical evidence we have a grant (in Telugu) of land for a charity in Trichinopoly in 1732 (K. 4833, *Pramāditā*) and another at Samayāvaram in 1733. In both Viraveṅkatadēva of Ghānagiri is said to be suzerain.

⁷⁵ Wilks I. p. 155. Wilks' account of the circumstances of the Muhammadan advent is very meagre and dismissed in a page. It is necessarily very deficient and inadequate.

An ambitious, high-spirited, but shortsighted woman, Minākshi was destined to be the last of her line. Her reign or rather, according to some, her regency, was clouded by discord and misfortune, and eventually witnessed the disastrous interference of foreigners and the consequent extinction of the Nāik dynasty itself. Languid and irresolute by nature, she was not fit to govern a kingdom at a time when all its turbulent and anarchical elements were peculiarly active and had to be suppressed with a stern hand. Her repose was constantly invaded by sedition among her nobles and her weakness could not prevail against the strength, the unscrupulousness, and the disloyalty of her enemies. She had not that firmness, that principle of independence, that unconscious power of enforcing authority, which is necessary for a strong and efficient rule; and it seems that while Minākshi was bereft of these statesmanlike virtues, she had the weakness of a woman in full. She seems to have acted always on the impulses of the moment and created many enemies to herself, and thus courted failure.

Her Failure and its Causes.

And yet the failure of Minākshi must be attributed not merely to her personal weakness. The times in which she lived were singularly unsafe for a female ruler. The middle of eighteenth century was a period of confusion and anarchy throughout India, when kingdoms were made and unmade almost daily, when the resources of the country were exhausted in frequent internecine wars, when people knew no peace, and when there was no security of person and property. Everywhere there were unscrupulous adventurers who desired to carve out principalities of their own, and tried all means, fair or foul, to gain their object. The masters of one day found themselves the very next day the servants of their servants, who usurped their power and their crown. All idea of justice, of honesty and of loyalty, was at a discount during this dark period, and revolutions in consequence were the order of the day. The wild Maratha was sniffing the air of S. India in search of prey. And Madura did not escape from this wave of anarchism and disorder. A strong and acute statesmanship, with the powerful support of an efficient army, alone could keep the turbulence and revolutionary tendencies of the time in check; and such in a combination of political wisdom and martial vigour Minākshi was sadly lacking. She moreover inherited, as we have already mentioned, a weakened and dilapidated kingdom. It was Minākshi's misfortune that, at a time of unrest and revolution, she was involved in a succession dispute and a civil war. If she had been endowed with the many masculine virtues which distinguished her female predecessor Maṅgammāl, she might have done something to strengthen the government and relieve the kingdom from the evils with which it was afflicted. But she was wanting in prudence, in vigour, and almost every other quality which can obtain for one ascendancy over others.

The Adoption of Vijaya Kumāra.

The first act of Minākshi after her assumption of power was,⁷⁶ according to some, the adoption, and according to others, the desire, but a vain desire, for the adoption, of a son and heir. Her choice fell on Vijaya Kumāra Nāiṇu, a boy who belonged to the younger line of the royal family. Vijaya Kumāra was in fact the great-grandson of that Kumāra Muttu, who, immediately after the death of his elder brother Tirumal Nāik, claimed the

⁷⁶ As will be seen from the Appendix I, some MSS. speak as though the adoption was complete and others as not, thereby recognising Baṅgāru Tirumala. Wilson takes the former view, *JRAS*, III. See Nelson also.

throne, but resigned it in return for the governorship of Sivakāśi and its dependent possessions. In spite of his resignation of the claims to the throne, Kumāra Muttu had seen, just before his retirement, his son Kumāra Raṅgappa Nāik installed as the second in power to Muttu Alakādri. Raṅgappa held this position evidently throughout the reign of Muttu Virappa, and when the latter was succeeded by his son Chokkanātha Nāik, the son of the former, Kumāra Tirumalai Nāik, succeeded as his second in power. Similarly, when the son and successor of Chokkanātha, Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Virappa, was governing the realm, the son of Tirumalai Nāik, Baṅgāru Tirumalai Nāik by name, inherited the position and dignity of the second in power. It was on the son of this Baṅgāru Tirumala that Minākshi fixed her choice.

Baṅgāru Tirumala's Opposition.

We now come to the consideration of an important constitutional question on the solution of which the whole character of the future Nāik history must be pronounced to depend. Did Minākshi adopt Vijaya Kumāra or did she not? On the answer to this question lies the justification or condemnation of her conduct in the events which followed. According to one⁷⁷ chronicle which, though unreliable as a rule in its chronology, is in this affair, direct and pronounced, she did not, as she had no right. It says that the real claimant, and therefore the legitimate successor after Vijaya Raṅga, was his second in power, Baṅgāru Tirumala Nāik. Baṅgāru, as we have already seen, had been the second in power to Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Virappa and, we may presume, to Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha also. He had in other words exercised power for nearly half a century. During the latter period of his service, we can be sure, he had entertained the idea of succeeding Vijaya Raṅga to the throne. The seizure of power by Minākshi must have been a serious blow to his long cherished ambition, a disappointment of long hopes and anxious expectations. With a natural vehemence he maintained that he was the legitimate successor to the throne, that Minākshi, being a woman and childless, had no claim whatever. When the latter, therefore, asked him to give his son as her heir, he refused on the ground that he himself was the king, that his son would get it in the natural course of events. With this he assumed the functions of royalty, and putting up in a new palace, gained the support of a large number of courtiers. The kingdom was actually under the Government of Baṅgāru Tirumala, but the treasury, the palace, and the royal jewels were under Minākshi and her brothers.

The Discussion of the Respective Claims.

The other version, that of the Telugu chronicle, *History of the Carnatic Lords*, an authority generally reliable but in this respect very short, confused, inconsistent, and obscure, says "that after the decease of Raja Vijaya Raṅga, Baṅgāru Tirumala was the suitable person to succeed to the crown, but that his son Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāikar was adopted and installed by being anointed when four years old by Minākshi Ammal, the crowned queen of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha." According to this, then, Vijaya Kumāra was the crowned king and Minākshi was his guardian and regent. Kali Kavi Rāyan's account as well as *Pāṇṭya Rāja Purāṇa Charitra*⁷⁸ does not mention Baṅgāru Tirumala at all.

While the indigenous histories are thus divergent in their views, the modern historians are not less so. Mr. Taylor⁷⁹ believes that, after the death of Vijaya Raṅga, "the succession

⁷⁷ *Hist. of the Carna. Govts.*

⁷⁸ See appendix I, for details of the various MSS.

⁷⁹ *O. H. MSS.*

was sufficiently clear, for the younger brother had before succeeded to the throne on the demise of the elder brother without offspring. The case of the illustrious Tirumalai Naicker himself was an adequate precedent. Hence much blame seems to have rested with the dowager queen Minākshi Ammā, who probably was urged on by her brother Venkata Perumal Naicker; being also herself perhaps ambitious of imitating the conduct and participating in the fame of Mangammal though under clearly different circumstances." The interference of the Musalmans and the extinction of the dynasty which followed were thus, in the opinion of Mr. Taylor, the outcome of Minākshi's ambition. The late Mr. Nelson, on the other hand, was a warm supporter of Minākshi's rights. In his view, she was the rightful heir to the throne of her husband, while Baṅgāru was an ambitious and intriguing rebel, whose disaffection was the cause of the Muhammadan interference and the ruin of the kingdom. Mr. Nelson⁸⁰ bases his views on three grounds,—first that the junior branch of the royal family had no right to the throne in as much as Kumāra Muttu had given up his rights after Tirumala Nāik; secondly, that the position of *Chinna Durai*, or second in power, was not constitutionally a claim to the crown, as the previous history of the dynasty shewed, provided there was a claimant whose claims received a wide and candid recognition; thirdly, that the claims of Vijaya Kumara were indisputable, and his adoption was accepted by all except Baṅgāru's party. Mr. Nelson contends that the wide acceptance of Vijaya Kumāra's position is unmistakably proved by the agreement of "the other MSS.", by the award of a larger pension to the boy than to the father when they were in the Nawab's Court, and by a unanimity among all writers in speaking of the son's greater position. These arguments, however, cannot go unchallenged. In the first place, Mr. Nelson is wrong in his statement that Kumāra Muttu had, by his voluntary resignation of the crown, for ever sacrificed the prospects of his descendants. On the other hand, as we have already seen, he had the caution to see his son appointed as second in power before his retirement, and this caution he exercised, we may well believe, as a safeguard of future hopes and expectations of the transfer of the crown to his branch in case the elder line became extinct. Secondly, Nelson is right in saying that the mere enjoyment of power as *Chinna Durai* did not give a claim to throne; but it *did* constitute a claim, as Taylor has pointed out, when the reigning king died without issue. Thirdly, Nelson is quite incorrect when he speaks of the unanimity of the chronicles and of public opinion in speaking of Vijaya Kumāra as the crowned king. On the other hand, one of the MSS. distinctly says that he was not crowned; that the majority of the people were on the side of Baṅgāru Tirumala, and that the actual government of the kingdom was in the hands of the latter. Lastly, Mr. Nelson ignores some MSS. when he says that the boy received a higher pension than the father in the Nawab's Court; the Telugu chronicle gives exactly the opposite version. Nevertheless, though every ground assumed by Mr. Nelson is against fact, yet it cannot be distinctly stated that the people were wanting in their allegiance to Minākshi.

Baṅgāru's Success.

However it might be, whether Minākshi was the regent of a crowned king or whether Baṅgāru Tirumala was the king, the result was the same. The State was distracted by party quarrels and hastened in consequence towards ruin. The palace and the treasure⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Madura Manual*. Wilson also is in favour of Minākshi. See *J. R. A. S. III.*

⁸¹ Appendix I, Sect. 1. (*Carna. Govrs.*)

were in the hands of Minākshi, while the court and the kingdom were in the hands of Baigāru. The leading men in the queen's party were her brothers, Veṅkata Nāik and Perumāi Nāik; while Baigāru had for his supporter the crafty Veṅkata Rāghavāchārya whose story we have already given. It is highly probable that the support of the greatest military officer in the State was the most determining factor in the formation of the two parties; for his example would have been imitated by many officers of rank and influence. The balance of power was in consequence upset; and by losing the support of the army the queen became so weak that, though she remained in the palace, her enemies were able to seize the administration and the revenues.

The Muhammadan Interference; its different Versions.

It was at this crisis that foreigners intervened and, taking advantage of the domestic differences that weakened Madura, brought about the extinction of both the parties and of the kingdom itself. In the year 1734, i. e., two years after the accession of Minākshi, Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic⁸², the representative of the Mughal Empire and the suzerain over the Southern kingdoms, despatched his son Safdar Ali and his son-in-law Chanda Sahib on a campaign to the south. The cause of the expedition is stated differently by different authorities. The *Hist. of the Carna. Goers*, which is a partisan history in favour of Baigāru Tirumala, attributes it to Minākshi. When matters were so situated, it says, "Minākshi Ammāi wrote to Chanda Sahib for assistance. Baigāru Tirumalai Nāicker, hearing of her proceeding, wrote to Nawab Safder Ali Khan. The Nawab Safder Ali Khan and Chanda Sahib, in consequence, came at the head of 10,000 cavalry, and encamped outside the fort of Trichinopoly." The Telugu chronicle is comparatively obscure, and simply says that while the parties were struggling with each other at Trichinopoly, "the Subah of Arcot, named Safder Ali Khan, came to Trichinopoly," and having ordered thirty lakhs of rupees, returned to Arcot. The European writers are the best informed on the subject, and in consequence most reliable. The great historian Orme attributes the invasion to the ambition of the Nawab of Arcot, the suppression and annexation of the southern kingdoms. "The kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Tanjore," he says "although tributary to the Moghul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Raja, and the care of levying tributes of these countries, was intrusted to the Nawabs of Arcot who were sometimes obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Trichinopoly in 1736⁸³ was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nawab of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Safdar Ali and the Dewan Chanda Sahib to seize an opportunity which might offer of getting possession of the city of

⁸² The nephew and the successor of Sa'adat Ali Khan, who died in 1732, i. e., the very year of Vijaya Rāga's death. As Wilks says, the Muhammadans would have intervened in 1732 in Trichinopoly owing to the dispute in succession, but for the death of Sa'adat Ali and the arrangement of the succession in Arcot,—an arrangement which ignored and displeased the Nizam, and which, therefore, afterwards gave rise to trouble. *Vide Wilks, I, p. 155.*

⁸³ This is wrong, the correct date being 1731.

Trichinopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast before they proceeded to the south; accordingly they came to Madras, where they remained⁸⁴ some days, and then went to Pondicheri, where they stayed a longer time; during which Chanda Sahib laid the first foundation of his connections with the French Government in that city; from hence they marched to Trichinopoly." The Jesuit missionaries, as shewn by⁸⁵ Nelson, ascribe an even more barefaced ambition to the Nawab. They say that he was really desirous of creating a principality at the expense of his tributary kingdoms for his son, and that with this view he sent an army on a sort of roving commission against Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Travancore. The imperial army first stormed and captured Tanjore⁸⁶ and placed it under Bode Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib. It then marched south, towards the regions of the Vaigai and Tambraparni, attacked Travancore, laid waste the West coast and at length reached Trichinopoly. Wilks gives a different version. He says that Baṅgāru Tirumala and Venkatarāghavāchārya made themselves, "with the concealed aid, of the Mahratta Raja of Tanjore," so formidable that Minākshi "was driven to the desperate resource of soliciting the aid of the Nawab of Arcot. An army under the command of Safder Ali, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the Nawab, with Chanda Sahib as his Civil Dewan and military second in command, moved over the province, ostensibly for the ordinary purpose of enforcing the collections of the revenue, and approached Trichinopoly to afford the promised⁸⁷ aid."

Safdar Ali's Decision against Minākshi.

All these authorities thus, while differing in details, agree, in that Trichinopoly was the ultimate goal of the imperialists. The arrival of the Muhammadans struck terror into the hearts of both the parties there. The most prudent policy would have been to ignore for the time all domestic quarrels and engage the common foe with one mind and interest. But the shortsighted ambition of both the parties stood in the way of united action and patriotic defence. We do not know who was the first⁸⁸ to call in the Musalman help. The *Hist. of the Carn. Govts.* ascribes the crime to Minākshi; but Mr. Nelson, contrary to its evidence, attributes the initiative to Baṅgāru Tirumala. With an inordinate haste to claim the favour of early submission, he says, he sent a deputation to Safdar Ali proposing that, in case the latter seized Minākshi, kept her in captivity, and handed over the kingdom to himself, he would satisfy the greedy appetite of the Musalmans by paying 30 lakhs of rupees. Safdar Ali agreed, and would have fulfilled his agreement but for the timely precaution which Minākshi in her instinct of self-preservation had taken. With a numerous and faithful band of followers, she awaited, in the citadel of Trichinopoly, the attack of the Muhammadans with calm determination. Safdar did not think it possible, or

⁸⁴ *Madu. Manual.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ it must have been under the rule of Tukoji, the 3rd son of Venkoji, the founder of the dynasty. For details see *Tanjore Manual*; *Tanjore Gazr.*, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁷ Wilks, I, p. 155.

⁸⁸ The Madura chronicles generally speak as though Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib came from Arcot purposely to decide the dispute between Minākshi and Baṅgāru. This is not accurate; for we have already seen that they had other motives and attractions.

perhaps advisable, to force his way through such an obstacle. He was convinced either of the futility of his valour or, what was more probable, of the expediency of diplomacy in place of force. He therefore changed his tactics, assumed ingeniously the rôle of an arbitrator, and called on the two parties to submit their disputes to his decision. After a full enquiry into the justice of the claims of the respective parties, he decided that the fort and the kingdom belonged as of right to Baigârû; that as Minākshi was childless, she and her brothers had no claim to the administration; that being the dowager-queen, she must be given all those attentions which had been given in the time of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha; that her brother and other followers should be similarly treated; that the jewels, etc., and the money which formed her own property should be hers; and, as for the rest, the palace, the treasury, elephants, horses, etc.,—these should be handed over to Baigârû Tirumala. Safdar Ali Khan further settled the tribute at 30 lakhs of rupees, and fixed the time of payment: all of which he got in writing from⁸⁰ Baigârû."

Minākshi's Alliance with Chanda Sahib.

It was a decision, in Mr. Taylor's opinion,⁸⁰ highly equitable though not disinterested. But to Minākshi, its justice or impartiality would hardly have appealed. She accordingly, we may be sure, hesitated or refused to acknowledge and bow to it; and Safdar Ali, seeing that the condition of affairs⁸¹ was not likely to be easily settled, left the enforcement of his decision to his brother-in-law, Chanda Sahib, and withdrew to his capital. The partisans of Minākshi then approached Chanda Sahib and proposed that, if he left Trichinopoly in her hands and recognised her to be the lawful ruler, they would pay him, what he demanded, a crore of rupees. Not satisfied with the words of the Muhammadan general, they insisted with caution that he should take the oath of alliance and fidelity with the Koran in his hands on the banks of the sacred Kāveri. Chanda Sahib, with ready and characteristic unscrupulousness, resolved to resort to an act of deceit, and realise his object of seizing Trichinopoly for himself. He therefore readily agreed to take the oath, but at the nick of time placed skilfully and stealthily, if we are to believe Col. Wilks, a brick, hidden under splendid and glittering coverings, in place of the holy Koran, and with a face of solemn honesty and sincere loyalty, swore in the presence of Perumāl Nāidu, in the Daḷavāi Maṅṅapa, absolute and unswerving support to the queen's⁸² cause. The simple and incredulous mind of Minākshi was immensely satisfied with this proof, and she at once threw open the gates of the city to her ally. She little dreamed that what she considered to be the irrevocable words of an honest man were sham demonstrations of affected loyalty.

(To be continued.)

⁸⁰ *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* Wilson also mentions the same thing, but he does not speak about Safdar Ali's tactics. He simply says that he decided in Baigârû's favour.

⁸¹ *O. H. MSS.* II.

⁸² Wilson's account of the whole affair is superficial.

⁸³ The *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* says that he simply took the oath to that effect. The Telugu *Carna. Dynas.* says that he took it with the Koran. Wilks says that it was not really the Koran, but brick. (Wilks, I., p. 155).

MISCELLANEA.

KĀLIDĀSA AND KĀMANDAKA.

THE date of Kāmandaka has not yet been established. But it may be shown, that he lived before Kālidāsa, inasmuch as the latter seems to have utilised the former's work *Nṛisāra*. The 35th śloka of the 4th canto of the *Raghuvamśam* runs thus:

Anamrūḍhā samuddhartuś-tasmāt śindhurayād-iva

Ātmā saivrakṣitah Sahmaihvṛttim-āśritya vait-asmīn.

Compare the above with the following quotation from *Kāmandakīya* :¹

Samākrānto balaratā kṛkṣh-ann-abhrāntinīy-īriyaḥ

Śrayeta vaitasīḥ vṛttim na bhujayati kadāchana.

From the above it is evident, that Kālidāsa borrowed from *Kāmandakīya* the passage relating to the policy to be adopted by a weak ruler, if he is confronted with a stronger foe. Now *Kāmandakīya* is based upon Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, in which also this policy is described.² But the language Kauṭilya used to express it is quite different from that used by Kāmandaka. In the place of the former's *vetasudharmā tisthet* there is *śrayeta vaitasīḥ vṛttim* in *Kāmandakīya*. These two passages, though expressing the same view; differ greatly in phraseology. There is, on the other hand, only a slight difference between the expression used by Kāmandaka and that used by Kālidāsa. Therefore, it stands to reason, that Kālidāsa borrowed from Kāmandaka and that he must be placed after Kāmandaka.

I may here take the opportunity to refer to the note contributed by Mr. P. V. Kane to this journal,³ in which he tried to show that Kāmandaka is posterior to Kālidāsa. In two ślokas⁴ Kālidāsa mentions certain advantages of hunting. But Kāmandaka's view of hunting is one of pessimism. He quotes a favourable view which is held by

others and according to which hunting should be practised by a Prince; and he also mentions in this connection the advantages which, they say, are the direct results of hunting.⁵ Now these advantages are the same as those selected by Kālidāsa. Kāmandaka, who is no admirer of hunting, condemns it, saying that it is the source of many evils, and as such ought not to be indulged in by kings for their own benefit. Now Mr. Kane concludes from this, that Kāmandaka here criticises the view of Kālidāsa. "The advantages of hunting selected by *Kāmandakīya Nṛisāra*," he says, "are almost the same as those pointed out by Kālidāsa. It seems, therefore, that Kāmandakī criticises the views of Kālidāsa." But it should be noticed that almost all the advantages of hunting that are set forth in the *Nṛisāra* are also to be found in the *Arthasāstra*. In the *Puruṣa-ryasamvarga* Kauṭilya says:

"Mṛigayāyāḥ tu vyāyāmah śleshma-pīṭa-meda-scedanāśāḥ chale sthira cha kāye laṅghaparichayaḥ kopasthāne hiteṣu cha mṛigandāḥ chittajānāmanity-ayānāḥ cheli." *Arthasāstra*, 327.

Kāmandaka, whose work is an epitome of the *Arthasāstra* writes:—

Jīvaśramatvaḥ vyāyāmah āma-meda-kapha-kṣayaḥ Chalaasthiresu lakṣyaṣu bāyasiddhiranulāmā.

Nṛisāra, 216.

Thus it is clear, that there is no reason to believe that Kāmandaka ever criticises Kālidāsa, when we find that almost all the merits of hunting mentioned by Kāmandaka and also by Kālidāsa had already been described by Kauṭilya in his *Arthasāstra*. We cannot infer, therefore, that Kāmandaka is posterior to Kālidāsa. On the other hand, because in describing the defeat of the Suhmas, Kālidāsa quotes the very language of *Nṛisāra*, we are justified in placing him after Kāmandaka.

NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

6. A present to an official.

13 November 1682. Consultation at Masulipatam. The Carkana of this Towne or Sub Governour wanting 3 yards of Broadcloth for a Pallenkeene Fingerree, [panjar, pānjrī, pinjri, framework, skeleton], sent to the Factory to buy it, but he being an officer that doth petty Justice, and some times our people upon severall small differences are forced to apply themselves to him, who has

allwayes behaved him selfe to us Civilly and respectfully, and the better to Continue his Friendship, now in a time of great business Coming on, the Councell thinke itt and order he be presented with the 3 yards of Broadcloth. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

Note.—In the copy of Masulipatam Consultations at Madras the official is given as the "Corkana" —Carcoon, karkhun, karkun, clerk, registrar, inferior revenue officer.

R. C. T.

¹ Edited by T. Ganapati Śāstri, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, 148.

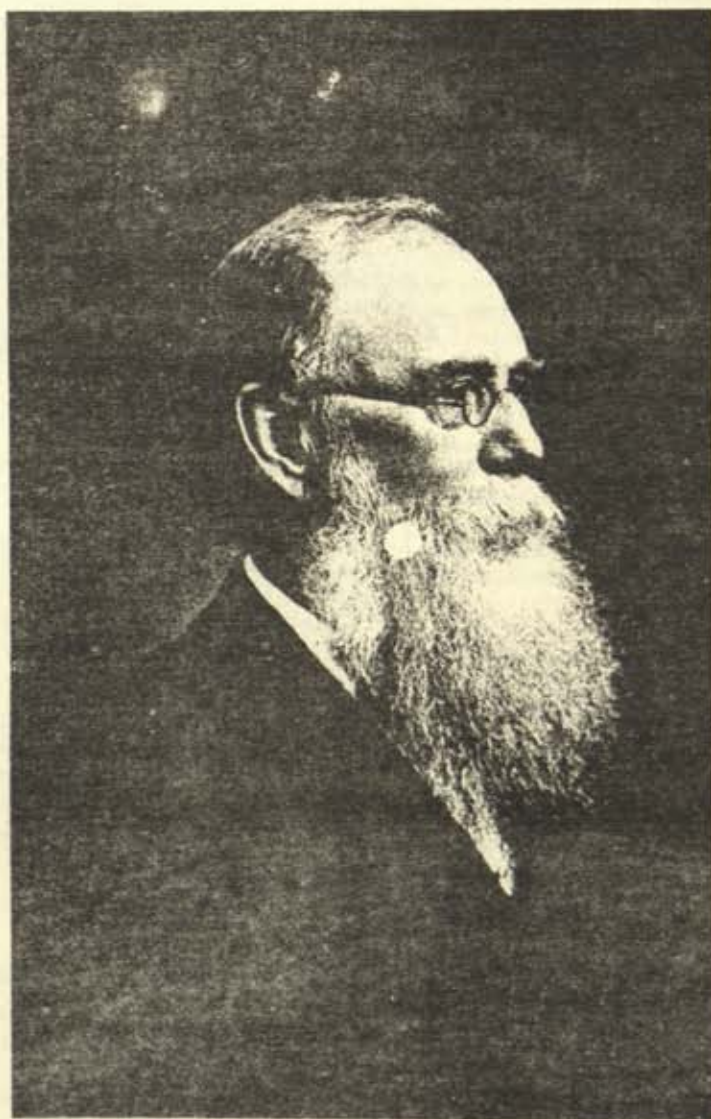
² *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, Edited by R. Shāma Śāstri (1909), 390.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XL, 236.

⁴ *Śakuntalā*, Act II, V. 5; *Raghuvamśa*, IX, 49.

⁵ *Nṛisāra*, XV, 25, 26.

JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.



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A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 204.)

ON February 16, I left Turfan for the Kuruk-tagh, and having secured from Singer Abdur Rahim's youngest brother as guide, examined several localities in the mountains westwards, such as Po-ch'êng-tzu and Shindi, where traces of earlier occupation were reported. The succession of remarkably rugged ranges and deeply eroded valleys, through which we had to thread our way, contrasted strikingly with the appearance of worn-down uplands presented by most of the Kuruk-tagh eastwards. I was able to map here a considerable extent of ground which had remained unsurveyed. Apart from another brother of Abdur Rahim, who was grazing his flocks of sheep in the gorge of Shindi, and a solitary Turki, who was taking supplies to a spot where a few Chinamen were said to dig for lead, we met no one. The absence of springs or wells precludes the regular use of what scanty grazing is to be found in the higher valleys. Yet in the Han Annals this westernmost portion of the Kuruk-tagh is referred to as a sporadically inhabited region under a separate chief.

Over absolutely barren gravel wastes I then made my way south-eastwards to the salt spring of Yardang-bulak, *recte* Dolan-achchik, at the extreme foot of the Kuruk-tagh, where wild camels were encountered in plenty. Taking my ice-supply from there, I proceeded by the second week of March into the waterless desert south, and mapped there the dried-up ancient river-bed, which once had carried the water of the Konche-darya to the Lou-lan sites, over the last portion of its course left unsurveyed last year. The season of sand-storms had now set in, and their icy blasts made our work here very trying. It was under these conditions, fitly recalling the previous year's experience at the Lou-lan cemeteries, that I explored two ancient burial-grounds of small size, which were found on clay terraces rising above the wind-eroded plain. The finds closely agreed with those which the graves, searched on the fortified *mesha* in the extreme north-east of Lou-lan, had yielded. There could be no doubt that the people buried here had belonged to the autochthonous population of hunters and herdsmen living along the 'Dry River' until the tract became finally desiccated in the fourth century A.D. The objects in these graves and the clothes of the dead strikingly illustrated how wide apart in civilization and modes of daily life these semi-nomadic Lou-lan people were from the Chinese frequenting the ancient high-road which passed by the dried-up river.

I had been eagerly looking out along the foot of the Kuruk-tagh for traces of Afrazgul, who was overdue, and had taken the precaution to leave messages for him under cairns. So it was a great relief when, the day after my return to Yardang-bulak, he safely rejoined me with his three plucky Turki companions, including doughty Hassan Akhum, my camel factotum, and Abdul Malik, a fourth hardy brother from Singer. Considering the truly forbidding nature of the ground they had to traverse, and the length of the strain put on our brave camels, I had reason to feel anxious about the safety of the party. Now I was cheered by the completeness with which Afrazgul had carried through the programme I had laid down for him. Having gained Altmish-bulak by the most direct route and taken his supply of ice there, he had explored certain ancient remains in the extreme north-east of the once watered Lou-lan area, for the examination of which I had been unable to spare time on last year's march.

He then struck out for the point where the ancient Chinese route had entered the salt-encrusted bed of the dried-up sea, and thence traced its shore-line to the south-west, until he reached, at Chainut-köl, the northern edge of the area, where the spring floods of the Tarim finally spread themselves out, to undergo rapid evaporation in lagoons and marshes. He arrived, as I had intended, just in time before the usual inundation could interfere with his progress. After a few days' rest, with water and grazing for the camels, he turned into the wind-eroded desert north, and traced more remains of the ancient settlement discovered a year before along the southernmost branch of the 'Dry River.' Finally, after crossing an area of formidable high dunes, he gained the foot of the outermost Kuruk-tagh. From this exceptionally difficult exploration, which had kept the party from contact with any human being for a month and a half, Afrazgul brought back, besides interesting archaeological finds, an accurate plane-table survey and detailed diary records. It is impossible here to discuss the results. But, when considered with those which the previous year's surveys had yielded, they will, I feel confident, help to show the so-called Lop-nor problem in a new light.

We subsequently moved west to the point known as Ying-p'an, where the ancient bed of the Kuruk-darya is crossed by the Turfan-Lop track. I made use of a short halt there for exploring the interesting remains of a ruined fort and small temple site, found some miles beyond at the debouchure of the dried-up stream of Shindi, and first noticed by Colonel Kozloff and Dr. Hedin. The finds we made here of fragmentary Kharoshthi records on wood and of Han coins were important as proving that the ruins belonged to a fortified station occupied during the early centuries of our era when the ancient Chinese high-road coming from Lou-lan passed here. The station was meant to guard an important point of the route where it must have been joined by the road leading up from Charchan and Charkhlik. That it held a Chinese garrison became evident from the remains we found on clearing some well-preserved tombs in a scattered cemetery near by. There was definite evidence showing that the site abandoned for many centuries had been reoccupied for a while during Muhammadan and relatively recent times. Now the water needed for irrigation is wholly wanting.

Proceeding from Ying-p'an I first surveyed in the desert westwards the ancient bed, still marked by its rows of dead fallen trees, in which the waters of the Konche-darya had once passed into the 'Dry River' of Lou-lan. My subsequent journey to Korla, by a route leading through the desert north-westwards, and first followed by Dr. Hedin in 1896, enabled me to explore the remains of an ancient line of watch-stations extending for over 100 miles along the foot of the Kuruk-tagh. These watch-towers, some of them remarkably massive and well preserved, showed the same characteristic features of construction with which my explorations along the ancient Chinese *Limes* of Kansu had made me so familiar. There can be little doubt, I think, that these towers date back to approximately the time (circ. 100 B.C.) when the Emperor Wu-ti had the route leading from Tun-huang towards Lou-lan protected by his wall and line of watch-stations. From the great height and intervening distances of the towers, as well as from other indications, it may be safely inferred that they were primarily intended for the communication of fire signals, such as are frequently mentioned in the early Chinese records I recovered from the Tun-huang *Limes*.

The need for such signalling arrangements must have been specially felt here, as it was mainly from the directions of Kara-shahr and Korla that the Hun raids must have proceeded, which we know from the Annals to have more than once threatened the Chinese hold upon Lou-lan and the security of their route to the Tarim Basin. With the gradual exten-

sion of Chinese political influence north of the Tien-shan these conditions must have changed, and subsequently the abandonment of the Lou-lan route, and the desiccation of the region it led through, must have greatly reduced the importance of this ancient line of communication along the Konche-darya. Yet the line marked by the towers appears to have continued in use as a high-road down to Tang times, as was shown by the finds of coins, torn documents on paper, etc., we made on clearing the refuse heaps near them.

My visit to the quasi-peripatetic modern colony of Kara-kum on the upper Konche-darya gave me opportunities for curious observations about irrigation conditions and Chinese administrative methods; but I cannot pause to describe them. At the large and flourishing oasis of Korla, higher up the river, I had soon the satisfaction of seeing, by the beginning of April, our four surveying parties safely reunited. Lal Singh had succeeded in carrying his triangulation from Singer through the western Kuruk-tagh to the snow-covered peaks north of Korla. His dogged perseverance had triumphed over exceptional difficulties, both from the very broken nature of the ground and the adverse atmospheric conditions, which a succession of the violent duststorms usual at this season had created. The reward was the successful linking I had aimed at, of the T'ien-shan range with the system of the Trigonometrical Survey of India.

From Korla we set out on April 6 in three separate parties for the long journey to Kashgar. Lal Singh's task was to keep close to the T'ien-shan and to survey as much of the main range as the early season and the available time would permit. Muhammad Yakub moved south across the Konche and Inchihe Rivers to the Tarim, with instructions to survey its present main channel to the vicinity of Yarkand. I sent most of our brave camels with him in order to let them benefit by the abundant grazing in the riverine after all the privations they had gone through. My own antiquarian tasks obliged me to keep in the main to the long line of oases, which fringes the south foot of the T'ien-shan and through which the chief caravan route of the Tarim basin still passes, just as it has always done since ancient times. Well known as this high-road is over which lay most of my journey to Kashgar, some 900 miles in length, the opportunities it gave for interesting observations, both on the historical geography and the present physical and economic conditions of this northern fringe of oases, were abundant. But here a brief reference to the result of my work round Kucha must suffice.

Three busy weeks spent within and around this historically important oasis enabled me, with Afrazgul's help, to survey both its actually cultivated area and that which, by the evidence of the numerous ancient sites found scattered in the scrubby desert to the east, south, and west, must have formed part of it. This survey, which archaeological finds of interest at a number of ruined sites usefully supplemented, has given me strong grounds for assuming that the area occupied in Buddhist times demanded for its cultivation irrigation resources greatly in excess of those at present available, of which I secured careful estimates. It seems to me clearly established that the discharge of the two rivers feeding the canals of Kucha has diminished considerably since Tang times. But the antiquarian evidence at present obtainable does not allow us definitely to answer the questions as to what extent this obvious "desiccation" was the direct cause for the abandonment of once irrigated areas, and at what particular periods it proceeded. Here I may also mention in passing that remains of the ancient Han route, in the shape of massive watch-towers, could be traced as far as Kucha, and that their position clearly indicated that the old caravan route had followed the same line as the present one.

After visiting a number of interesting Buddhist ruins in the district of Bai, I travelled to Aksu, where Lal Singh's and my own routes opportunely allowed a brief meeting. He had managed to carry his plane-table survey at three points up to the snow-covered watershed of the Tien-shan, including the glacier pass below the high massif of Khan-tangri. Help I secured from the obliging Tao-tai of Aksu subsequently enabled him to follow a new route on his way to Kashgar, between hitherto unexplored outer ranges of Kelpin.

Regard for urgent tasks obliged me to move in rapid marches to Kashgar, which was reached on 31 May 1915. There at my familiar base I was received with the kindest hospitality by Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Sir Percy Sykes, who had temporarily replaced Sir George Macartney as H.B.M.'s Consul-General. Though a shooting trip to the Pamirs soon deprived me of the congenial company of this distinguished soldier-statesman and traveller, I continued to benefit greatly by all the help and comfort which the arrangements made by him assured to me during my five weeks' stay at Chini-bagh.

The safe repacking of my collection of antiques, filling 182 heavy cases, for its long journey across the Kara-koram to Kashmir, and a host of other practical tasks kept me hard at work all through that hot month of June. In the midst of it I felt greatly cheered by receiving the final permission of the Imperial Russian Government for my long-planned journey across the Pamirs and the mountain north of the Oxus, which the kind offices of H.E. Sir George Buchanan, H.B.M.'s Ambassador at Petrograd, at the instance of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, had secured. Considering how long I had wished to see this extreme east of ancient Iran, and that part of the "Roof of the World" under which it shelters, I could not feel too grateful to the Imperial Russian Government for having showing this readiness to give me access to ground, which for the most part had never before been visited by any British traveller. Its diplomatic representative at Kashgar, Consul-General Prince Mestchersky, lost no chance of facilitating the arrangements for my journey by kind recommendations to the Russian authorities across the border. But throughout it was a great comfort to feel, during that time of preparation, and still more on actual travel, how much of that kind help and attention I directly owed to Lord Hardinge, and the alliance of the British and Russian Empires he had done so much to render possible.

By 6 July 1915 I was able to leave Kashgar for the mountains westwards, after having completed all arrangements for the passage of my eighty heavy camel-loads of antiques to India. But the summer floods in the Kum-lun valleys, due to the melting glaciers, would not allow the valuable convoy to be started at once towards the Kara-koram passes. So R. B. Lal Singh, to whose care I had to entrust it, had set out in the meanwhile to complete our topographical labours in Turkestan by a careful survey of the high snowy mountains, which continue the Muztagh-ata range to the headwaters of the Kashgar River. Before he rejoined me for manifold final instructions I could enjoy a week of delightful seclusion for much urgent writing work, on a small fir-clad alp above the Kirghiz camp of Bostan-arche. Lower down in the valley my brave hardy camels had enjoyed weeks of happy grazing in coolness badly needed after all their long travel and trials. When the time came for my start, I confess I felt the final separation from them almost as much as the temporary one from my devoted Lal Singh. Of my other assistants, I kept by me only young Afrazgul, whom I knew to be ever useful, even where survey work or digging could not be done. The rest were to accompany my collection to India.

It was with a delightful sense of freedom that on July 19 I started from my mountain camp for the high Ulugh-art Pass and the Pamirs beyond. For across them the road lay now open for me to those mountain regions north of the Oxus, which by reason of their varied geographical interest and their ethnic and historical associations have had a special fascination for me ever since my youth. On the following day I crossed the steep Ulugh-art Pass, about 16,200 feet above sea-level, flanked by a magnificent glacier some 10 miles long. There I felt duly impressed with the fact that I had passed the great meridional mountain barrier, the ancient Imaos, which divided Ptolemy's "Inner" and "Outer Scythia," as in truth it does now Iran and Cathay. The same night, after a 33 miles' walk and ride I reached the camp of Sir Percy Sykes returning from the Pamirs, and next day enjoyed a time of happy reunion with him and his sister, that well-known traveller and writer, Miss Ella Sykes.

Five days of rapid travel then carried me over the northernmost Chinese Pamirs and up the gorge of the westernmost headwaters of the Kashgar River, until I struck the Russian military road to the Pamirs on the Kizil-art Pass where it crosses the Trans-Alai range. At the little rest-house of Por-döbe, which I reached that evening on my descent from the pass, I soon received most encouraging proof of the generous and truly kind way in which the Russian political authorities were prepared to facilitate my travels. There I had the good fortune to meet Colonel I. D. Yagello, who holds military and political charge of the Pamir Division, including now also Wakhan, Shughnan, and Roshan; he was then just passing on a rapid visit to Tashkend. I could not have hoped even on our side of the Hindu-kush border for arrangements more complete or effective than those which proved to have been made on my behalf by this distinguished officer. It was for me a great additional pleasure to find in him an Oriental scholar deeply interested in the geography and ethnography of the Oxus regions, and anxious to aid whatever investigations could throw fresh light on their past. It was mainly through Colonel Yagello's unfailing aid that I succeeded in covering so much interesting ground, far more than my original programme had included, within the available time and without a single day's loss. I shall always look back with sincere gratitude to his friendly interest and all the generous help which he and his assistants, officers at the several Russian Pamir posts, gave me.

One of the chief objects which I had in view, when planning this extension of my journey across the Pamirs and the Russian territories on the Oxus, was to study there questions of historical geography, in the way which experience elsewhere in the East had taught me to be the best, i.e., on the spot. Hence it was a special satisfaction to me that at the very start I was able to march down the whole length of the big Alai Valley, a distance of over 70 miles. In the topographical configuration, climatic conditions, and local resources of this great Alpine basin I could trace additional indications supporting the belief that through this wide natural throughfare, skirting the northern of the Pamirs from east to west, passed the route which the ancient silk traders from China followed down to the Middle Oxus, as outlined by that much-discussed record of classical geography where Marinus of Tyre describes the progress in the opposite direction of the agents of "Maës the Macedonian" from Bactria to the great silk mart in "the country of the Seres" or China. Similar observations make it appear to me very probable that the famous "Stone Tower" mentioned in that record must be located at or near Daraut-kurghan, a small Kirghiz village and now a

Russian frontier customs post, where the route up the main Kara-tegin Valley emerges upon the Alai. It is the only direct one between Bactria and Eastern Turkestan which is practicable throughout for laden camels.

From Daraut-kurghan, where our supplies could conveniently be replenished, I turned south to strike across the succession of high snowy ranges which separate the headwaters of the Muk-su and the rivers of Roshan and Shughnan from the uppermost Oxus. It was the only route, apart from the well-known one leading across the Kizil-art and past Lake Kara-kul, by which I could cross the Russian Pamirs and their western buttresses from north to south, and this accounted for my choosing it. But it proved a distinctly difficult route to follow, even with such exceptionally hardy animals as Colonel Yagello's orders secured for me from the rare Kirghiz camps encountered. There was, however, abundant reward in the mass of interesting geographical observations to be gathered, and in the splendid views which it offered into a region of permanent snow and ice, little explored and in parts still unsurveyed.

As far as the Tanimaz River, a large tributary of the Bartang or Murghab River, our route led past a grand glacier-clad range, vaguely designated as Sel-tagh or Muz-tagh, and still awaiting exact survey, which forms, as it were, the north-western buttress of the Pamirs. Rarely have my eyes in the Himalaya, Hindukush, or Kun-lun beheld a sight more impressive than the huge glacier-furrowed wall of the Muz-tagh, as it rose before me with magnificent abruptness above the wide torrent beds of the Muk-su, after I had crossed the Tars-agar, our first pass from the Alai. Its boldly serrated crest-line seemed to rise well above 20,000 feet, and individual ice-peaks may reach a considerably greater height. No approximately exact elevations seem so far to have been determined with the theodolite or clinometer for this and some other prominent ranges towering above the western portion of the Pamirs, and neither Afrazgul nor myself could help feeling again and again regret at the obvious considerations which precluded our attempting survey work however modest in scope. Subsequently it was a real satisfaction to come across evidence of the systematic triangulation work which the Topographical Service of Russian Turkestan has been extending over the Pamirs for some years past, and to learn that it was steadily being continued in spite of the war.

Our direct route past the Sel-tagh would have led up the valley by which the Zulum-art and Takhta-koram passes, giving access to the Kara-kul and Tanimaz drainage areas, are approached. But the floods fed by the huge Sel-darra Glacier completely close this route from spring-time till the late autumn, just as they render the track lower down the Muk-su quite impracticable for the greater part of the year.¹ So we were obliged to make our way first over the glacier pass, *circ.* 15,100 feet high, at the head of the Kayindi Gorge. The latter proved to be completely blocked in places by ancient moraines and offered very difficult going. Here, as elsewhere, in the high mountains west of the Pamirs, evidence could be noted of glaciation having considerably receded during recent times.

Beyond the Kayindi the ground assumed a much easier Pamir-like character, and after crossing the Takhta-koram Pass, *circ.* 14,600 feet, we reached on August 8 the first encamp-

¹ This Muk-su Gorge is in places, even during winter, too difficult for laden animals. To find it actually marked in a recent cartographical representation as traversed by the ancient silk trade route seemed an illustration of the risks which beset the work of the historical geographer, when it has to be done solely in the study.

ment of Kirghiz grazing in the open valleys to the south-west of the Great Kara-kul. Having obtained there fresh transport from imposing old Kokan Beg, the Ming-bashi of the northern Pamirs, and having started my anthropometric work, I moved down the Tanimaz Valley to its junction with that of the Murghab or Bartang River. Here at the picturesque hamlet of Saunab, the Tashkurghan of the Kirghiz, I reached the first Iranian-speaking settlement of hill Tajiks or Ghalchas, all fine-looking men. Their ethnic type of pure *Homo Alpinus*, their old-world customs, preserved by alpine isolation, and the survival of much that seems ancient in domestic architecture, decorative motifs, etc., interested me greatly and amply justified a day's halt, which allowed me to secure anthropological measurements and arrange for the load-carrying men we needed.

The only route open to us for reaching the southern Pamirs led up by the Bartang River, and progress in its narrow gorges proved exceptionally trying owing to the results of the great earthquake of 18 February 1911, which had transformed the surface of this mountain region in a striking fashion. Already on the lower Tanimaz we had come upon huge masses of rock débris which had been thrown down from the slopes of the flanking spurs and now spread for miles across the open valley bottom. Here in the defiles of the Bartang the huge landslides attending that memorable earthquake had choked up in many places the whole river passage and practically destroyed what tracks there ever existed along or above it. The big river once rivalling in volume the main feeder of the Oxus, the Ab-i-Panja, had here ceased altogether to flow. Strings of deep alpine tarns, with colours of exquisite beauty, had replaced it here and there and helped to increase the difficulties of progress. It took three days' hard scrambling along steep spurs, almost impassable for load-carrying men, and over vast slopes of rock débris spread out in wildest confusion, to get beyond the point near the mouth of the Shedau side valley where the fall of a whole mountain has completely blocked the river, and converted the so-called "Sarez Pamir" into a fine alpine lake over 15 miles long now and still spreading up the valley.²

Enormous masses of rock and detritus had been shaken down from the range on the north and had been pushed by the impetus of the landslip up the steep spur flanking the Shedau debouchure. They had thus formed a huge barrage, which even now seemed to rise more than 1200 feet above the level of the new Sarez Lake, and is likely to dam it up for years, if not for centuries. It cost another day's stiff, and in places risky, scramble before we succeeded in getting the baggage safely across the few miles of precipitous rock slopes and dangerous débris-shoots above the Yerkht inlet. Fortunately the men collected from the uppermost hamlets of the Roshan Valley proved all excellent cragsmen and quite expert in building *rafaks*, or galleries of brushwood and stones, along otherwise impassable precipices.

Opportunately succoured by Kirghiz ponies, which had been sent from the Alichur Pamir to meet us, we crossed the Langar Pass, close on 15,000 feet above the sea, by August 20. It gave us easy access to the Yeshil-köl Lake, where I found myself on ground of varied geographical interest. I can mention only two points here and those in all briefness. On the one hand, with the experience gained at the newly formed big lake fresh before me, it

² In an important paper (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, clx. pp. 810 *seq.*, Paris, 1915), reference to which I owe to Mr. E. Heawood's kindness, Prince B. Galitzine has shown strong reasons for the belief that the Sarez landslide was not the consequence but the cause of the earthquake of 18 February 1911, which was registered at many distant seismological stations. This earthquake is declared to present an exceptionally interesting case where the epicentre can be proved to coincide with the hypocentre itself.

was easy to recognize those topographical features which clearly point to the Yeshil-köl having derived its existence from a similar cataclysm at some earlier period. To the eyes of the non-geologist the formation of the Buruman ridge, which closes the western end of the lake, seemed to bear a close resemblance to the newly formed barrage which has created the Sarez Lake. Of glacier action, which might have produced the same result, I could see no trace on either side of the Yeshil-köl exit. On the other hand, what I observed on my way up the open Alichur Pamir, and subsequently in the Shughnan Valley below it, bore clear evidence to the advantages which the route leading through them had offered for Chinese expansion to the Upper Oxus and Badakhshan, ever since Kao Hsien-chih's memorable Pamir and Hindukush campaign of A.D. 747.

Having crossed the Bash-gumbaz, our fourth pass over 15,000 feet since leaving the Alai, I descended to the glittering big expanse of Lake Victoria or Zor-köl, where the Great Pamir branch of the Oxus rises, and the Pamir borders of Russia and Afghanistan meet. Ever since my youth I had longed to see this, the truly "Great" Pamir and its fine lake, famous in early local legends, and the "Great Dragon Lake" of the old Chinese pilgrims. As I looked across its deep blue waters to where in the east they seemed to fade away on the horizon, I thought it quite worthy to figure in early tradition as the legendary central lake from which the four greatest rivers of Asia were supposed to take their rise. It was a delightful sensation to find myself on ground closely associated with the memories of those great travellers, Hsüan-tsang, the saintly Chinese pilgrim-geographer, Marco Polo, and Captain Wood, the first modern explorer of the Pamir region.

The day of halt, August 27, spent by the sunny lake-shore, undisturbed by any sign of human activity, was most enjoyable, in spite of the bitterly cold wind sweeping across the big alpine basin, *circa* 13,400 feet above sea-level. It allowed me to gather local information, which once more confirmed in a striking fashion the accuracy of the Chinese historical records. In describing Kao Hsien-chih's expedition across the Hindukush, the T'ang Annals specially mention the concentration of the Chinese forces by three routes from east, west, and north, upon Sarhad, the point on the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, which gives direct access to the Baroghil and Darkot Passes. The routes from the east and west, *i.e.*, down and up the Ab-i-Panja Valley, were clear beyond all doubt. But of the northern route no indication could be traced in maps or books, and the existence of a pass, vaguely mentioned in native intelligence reports as possibly leading to Sarhad, across the high snowy range south of the Great Pamir, had been denied by members of the British Boundary Commission of 1895 who visited this region.

It was hence a pleasant surprise when inquiries from two much-travelled Kirghiz among our party elicited definite and independent evidence as to an old track still used by Tajik herdsmen, which leads from Sarhad across the range to the glacier-filled head of the Shor-jilga Valley, clearly visible from Lake Victoria, and thence down to the western shore of the latter. All I could observe through my glasses, and what I had seen in 1906 from the other side of the mountain range, seemed to plead for the accuracy of the Kirghiz' information. My only regret was the impossibility of testing it on the spot. This, alas, would have necessitated my trespassing on His Afghan Majesty's territory. How often did I later on, too, look wistfully across the boundary drawn by the River Oxus with the fond wish that I might yet be allowed to pass "through the gate of favour" into those fascinating valleys and mountains on the Afghan side of the border, which I was now able to skirt for hundreds of miles!

Three rapid marches down the Great Pamir River then carried me to Languar-kisht, where we reached the main Oxus Valley, and the highest of the villages on the Russian side of the river. Here, too, everything was done by the Commandant of the Russian frontier post and the local Wakhi headmen to facilitate my journey. My subsequent journey down the Oxus was attended by an abundant harvest of observations bearing on the historical topography, archaeology, and ethnography of Wakhan, which in early times had formed an important thoroughfare between Bactria, India, and the Central-Asian territories controlled by China. But it would cost too much time and space if I attempted here to give any details. It must suffice to mention that the exact survey of a series of ruined strongholds, some of them *Very considerable extent*, acquainted me with numerous features of distinct archaeological interest in their plans, the construction and decoration of their bastioned walls, etc. The natural protection offered by unscalable rock faces of spurs and ravines was always cleverly utilized in these defences. But some idea of the labour, which even thus their construction must have cost, can be formed from the fact that at one of these strongholds, known as Zamr-i-Atish-parast, the successive lines of walls, with their bastions and turrets solidly built in rough stone or in sun-dried brick, ascend the slopes of a precipitous spur rising to an elevation of close on 1000 feet, and have an extent of more than 3 miles.

It is certain that these hill fastnesses date back to pre-Muhammadan times and to a period when this portion of the Oxus Valley contained a population far denser than at present and enjoying a higher degree of material civilization. Their attribution by the present Wakhi people to the "Siahposh Kafirs" merely gives expression to a vague traditional recollection that they date back to times before the advent of Islam, the "Siahposh" of Kafiristan south of the Hindukush never having reached the stage of civilization which these ruins presuppose. Some architectural details seemed to suggest a period roughly corresponding to late Indo-Scythian or early Sassanian domination, during which our scanty records from Chinese sources indicate that Wakhan enjoyed a state of relative affluence and importance.

All along the big valley of Wakhan there opened glorious vistas to the south, where towering above narrow side valleys, and quite near, appeared magnificent ice-clad peaks of the Hindukush main range, looking just as early Chinese pilgrims describe them, like peaks of jade. I realized now what an appropriate invention the "popular etymology" was, which in Muhammadan times has connected the old and much-discussed name of *Bolor*, vaguely used for the Hindukush region, with the Persian *billa'ur*, meaning crystal. The effect was much heightened by the unexpectedly verdant appearance which the cultivated portion of Wakhan still presented at that season, in spite of the elevation from 8,000 to over 10,000 feet above sea level, and doubly welcome after the bleak Pamirs. It was pleasant to note abundant evidence of how much the resources of the Wakhis on the Russian side of the valley had increased, both in respect of cattle and sheep and of land brought under cultivation, since annexation under the settlement arrived at by the Anglo-Russian Pamir Boundary Commission had removed all trouble from Kirghiz raids and Afghan exactions.

For all these reasons I felt glad that plentiful antiquarian and anthropometric work kept me busy in Wakhan during the first half of September. To this was added a philological task when, on entering that portion of the valley which adjoins the great northward end of the Oxus and is known as the tract of Ishkashim, I could collect linguistic specimens of the hitherto unrecorded *Ishkashmi*, one of the so-called Pamir dialects which form an

important branch among the modern representatives of the Eastern Iranian language group. At the pretty little Russian post of Nun, which faces the main settlement of Ishkashmi, I enjoyed the kind hospitality of Captain Tumanovich, its commandant, and benefited much by his local knowledge and help. Then I passed down the Oxus through the very confined portion of the valley known as Garan, which until the recent construction of a bridle-path with Russian help was ground very difficult of access, even on foot, and visited Colonel Yagello's headquarters at Kharuk. It lies at the fertile debouchure of the Shughnan valleys, where the cart road now crossing the Pamirs ends, and proved a very pleasant spot, boasting of fine fruit gardens, and to my surprise, even of electric light.

The relative abundance of fertile arable land, and the facility of communication both with the Pamirs and the rich grazing uplands of Badakhshan, have always given to the valleys of Shughnan a certain historical importance. They figure often in Chinese and early Muhammadan accounts of the Middle Oxus region. So I was glad to visit in succession the two main valleys of Shakh-darra and Ghund. Considering that the Shughni people have always been noted for their fondness for roaming abroad, in the old days as raiders, and are now as pedlars and servants to be found in all towns from Kabul to Farghana, it was interesting to observe how much of old-world inheritance in ethnic type, local customs, domestic architecture, and implements has survived among them.

From Shitam in the Ghund Valley I crossed by a distinctly difficult glacier pass, over 16,000 feet high, into Roshan. From the watershed, overlooking large and badly crevassed glaciers both to north and south, I enjoyed a glorious vista over the rolling uplands of Badakhshan, a region towards which my eyes have been turned for many years, and to which access still remains closed. The narrow, deep-cut gorges in which the Roshan River has cut its way through towering mountain masses, wildly serrated above and very steep at their foot, proved a line of progress even more troublesome than the glacier across which we had reached them. A two days' climbing and scrambling past precipices by narrow rock ledge and frail galleries (*awrinz*), as bad as any I ever saw in the Hindukush, was relieved in places by the use of skin-rafts, where the absence of dangerous cataracts allowed their employment. Guided by dexterous swimmers, they made me glide down over the tossing river, forgetful of all fatigue, in scenery of impressive grandeur, amidst rock-walls which ever seemed to close in upon us. But it was a real relief when the last rock gate was passed, and we emerged once more in the less-confined valley of the Oxus.

Roshan, just as it is the least accessible of all the side valleys of the Oxus, seems also to have preserved the *Homo Alpinus* type of the Ghilchas in its greatest purity. The men, clean of limb and made wiry by constant movement over such impossible tracks, all showed clear-cut features, and often faces of almost classical regularity. The hamlets nestling at the mouth of the ravines were often half hidden amidst splendid orchards. The dwellings invariably showed plans and internal arrangements which were obviously derived from high antiquity, so many of the features being familiar to me from the architecture traced at early sites of Turkestan and the Indian North-West. Alpine seclusion seemed to have preserved here a small corner of the world scarcely touched by the change of ages, and I wondered whether some Bactrian Greek on a visit to Roshan would have seen much that was different from what these simple well-built dwellings show now.

After a busy delightful day's halt at Kala-Wamar, in the garden of the ruined castle of the Shughnan chiefs, I crossed the glacier pass of Adude and made my way into the Yazghulam and Vanj valleys of Darwaz, where the territory of the Amir of Bokhara was entered.

Here, too, the recommendation of the Imperial Russian political representative, Consul Belaieff, had assured me all possible attention and help. As I travelled up the Vanaj Valley, and subsequently through the mountain tract known as Wakhia-bala, I could not observe the gradual change in the physical appearance, houses, ways of living, etc., of the people, bearing testimony to the historically attested conquest of Turki tribes and the influence exercised by the civilization of the Turkestan plains. But we were still high up in the mountains, and had a trying task when on October 3 we crossed the Sitargh Pass, *circ.* 14,600 feet high, with its big and badly crevassed glacier, after the first winter snow had fallen, and just in time before it became closed to traffic. Finally, we gained by the Gardan-i-kaftar Pass, also under fresh snow, the main valley of Kara-tegin.

Here on the banks of the Kizil-su River, coming from the Alai, I found myself once more on the line of the ancient silk-trade route connecting China with Bactria. A marked change in the climatic conditions was brought home to me by the fact that the fertile slopes on the hillsides are being cultivated without the need of irrigation. Kara-tegin, as its modern name attests, had been long occupied by a Turki-speaking population. It was interesting to note here how the Kirghiz settlers, who represent probably the last wave of this Turkish invasion in what was originally Iranian ground, are now being slowly ousted again from the land by a steady reflux of Tajik immigrants.

From Kara-tegin, where I had interesting opportunities for getting to know the traditional administrative methods of Bokhara, a succession of rapid marches carried me westwards through the open and remarkably fertile valleys which the rivers of Kafirnihan and Surkhan drain. It seemed hard to forego a visit south to the Oxus, where it passes nearest to my old goal of Balkh or Bactra. But time was getting short for the remaining portion of my programme. So I took the nearest route to the confines of ancient Sogdiana north-westwards by the difficult track through the mountains which connects Hissar and Regak with the rich plains about Shahr-i-sabz. Finally, on October 22, I arrived at Samarkand and the Russian Central-Asian railway. Since the start from my camp in the Kashgar Mountains my journey had lasted just over three months, and within these we had covered on foot and on horseback an aggregate distance of close on 1700 miles.

A new and distant field of work lay ahead for me on Persian soil. So only a few days could be spared for renewed visits to the great monuments of Muhammadan art and Mughal power at Samarkand. It was the same at Bokhara, where I could personally thank M. Shulga, then officiating as the Imperial Russian representative, as well as the Diwan-begi, the head of H. H. the Amir of Bokhara's administration, for all the kind help and hospitality I had received in the State. So much survives, in that fascinating great city, of old-world Central-Asian life and of its own historical past that my three days' stay seemed a sadly brief time. Then the Trans-Caspian railway carried me to Askhabad, the great Russian cantonment on the Persian border, and crossing this I reached Meshed by November 4 after a four days' hard drive.

There, at the old capital of Khorasan, Colonel T. W. Haig, H. B. M.'s Consul-General for Khorasan, and a distinguished Oriental scholar, offered me the kindest welcome and the chance of a much-needed short rest. Under the hospitable roof of the Consulate and within its fine large garden I felt as if brought back to some English country house. Constant toil at much delayed official accounts kept me busy and, alas, left little time for glimpses of the interesting city outside. Seistan was my goal for the winter's work, and considering its great distance and the uncertain state of political affairs in Persia, I had much reason to feel grateful for the kind help and shrewd advice by which Colonel Haig facilitated my rapid onward journey.

On November 11 I left Meshed for Seistan. In order to reach it I had chose a route which, keeping off the main roads, gave opportunities for useful supplementary survey work and offered the further advantage of being the most direct. It first took us by little-frequented tracks through hills held by Hazara and Baluch tribal settlements to Rui-Khaf. Thence we travelled south in an almost straight line parallel to the Perso-Afghan border, where it passes through a nearly unbroken succession of desert depressions and of equally barren hill ranges. Near a few of the little oases we passed, as at Mujnabad, Tabbas, and Duruh, I was able to examine remains of sites abandoned since early Muhammadan times. At Bandan we struck the high-road, and two days later, on December 1, reached Nasratabad, the Seistan "capital." The excellent Persian mules hired at Meshed had allowed us to cover the total distance of over 500 miles in nineteen marches. With the assistance of Afrazgul Khan a careful plane-table survey on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch was carried over the whole ground. The disturbed conditions of Persia due to the War made themselves felt also on the Khorasan border, ever a happy raiding-ground for enterprising neighbours. But owing, perhaps, to the rapidity of our movements and the unfrequented route chosen, the journey passed off without any awkward encounters.

Once safely arrived in Seistan I received a very kind and hospitable welcome from Major F. B. Prideaux, H.B.M.'s Consul in Seistan, and could quickly set to work with all the advantages which his most effective help and prolonged local experience assured me. Ever since my student days I had felt drawn to Seistan by special interests connected with its geography and historical past. It had been more than chance that my very first paper, published as long ago as 1885, dealt with the ancient river names of this Iranian border-land. My present visit to Seistan, long deferred as it was, could for various reasons be only a kind of reconnaissance. Yet even thus I might hope among its numerous ruined sites to discover remains of the early periods when ancient *Sacastana*, "the land of the Sacas or Scythians," served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near East towards Buddhist India. A strong additional reason was provided by my explorations in the Tarim Basin; for the striking analogy presented by various physical features of the terminal basin of the Helmand River was likely to throw light on more than one geographical question connected with the dried-up Lop Sea and the ancient Lou-lan delta.

It is a great satisfaction to me that in both directions my hopes have been fully justified by the results of my Seistan work. But it is only the most prominent that I can find space to record here in brief outlines. At the very start my archaeological search was rewarded by an important discovery. It was made on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-i-Khwaja, which rises as a conspicuous landmark above the central portion of the Hamuns or terminal marshes of the Helmand. The extensive and wellknown ruins situated on its eastern slope proved to be the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first ever traced on Iranian soil. Hidden behind later masonry, there came to light remarkable fresco remains, dating back undoubtedly to the Sassanian period. Wall paintings, of a distinctly Hellenistic style and probably older, were found on the wall of a gallery below the high terrace bearing the main shrine. Protected in a similar way from the ravages of man and atmospheric moisture they had unfortunately suffered much from white ants. The importance of these pictorial relics, which I managed to remove safely in spite of various difficulties, is great. They illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Græco-Buddhist art of the extreme north-west of India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflected with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest.

(To be continued.)

SOME INTERESTING PARALLELS.

BY HIRALAL AMRATLAL SHAH, B.A.

To begin with the use of the number 'forty', in the Vedic and non-Vedic literature.

(1) *Rig*°II, 12, 11, informs us that "Indra found out in the *fortieth* autumn, Śambara abiding in the hills":—

“यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं
चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्विन्दन् ।”

There is no convincing explanation why it should be the fortieth (autumn) and *nothing* more or less than that. Mr. Tilak's¹ hypothesis is well known and is considered to be highly ingenious. But as far as we know, it is not commonly accepted to be the right and final explanation. He construes the hymn differently, taking it to mean the fortieth day of the autumn and not the *fortieth* Autumn (=year).

We now transcribe passages where this number is used. First of all, we refer to the dramas of Shakespeare edited by Mr. Verity and also to his notes on the passages we select therefrom.

In *Hamlet*, we read:—

“Hamlet: ‘I lov'd Ophelia: *forty* thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity
Of love, make up my sum . . .’ (V, 1, 262, ff.)

“*forty*: cf. ‘sonnet’ 2 (Shakespeare's).

‘When *forty* winters shall besiege thy brow’,

‘Coriolanus,’ III, 1, 243:—

‘I could beat *forty* of them’, and the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,—I, 1, 205-6,

‘I had rather than *forty* shillings

‘I had my books of songs and sonnets here’;

“Other numbers, e.g., 3 and 13, have become significant through some ancient belief or historical event; and perhaps 40 gained some mysterious import through the scriptures. Thus the wanderings of the Israelites lasted *forty* years, the fast of our Lord *forty* days, likewise the fast of Elijah (1, Kings, XIX, 8) and the stay of Moses on the mount. (Exod., XXIV, 18).”

Mr. Verity adds here that the “Elizabethans use forty to imply indefinitely large number.” However, he changes his opinion a year later, commenting on a passage we are just giving, that *forty* is used constantly by Elizabethans apparently as a “significant number, where no precise reckoning was needed.”² This is a note on the lines in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 175-6,

‘Puck—‘I'll put a girdle round about the earth
In *forty* minutes.’

We now dispense with Shakespeare and turn to the European history. From Macaulay, we learn that in feudal times, *forty* days made up the period, for which, men were bound to serve in a war.

The most interesting parallels, according to us, lie in ‘the wanderings of the Israelites for *forty* years.’ and in the line of the Sonnet, “*forty* winters shall besiege thy brow.”

We can do no more than direct the attention of scholars to these instances. We shall now pass on to other cases where resemblance in thoughts and words is interesting.

¹ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 279 ff.

² [Forty is a common conventional number in ancient Jewish tradition and has been supposed to have originated in “forty years” as the conventional life of a generation.—Ed.]

About Dawn.

- (II) "चन्द्ररथा सूनृता ईरयन्ती ।³"
 "उषः प्रतीची भुवनानि विश्वो-
 ध्वां तिष्ठस्थसुतस्य केतुः ॥⁴"
 "अच्छा वो देवीमुपसं विभार्ति
 प्र वो भरध्वं नमसा सुवृक्तिम् ॥⁵"
 "उषो वाजेन वाजिनि प्रचेताः
 स्तोमं जुषस्व मृणतो मघोनि ।⁶"

—Rig° III, 61.

cf. with:—

"Thou in the moon's bright chariot proud and gay,
 Thou Scythian-like dost round thy lands above
 The sun's gilt tent for ever move
 And still as thou in pomp dost go
 The shining pageant of the world attend thy show.
 When Goddess, liftest up thy waken'd head
 Out of the morning's purple bed,
 Thy quire of birds about thee play
 And all the joyful world salutes the rising day."

—Abraham Cowley: *Hymn to Light*.

['The moon's bright chariot' corresponds to 'चन्द्ररथा' but according to Sāyanāchāryā, the word 'चन्द्र' means 'golden' and not 'moon'. The phrase अमृतस्य केतुः is to be found in the line 'The sun's gilt tent for ever move'; here, Sāyanā takes 'अमृत' to mean the 'sun.']

About Sunrise.

- (III) "यदेवमुक्त हरितः सधस्या-
 राद्राची वासस्तनुते सिमस्मै ।⁷"

—Rig° I, 115. 4.

cf. with Spencer's *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 2 and I, 2, 1 ff:—

"Scarcely had Phœbus in the glooming east
 Yet harnessed his fiery-footed teeme."
 "And cheerful chanticleer with his note shrill
 Had warned or ce that Phœbus' fiery car,
 In haste was climbing up the Eastern hill,
 Full envious that night so long his room did fill."

['Eastern hill' is the well-known 'उदयगिरि' ।]

- (IV) "मय्यो न योदान्मयोति पश्चात् ।⁸"
 "आप्रा यावापुयिषी अन्तरिक्षं ।⁹"

—Rig° I, 115, 1-2.

Translation of the Passages.

² "O Dawn, . . . on thy golden car; awaken the sweet notes of the birds." (Peterson.)

⁴ "O Dawn, before all the world thou risest up, the banner of immortality." (Peterson.) According to Sāyanā, "proclaimer of the (immortal) Sun."

⁵ "Come, bring to the shining Dawn your offering and bow down before her." (Peterson.)

⁶ "O Dawn, rich in blessing, wise and bountiful, accept the song of thy worshipper." (Peterson.)

⁷ . . . "For, when he yoked his horses from their stall, Night was spreading her garment over all." (Peterson.)

When he (Sun) draws away (from this world) his horses (rays), the Night covers everything with darkness. (Sāyanā.) [This passage is understood in different ways by different scholars. We cannot say how far the parallel can help us to clear the meaning.]

⁸ "The sun follows the divine and shining Dawn,) as a wooer follows his mistress." (Peterson.)

⁹ "Sūrya (Sun) has filled heaven, earth and the mid-sky." (Peterson.)

cf. with *Faerie Queen*, I, 5, 2:—

"And Phœbus, fresh as bridegroom to his mate
Came dancing forth, shaking his dewy hair
And hurled his glistening beam through gloomy air."

(V) "समानमर्थं चरणीयमाना" ¹⁰ —*Rig°* III, 61, 3.

cf. with "The welkin way most beaten plaine"—*Faerie Queen* I, 4, 9.

Miscellaneous.

(VI) "रघुमेव निवृत्तयौवनं तममन्यत नरेश्वरं प्रजाः" ¹¹ —*Raghu°* VIII, 5.

cf. with "He saw in Mahomet, with his old life-worn eyes a century old, the lost Abdallah come back again, all that was left of Abdallah."—(Carlyle's *Heroes*.—Hero as a Prophet)

There is some difference between the above two passages. The subjects (*prajā*) do not get old. Hence in the *Raghu°*, we do not expect to find the 'old life-worn eyes'; nor do we find 'all that was left of' because the departure of Raghu was quiet and peaceful leaving behind him nothing which would indicate hard times.

(VII) "गच्छति पुरः शरीरं भावति पथादसंस्तुतं चेतः ।
चीनांशुकनिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य ॥" ¹²

—*Śāk°* I, 29.

cf. with T. Moore's "*The Journey Onwards*":—

"As slow our ship her foamy track
Against the wind was cleaving,
Her trembling pennant still look'd back
To that dear isle 'twas leaving.
So loth we part from all we love,
From all the links that bind us;
So turn our hearts, as on we rove,
To those we have left behind us!"

[“प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य” may hint that the flag belongs to a ship and not to a chariot.]

The following sentence is taken from the *Uttarabhāga* of Kādambarī:—

(VIII) "शनैः शनैश्चन्द्रदर्शनाद्यन्तर्मन्त्रस्मिताया दशनप्रभेव ज्योत्स्ना निव्यवन्ती निशाया मुखशोभानकरोत्" ¹³
cf. with G. Wither's "*The Mistress of Philarete*":—

"When her ivory teeth she buries
Twixt her two enticing cherries, . . .
If you look again the whiles
She doth part those lips in smiles,
'Tis as when a flash of light
Breaks from heaven to glad the night."

(IX) "त्वं त्रीवितं स्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं
स्वं कामुखी नयनयोरमृतं स्वमङ्गे" ¹⁴

—*Uttararāmācharitam*, III, 26

cf. with R. Herrick's "*To Anthea*":—

"Thou art my life, my love, my heart,
The very eyes of me,
And hast command of every part
To live and die for thee."

¹⁰ "Moving to the old goal." (Peterson.) "Treading the old (usual) path." (Śāyaṇa.)

¹¹ "The subjects looked upon him their sovereign lord as Raghu himself returned to youth."

¹² "The body moves forward, the dull mind runs back like the flag of the staff carried against the wind."

¹³ "Gradually, the moonlight added beauty to the face of the Night on which a faint smile lurked on account of the appearance of the moon (her lover)."

¹⁴ "Thou art my life, my second heart; Thou art moonlight to my eyes, the nectar to my limbs."

Let us again return to the *Faerie Queen* (II, 13):—

- (X) "No tree whose braunches did not bravely spring;
No braunch whereon a fine bird did not sitt;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing;
No song but did containe a lovely ditt.
Trees, braunches, birds and songs, were framed fitt
For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease."

These lines remind us the first verse of the *Sukarambhâsavyâda*—

- "मार्गे मार्गे नूतनं वृत्तखण्डम्
खण्डे खण्डे कौकिलानां विरावः ।
रावे रावे मानिनी मानभङ्गः
भङ्गे भङ्गे मन्मथः पञ्चबाणः ॥ 15"
(XI) "कमप्यर्थं चिरं ध्यात्वा वक्तुं प्रस्फुरिताधराः ।
बाष्पस्तम्भितकण्ठस्थावनुनयैव वनं गताः ॥ 16"

—*Pratimâ*° of Bhâsa, II, 17.

This way Râma, Sitâ and Lakshmana went to forest according to Bhâsa. It is quite different in *Râmâyana*, wherein we read a long farewell message. Whether Bhâsa or some one else be the author of the dramas published by Mr. Ganapati Sâstri, the skill of the dramatist is quite evident. He has heightened to an extraordinary pitch the pathos of the situation by dropping the message altogether, and thus making it an indication of intense grief.

In *Râmâyana*, the farewell message was meant to show the feelings of grief; but by a stroke (we should consider it to be of the pen of a genius) it has been dropped, in spite of *Râmâyana*, simply to *express* the grief. That Râma went away without leaving a message behind him is sufficient to drive mad his affectionate father. We have come across many cases where Bhâsa puts aside older authorities, or historical facts. Here is one of them where he does so with great success and rare effect. We cite a parallel to the above verse of Bhâsa;

- "Neither could say farewell, but through their eyes
Grief interrupted speech with tears' supplies."

—T. Carew's "*A Pastoral Dialogue*:" last lines.

The following lines are perfectly oriental in sentiment, although we read them in the *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 36-7—

- (XII) "And to the knight his daughter dear he tied
With sacred rites and vows for ever to abide."
"His own two hands the holy knett did knitt
That none but death for ever can divide;
His own two hands, for such a turne most fit,
The houseling fire did kindle and provide,
And holy water thereon sprinkled wide; . . ."

"The houseling fire", we consider, is more connected with India and the Indian life than with any other race on the earth. Even in the drama of Shakespeare we read—

- "For in the temple, by and by, with us
These couples shall eternally be knit."—

—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, 1, 185-6.

Here the parallels come to an end. We hope their significance will not be lost upon the reader.

¹⁵ "On the road there are clusters of mangoe-trees and every such cluster resounds with the cooings of cuckoos; Every note of cuckoo makes the proud lady give up her pride: and with that, springs up (in her heart) the five-arrowed god."

¹⁶ "For a long time they thought: and (then) quivered their lids to utter something; but tears prevented their speech; hence, without uttering a word, they went away to forest."

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 219.)***Chanda's entry into Trichi and his aims.**

An evil day it was for Madura and its queen when Chanda Sahib made his entry into the Trichinopoly fort. It did not take long for Minākshi to find out that her friend was really her master, soon an enemy. For the love of power, she had sacrificed the unity of the State and invited the foreigners, and she now found that, in spite of her sacrifice, she was far from exercising power. Greedy and ambitious, Chanda Sahib could not check his interested diligence or voracious appetite. His soaring ambition longed for the time when the queen would be no more in his way, and when he could openly rule as the undisputed master of the region from the Kāveri to the Cape. True, he did not at first so behave as to divulge the desire of his heart. He had the wisdom to proceed with caution, to use the name of Minākshi in all his actions and proceedings, so as to divert suspicion and invite confidence. An analysis of Chanda Sahib's motive in this period of his life shows that he had three things in view. He wished first to overthrow Baigāru Tirumala in the name of Minākshi, so that the Madura kingdom would once again be a strong and united power and free from rebellion and treason. Secondly, the consolidation of Madura achieved, he hoped to depose Minākshi and place himself, in the capacity of the Nawab's lieutenant, on the throne of Trichinopoly. When this was done, he evidently hoped, as the last step of his ambition, to turn traitor to his master and declare himself an independent king. The first of these he expected to accomplish by acting in the name of Minākshi and by using the Nawab's countenance, the second by the Nawab's countenance alone, and the third, after his elevation, by his own unaided resources. Chanda Sahib was, in other words, actuated by a secret motive in every step and a secret understanding against everybody. To use Minākshi as the means of Baigāru Tirumala's destruction, then to use the Nawab's name against Minākshi, and then to use his new powers against his master, were the methods which his ambition inspired and planned. No better instance have we in history of a clever schemer who combined the victims and the agents of his ambition in such a skilful manner. The means of his elevation to-day were, according to his plan, to be the victims of his tyranny tomorrow. Self was the only God whom Chanda Sahib knew, and it is not surprising that he proved to be the evil genius of the Naik kingdom.

His tacit allowance of the partition of the kingdom.

In accordance with his plan Chanda Sahib seems to have,⁹³ as Mr. Nelson says, first advised Minākshi to sacrifice the life of her rival Baigāru, so that ostensibly there could be no scope for the progress of any rebellion in his name, but really that he himself might have a free hand in the administration of the kingdom. It seems that Minākshi displayed on this occasion, a rare generosity, and refused to do so. Ill-treated as she had been by her adopted child's father she apparently forgot or ignored the past, and refused to injure him in any way. Indeed, she did not only protect him by a noble act of oblivion, but evidently came to an understanding with him, by which, in a reasonable spirit of modera-

⁹³ Nelson no doubt based his account on the Telugu chronicle.

tion, she agreed to partition⁵⁴ the kingdom into two divisions, by which she was to live at Trichinopoly and get the revenues of the North as far as Dindigul, while Baṅgāru was to have his headquarters at Madura and rule the rest of the kingdom. The extent of Minākshi's conciliation can be imagined from the fact that she placed even her adopted son and ward under the protection of Baṅgāru Tirumala. It is not difficult to perceive in this extraordinary agreement that Minākshi was inspired not only by the desire not to stain the fair reputation of her name, but by her probable repentance of the past, and by her generous recognition that, after all, Baṅgāru was, next to her, the sole claimant to the throne, and that any harm or violation done to his person might result in the final ruin of the kingdom. It shews the triumph of reason over prejudice, of her wisdom over her selfishness. Chanda Sahib did indeed, for his own reasons, urge her to give up her generous behaviour and conciliatory policy, but neither her helpless state of dependence, nor the colour of plausible soundness which Chanda Sahib lent to his arguments, could deter her from resisting the unfortunate solicitation of the Musalman. And Chanda Sahib himself perhaps perceived that, in the then circumstances, the exercise of power in a portion of the kingdom by Baṅgāru was, after all, a service or rather than disservice to him; for the removal of Baṅgāru by death would necessarily betray his own designs and reveal his ambitions to the Nawab. On the other hand, the existence of Baṅgāru would, while strengthening his control over Minākshi, give him a security from the Nawab's displeasure,—a security all the more necessary for the maturity and success of his plans. Chanda Sahib therefore thought it better, in the long run, to acquiesce in the arrangements of Minākshi and the partition of the kingdom.

The intriguing temperament and the tortuous policy of Chanda Sahib however could not keep him quiet for a long time. He resolved at any cost, to overthrow Baṅgāru Tirumala, but he had not enough resources. Nor would the queen listen to him.⁵⁵ In 1735 therefore he returned to Arcot, with the idea of returning to Trichinopoly with reinforcements. It is not improbable that, during his sojourn at Arcot, he convinced the Nawab of the necessity of getting rid of the Nāik chieftain and that the Nawab, unable to look beyond his nose, consented. However it was, when Chanda Sahib returned to Trichinopoly in 1736 at the head of a large force, Queen Minākshi, alarmed by fear or ignorance of his real motive, admitted him. The historian Orme suggests on the ground of a vague tradition that Minākshi had by this time fallen in love with the Musalman and that this intoxication clouded her understanding, compromised her dignity and made her a willing tool, if not an abject slave of the adventurer.

His adoption of war-like policy and attack on Baṅgāru Tirumala in Madura.

However it might have been, the first act of Chanda Sahib after his return to Trichinopoly was to despatch, in her name, an army against Baṅgāru Tirumala and his royal son. According to the Telugu chronicle he himself set out against Baṅgāru, "beat the troops stationed in the Dindigul district, took possession of it, and proceeded as far as Ammaya-pālayam.

⁵⁴ The Telugu *Rec. Carna. Govrs.* "She retained for her own expenses and charities the revenues of the districts on the Kāveri banks, and gave Tinnevely, Madura, Dindigul with Rāmnād, Śivagaṅga and other pālayams to Baṅgāru." Her share was much smaller than Baṅgāru's, or rather his son's. Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Baṅgāru's going to Madura was the result not of an agreement but of a desire to escape from the clutches of Chanda Sahib and the Rāṇi. *JRAS.*, III.

⁵⁵ Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Chanda acted during all this time, with the queen's approval and not in spite of her.

Here, too, the recommendation of the Imperial Russian political representative, Consul Belaieff, had assured me all possible attention and help. As I travelled up the Vanaj Valley, and subsequently through the mountain tract known as Wakhia-bala, I could not observe the gradual change in the physical appearance, houses, ways of living, etc., of the people, bearing testimony to the historically attested conquest of Turki tribes and the influence exercised by the civilization of the Turkestan plains. But we were still high up in the mountains, and had a trying task when on October 3 we crossed the Sitargh Pass, circ. 14,600 feet high, with its big and badly crevassed glacier, after the first winter snow had fallen, and just in time before it became closed to traffic. Finally, we gained by the Gardan-i-kaftar Pass, also under fresh snow, the main valley of Kara-tegin.

Here on the banks of the Kizil-su River, coming from the Alai, I found myself once more on the line of the ancient silk-trade route connecting China with Bactria. A marked change in the climatic conditions was brought home to me by the fact that the fertile slopes on the hillsides are being cultivated without the need of irrigation. Kara-tegin, as its modern name attests, had been long occupied by a Turki-speaking population. It was interesting to note here how the Kirghiz settlers, who represent probably the last wave of this Turkish invasion in what was originally Iranian ground, are now being slowly ousted again from the land by a steady reflux of Tajik immigrants.

From Kara-tegin, where I had interesting opportunities for getting to know the traditional administrative methods of Bokhara, a succession of rapid marches carried me westwards through the open and remarkably fertile valleys which the rivers of Kafirnihan and Surkhan drain. It seemed hard to forego a visit south to the Oxus, where it passes nearest to my old goal of Balkh or Bactra. But time was getting short for the remaining portion of my programme. So I took the nearest route to the confines of ancient Sogdiana northwards by the difficult track through the mountains which connects Hissar and Regak with the rich plains about Shahr-i-sabz. Finally, on October 22, I arrived at Samarkand and the Russian Central-Asian railway. Since the start from my camp in the Kashgar Mountains my journey had lasted just over three months, and within these we had covered on foot and on horseback an aggregate distance of close on 1700 miles.

A new and distant field of work lay ahead for me on Persian soil. So only a few days could be spared for renewed visits to the great monuments of Muhammadan art and Mughal power at Samarkand. It was the same at Bokhara, where I could personally thank M. Shulga, then officiating as the Imperial Russian representative, as well as the Diwan-begi, the head of H. H. the Amir of Bokhara's administration, for all the kind help and hospitality I had received in the State. So much survives, in that fascinating great city, of old-world Central-Asian life and of its own historical past that my three days' stay seemed a sadly brief time. Then the Trans-Caspian railway carried me to Askhabad, the great Russian cantonment on the Persian border, and crossing this I reached Meshed by November 4 after a four days' hard drive.

There, at the old capital of Khorasan, Colonel T. W. Haig, H. B. M.'s Consul-General for Khorasan, and a distinguished Oriental scholar, offered me the kindest welcome and the chance of a much-needed short rest. Under the hospitable roof of the Consulate and within its fine large garden I felt as if brought back to some English country house. Constant toil at much delayed official accounts kept me busy and, alas, left little time for glimpses of the interesting city outside. Seistan was my goal for the winter's work, and considering its great distance and the uncertain state of political affairs in Persia, I had much reason to feel grateful for the kind help and shrewd advice by which Colonel Haig facilitated my rapid onward journey.

On November 11 I left Meshed for Seistan. In order to reach it I had chose a route which, keeping off the main roads, gave opportunities for useful supplementary survey work and offered the further advantage of being the most direct. It first took us by little-frequented tracks through hills held by Hazara and Baluch tribal settlements to Rui-Khaf. Thence we travelled south in an almost straight line parallel to the Perso-Afghan border, where it passes through a nearly unbroken succession of desert depressions and of equally barren hill ranges. Near a few of the little oases we passed, as at Mujnabad, Tabbas, and Duruh, I was able to examine remains of sites abandoned since early Muhammadan times. At Bandan we struck the high-road, and two days later, on December 1, reached Nasratabad, the Seistan "capital." The excellent Persian mules hired at Meshed had allowed us to cover the total distance of over 500 miles in nineteen marches. With the assistance of Afrazgul Khan a careful plane-table survey on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch was carried over the whole ground. The disturbed conditions of Persia due to the War made themselves felt also on the Khorasan border, ever a happy raiding-ground for enterprising neighbours. But owing, perhaps, to the rapidity of our movements and the unfrequented route chosen, the journey passed off without any awkward encounters.

Once safely arrived in Seistan I received a very kind and hospitable welcome from Major F. B. Prideaux, H.B.M.'s Consul in Seistan, and could quickly set to work with all the advantages which his most effective help and prolonged local experience assured me. Ever since my student days I had felt drawn to Seistan by special interests connected with its geography and historical past. It had been more than chance that my very first paper, published as long ago as 1885, dealt with the ancient river names of this Iranian border-land. My present visit to Seistan, long deferred as it was, could for various reasons be only a kind of reconnaissance. Yet even thus I might hope among its numerous ruined sites to discover remains of the early periods when ancient *Sacastana*, "the land of the Sacas or Scythians," served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near East towards Buddhist India. A strong additional reason was provided by my explorations in the Tarim Basin; for the striking analogy presented by various physical features of the terminal basin of the Helmand River was likely to throw light on more than one geographical question connected with the dried-up Lop Sea and the ancient Lou-lan delta.

It is a great satisfaction to me that in both directions my hopes have been fully justified by the results of my Seistan work. But it is only the most prominent that I can find space to record here in brief outlines. At the very start my archaeological search was rewarded by an important discovery. It was made on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-i-Khwaja, which rises as a conspicuous landmark above the central portion of the Hamuns or terminal marshes of the Helmand. The extensive and wellknown ruins situated on its eastern slope proved to be the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first ever traced on Iranian soil. Hidden behind later masonry, there came to light remarkable fresco remains, dating back undoubtedly to the Sassanian period. Wall paintings, of a distinctly Hellenistic style and probably older, were found on the wall of a gallery below the high terrace bearing the main shrine. Protected in a similar way from the ravages of man and atmospheric moisture they had unfortunately suffered much from white ants. The importance of these pictorial relics, which I managed to remove safely in spite of various difficulties, is great. They illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Græco-Buddhist art of the extreme north-west of India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflected with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest.

(To be continued.)

SOME INTERESTING PARALLELS.

BY HIRALAL AMRATLAL SHAH, B.A.

To begin with the use of the number 'forty', in the Vedic and non-Vedic literature.

(I) *Rig*° II, 12, 11, informs us that "Indra found out in the *fortieth autumn*, Śambara abiding in the hills":—

“यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु शिद्यन्तं
चत्वारिंशदां शरद्यन्वदिन्दन् ।”

There is no convincing explanation why it should be the fortieth (autumn) and *nothing more or less* than that. Mr. Tilak's¹ hypothesis is well known and is considered to be highly ingenious. But as far as we know, it is not commonly accepted to be the right and final explanation. He construes the hymn differently, taking it to mean the fortieth day of the autumn and not the *fortieth Autumn (=year)*.

We now transcribe passages where this number is used. First of all, we refer to the dramas of Shakespeare edited by Mr. Verity and also to his notes on the passages we select therefrom.

In *Hamlet*, we read:—

“Hamlet: ‘I lov'd Ophelia: *forty* thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity
Of love, make up my sum . . .’ (V, 1, 262, ff.)

“*forty*: cf. ‘sonnet’ 2 (Shakespeare's).

‘When *forty winters* shall beseege thy brow’,

‘Coriolanus,’ III, 1, 243:—

‘I could beat *forty* of them’, and the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,—I, 1, 205-6,

‘I had rather than *forty* shillings

‘I had my books of songs and sonnets here’;

“Other numbers, e.g., 3 and 13, have become significant through some ancient belief or historical event; and perhaps 40 gained some mysterious import through the scriptures. Thus the wanderings of the Israelites lasted *forty* years, the fast of our Lord *forty* days, likewise the fast of Elijah (1, Kings, XIX, 8) and the stay of Moses on the mount. (Exod., XXIV, 18).”

Mr. Verity adds here that the “Elizabethans use forty to imply indefinitely large number.” However, he changes his opinion a year later, commenting on a passage we are just giving, that *forty* is used constantly by Elizabethans apparently as a “significant number, where no precise reckoning was needed.”² This is a note on the lines in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 175-6,

‘Puck—‘I'll put a girdle round about the earth
In *forty* minutes.’

We now dispense with Shakespeare and turn to the European history. From Macaulay, we learn that in feudal times, *forty* days made up the period, for which, men were bound to serve in a war.

The most interesting parallels, according to us, lie in ‘the wanderings of the Israelites for *forty* years’ and in the line of the Sonnet, “*forty winters* shall beseege thy brow.”

We can do no more than direct the attention of scholars to these instances. We shall now pass on to other cases where resemblance in thoughts and words is interesting.

¹ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 279 ff.

² [Forty is a common conventional number in ancient Jewish tradition and has been supposed to have originated in “forty years” as the conventional life of a generation.—Ed.]

About Dawn.

- (II) "चन्द्रया स्रुता ईरयन्ती । ३"
 "उषः प्रतीची भवनानि विश्वो-
 ध्वां तिष्ठस्यस्य केतुः ॥ ४"
 "अच्छा वो देवीमुपसं विनार्त्तं
 प्र वो भरध्वं नमसा सुवृत्तिम् ॥ ५"
 "उषो वाज्रेण वाजिनि प्रचेताः
 स्तोमं क्षुपस्व गृणतो मघोनि । ६"

—Rig° III, 61.

cf. with:—

"Thou in the moon's bright chariot proud and gay,
 . . . Thou Scythian-like dost round thy lands above
 The sun's gilt tent for ever move
 And still as thou in pomp dost go
 The shining pageant of the world attend thy show.
 . . . When Goddess, liftest up thy waken'd head
 Out of the morning's purple bed,
 Thy quire of birds about thee play
 And all the joyful world salutes the rising day."

—Abraham Cowley: *Hymn to Light*.

['The moon's bright chariot' corresponds to 'चन्द्रया' but according to Sāyanāchārya, the word 'चन्द्र' means 'golden' and not 'moon'. The phrase अमृतस्य केतुः is to be found in the line 'The sun's gilt tent for ever move'; here, Sāyanā° takes 'अमृत' to mean the 'sun.']

About Sunrise.

- (III) "यदेवमुक्त हरितः सधस्या-
 वाद्राची वासस्तनुते तिमस्रै । १"

—Rig° I, 115. 4.

cf. with Spencer's *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 2 and I, 2, 1 ff:—

"Scarcely had Phœbus in the glooming east
 Yet harnessed his fiery-footed teeme."
 "And cheerful chanticler with his note shrill
 Had warned orce that Phœbus' fiery car,
 In haste was climbing up the Eastern hill,
 Full envious that night so long his room did fill."

['Eastern hill' is the well-known 'उदयगिरि' ।]

- (IV) "मयो न योषाम-योति पश्चात् । १"
 "आप्रा यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं । २"

—Rig° I, 115, 1-2.

Translation of the Passages.

- ३ "O Dawn, . . . on thy golden car; awaken the sweet notes of the birds." (Peterson.)
 ४ "O Dawn, before all the world thou risest up, the banner of immortality." (Peterson.) According to Sāyanā, "proclaimer of the (immortal) Sun."
 ५ "Come, bring to the shining Dawn your offering and bow down before her." (Peterson.)
 ६ "O Dawn, rich in blessing, wise and bountiful, accept the song of thy worshipper." (Peterson.)
 १ . . . "For, when he yoked his horses from their stall, Night was spreading her garment over all." (Peterson.)

When he (Sun) draws away (from this world) his horses (rays), the Night covers everything with darkness. (Sāyanā.) [This passage is understood in different ways by different scholars. We cannot say how far the parallel can help us to clear the meaning.]

- २ "The sun follows the divine and shining Dawn, as a wooer follows his mistress." (Peterson.)
 ३ "Sūrya (Sun) has filled heaven, earth and the mid-sky." (Peterson.)

cf. with *Faerie Queen*, I, 5, 2:—

"And Phoebus, fresh as bridegroom to his mate
Came dancing forth, shaking his dewy hair
And hurled his glistening beam through gloomy air."

(V) "समानमर्थं चरणीयमाना¹⁰" —*Rig*^o III, 61, 3.

cf. with "The welkin way most beaten plaine"—*Faerie Queen* I, 4, 9.

Miscellaneous.

(VI) "रघुमेव निवृत्तयौवनं तममन्यत नरेश्वरं प्रजाः ।¹¹" —*Raghu*^c VIII, 5.

cf. with "He saw in Mahomet, with his old life-worn eyes a century old, the lost Abdallah come back again, all that was left of Abdallah."—(Carlyle's *Heroes*.—Hero as a Prophet)

There is some difference between the above two passages. The subjects (*prajā*) do not get old. Hence in the *Raghu*^c, we do not expect to find the 'old life-worn eyes'; nor do we find 'all that was left of' because the departure of Raghu was quiet and peaceful leaving behind him nothing which would indicate hard times.

(VII) "गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः ।
वीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य ॥¹²"

—*Śāk*^o I, 29.

cf. with T. Moore's "*The Journey Onwards*":—

"As slow our ship her foamy track
Against the wind was cleaving,
Her trembling pennant still look'd back
To that dear isle 'twas leaving.
So loth we part from all we love,
From all the links that bind us;
So turn our hearts, as on we rove,
To those we have left behind us!"

["प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य" may hint that the flag belongs to a ship and not to a chariot.]

The following sentence is taken from the *Uttarabhāga* of Kādambart:—

(VIII) "शनेः शनैश्चन्द्रवर्धनाश्चन्द्रमन्त्रस्मिताया इशनप्रभेव ज्योत्स्ना निष्पतन्ती निशाया मुखसोभानकरोत् ।¹³"

cf. with G. Wither's "*The Mistress of Philarete*":—

"When her ivory teeth she buries
Twixt her two enticing cherries, . . .
If you look again the whiles
She doth part those lips in smiles,
'Tis as when a flash of light
Breaks from heaven to glad the night."

(IX) "त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे द्वयं द्वितीयं
त्वं कामुकी नयनयोरमृतं त्वमङ्गे ।¹⁴"

—*Uttararāmacharitam*, III, 26

cf. with R. Herrick's "*To Anthea*":—

"Thou art my life, my love, my heart,
The very eyes of me,
And hast command of every part
To live and die for thee."

¹⁰ "Moving to the old goal." (Peterson.) "Treading the old (usual) path." (Śāyaṇā.)

¹¹ "The subjects looked upon him their sovereign lord as Raghu himself returned to youth."

¹² "The body moves forward, the dull mind runs back like the flag of the staff carried against the wind."

¹³ "Gradually, the moonlight added beauty to the face of the Night on which a faint smile lurked on account of the appearance of the moon (her lover)."

¹⁴ "Thou art my life, my second heart; Thou art moonlight to my eyes, the nectar to my limbs."

Let us again return to the *Faerie Queen* (II, 13):—

- (X) "No tree whose braunches did not bravely spring;
No braunch whereon a fine bird did not sitt;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing;
No song but did containe a lovely ditt.
Trees, braunches, birds and songs, were framed fitt
For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease."

These lines remind us the first verse of the *Sukarambhāsa-vāda*—

"मार्गे मार्गे नूतनं नूतखण्डम्
खण्डे खण्डे कोकिलानां विरावः ।
रावे रावे मानिनी मानभङ्गः
भङ्गे भङ्गे मन्मथः पञ्चबाणः ॥ 15"

- (XI) "कमलवर्षे चिरं ध्यात्वा वक्तुं प्रस्फुरिताधराः ।
बाष्पस्तम्भितकण्ठस्वादनुन्मेषैव वनं गताः ॥ 16"

—*Pratimā*° of Bhāsa, II, 17.

This way Rāma, Sitā and Lakshmana went to forest according to Bhāsa. It is quite different in *Rāmāyana*, wherein we read a long farewell message. Whether Bhāsa or some one else be the author of the dramas published by Mr. Ganapati Sāstri, the skill of the dramatist is quite evident. He has heightened to an extraordinary pitch the pathos of the situation by dropping the message altogether, and thus making it an indication of intense grief.

In *Rāmāyana*, the farewell message was meant to show the feelings of grief; but by a stroke (we should consider it to be of the pen of a genius) it has been dropped, in spite of *Rāmāyana*, simply to express the grief. That Rāma went away without leaving a message behind him is sufficient to drive mad his affectionate father. We have come across many cases where Bhāsa puts aside older authorities, or historical facts. Here is one of them where he does so with great success and rare effect. We cite a parallel to the above verse of Bhāsa;

"Neither could say farewell, but through their eyes
Grief interrupted speech with tears' supplies."

—T. Carew's "*A Pastoral Dialogue*:" last lines.

The following lines are perfectly oriental in sentiment, although we read them in the *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 36-7—

- (XII) "And to the knight his daughter dear he tied
With sacred rites and vows for ever to abide."
"His own two hands the holy knott did knitt
That none but death for ever can divide;
His own two hands, for such a turne most fit,
The houseling fire did kindle and provide,
And holy water thereon sprinkled wide; . . ."

"The houseling fire", we consider, is more connected with India and the Indian life than with any other race on the earth. Even in the drama of Shakespeare we read—

"For in the temple, by and by, with us
These couples shall eternally be knit."—

—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, 1, 185-6.

Here the parallels come to an end. We hope their significance will not be lost upon the reader.

¹⁵ "On the road there are clusters of mangoo-trees and every such cluster resounds with the cooings of cuckoos; Every note of cuckoo makes the proud lady give up her pride: and with that, springs up (in her heart) the five-arrwed god."

¹⁶ "For a long time they thought: and (then) quivered their lids to utter something; but tears prevented their speech; hence, without uttering a word, they went away to forest."

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 219.)***Chanda's entry into Trichi and his aims.**

An evil day it was for Madura and its queen when Chanda Sahib made his entry into the Trichinopoly fort. It did not take long for Minākshi to find out that her friend was really her master, soon an enemy. For the love of power, she had sacrificed the unity of the State and invited the foreigners, and she now found that, in spite of her sacrifice, she was far from exercising power. Greedy and ambitious, Chanda Sahib could not check his interested diligence or voracious appetite. His soaring ambition longed for the time when the queen would be no more in his way, and when he could openly rule as the undisputed master of the region from the Kāveri to the Cape. True, he did not at first so behave as to divulge the desire of his heart. He had the wisdom to proceed with caution, to use the name of Minākshi in all his actions and proceedings, so as to divert suspicion and invite confidence. An analysis of Chanda Sahib's motive in this period of his life shows that he had three things in view. He wished first to overthrow Baigāru Tirumala in the name of Minākshi, so that the Madura kingdom would once again be a strong and united power and free from rebellion and treason. Secondly, the consolidation of Madura achieved, he hoped to depose Minākshi and place himself, in the capacity of the Nawab's lieutenant, on the throne of Trichinopoly. When this was done, he evidently hoped, as the last step of his ambition, to turn traitor to his master and declare himself an independent king. The first of these he expected to accomplish by acting in the name of Minākshi and by using the Nawab's countenance, the second by the Nawab's countenance alone, and the third, after his elevation, by his own unaided resources. Chanda Sahib was, in other words, actuated by a secret motive in every step and a secret understanding against everybody. To use Minākshi as the means of Baigāru Tirumala's destruction, then to use the Nawab's name against Minākshi, and then to use his new powers against his master, were the methods which his ambition inspired and planned. No better instance have we in history of a clever schemer who combined the victims and the agents of his ambition in such a skilful manner. The means of his elevation to-day were, according to his plan, to be the victims of his tyranny tomorrow. Self was the only God whom Chanda Sahib knew, and it is not surprising that he proved to be the evil genius of the Naik kingdom.

His tacit allowance of the partition of the kingdom.

In accordance with his plan Chanda Sahib seems to have,⁹³ as Mr. Nelson says, first advised Minākshi to sacrifice the life of her rival Baigāru, so that ostensibly there could be no scope for the progress of any rebellion in his name, but really that he himself might have a free hand in the administration of the kingdom. It seems that Minākshi displayed on this occasion, a rare generosity, and refused to do so. Ill-treated as she had been by her adopted child's father she apparently forgot or ignored the past, and refused to injure him in any way. Indeed, she did not only protect him by a noble act of oblivion, but evidently came to an understanding with him, by which, in a reasonable spirit of modera-

⁹³ Nelson no doubt based his account on the Telugu chronicle.

tion, she agreed to partition²⁴ the kingdom into two divisions, by which she was to live at Trichinopoly and get the revenues of the North as far as Dindigul, while Baṅgāru was to have his headquarters at Madura and rule the rest of the kingdom. The extent of Minākshi's conciliation can be imagined from the fact that she placed even her adopted son and ward under the protection of Baṅgāru Tirumala. It is not difficult to perceive in this extraordinary agreement that Minākshi was inspired not only by the desire not to stain the fair reputation of her name, but by her probable repentance of the past, and by her generous recognition that, after all, Baṅgāru was, next to her, the sole claimant to the throne, and that any harm or violation done to his person might result in the final ruin of the kingdom. It shews the triumph of reason over prejudice, of her wisdom over her selfishness. Chanda Sahib did indeed, for his own reasons, urge her to give up her generous behaviour and conciliatory policy, but neither her helpless state of dependence, nor the colour of plausible soundness which Chanda Sahib lent to his arguments, could deter her from resisting the unfortunate solicitation of the Musalman. And Chanda Sahib himself perhaps perceived that, in the then circumstances, the exercise of power in a portion of the kingdom by Baṅgāru was, after all, a service or rather than disservice to him; for the removal of Baṅgāru by death would necessarily betray his own designs and reveal his ambitions to the Nawab. On the other hand, the existence of Baṅgāru would, while strengthening his control over Minākshi, give him a security from the Nawab's displeasure,—a security all the more necessary for the maturity and success of his plans. Chanda Sahib therefore thought it better, in the long run, to acquiesce in the arrangements of Minākshi and the partition of the kingdom.

The intriguing temperament and the tortuous policy of Chanda Sahib however could not keep him quiet for a long time. He resolved at any cost, to overthrow Baṅgāru Tirumala, but he had not enough resources. Nor would the queen listen to him.²⁵ In 1735 therefore he returned to Arcot, with the idea of returning to Trichinopoly with reinforcements. It is not improbable that, during his sojourn at Arcot, he convinced the Nawab of the necessity of getting rid of the Nāik chieftain and that the Nawab, unable to look beyond his nose, consented. However it was, when Chanda Sahib returned to Trichinopoly in 1736 at the head of a large force, Queen Minākshi, alarmed by fear or ignorance of his real motive, admitted him. The historian Orme suggests on the ground of a vague tradition that Minākshi had by this time fallen in love with the Musalman and that this intoxication clouded her understanding, compromised her dignity and made her a willing tool, if not an abject slave of the adventurer.

His adoption of war-like policy and attack on Baṅgāru Tirumala in Madura.

However it might have been, the first act of Chanda Sahib after his return to Trichinopoly was to despatch, in her name, an army against Baṅgāru Tirumala and his royal son. According to the Telugu chronicle he himself set out against Baṅgāru, "beat the troops stationed in the Dindigul district, took possession of it, and proceeded as far as Ammaya-pālayam.

²⁴ The Telugu *Rec. Carna. Govrs.* "She retained for her own expenses and charities the revenues of the districts on the Kāveri banks, and gave Tinnevely, Madura, Dindigul with Rāmnād, Śivagaṅga and other pālayams to Baṅgāru." Her share was much smaller than Baṅgāru's, or rather his son's. Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Baṅgāru's going to Madura was the result not of an agreement but of a desire to escape from the clutches of Chanda Sahib and the Rāni. *JRAS.*, III.

²⁵ Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Chanda acted during all this time, with the queen's approval and not in spite of her.

Meanwhile Baṅgāru had ordered his Daḷavāi, Mutu Veṅgu Aiyar and Veṅka a Kṛishṇa Nāik, the son of Minākshi Nāik, to oppose him, accompanied by 2,000 cavalry, and by Appaiya Nāik, Bôdhi Nāik, Irchaka Nāik and other Polygars. In the battle which ensued Veṅka a Kṛishṇa fell, covered with eighteen wounds. The Daḷavai, seated on a howdah, discharged arrows on his foes all round, scattering 300 men and allowing none to approach. By turning the howdah elephant to turn on every side like a whirlwind, he slew a great many soldiers and wounded many more. At the same time, the enemy, by means of arrows and musket-bullets, pierced Veṅgu Aiyar's body like a sieve, covering it with many wounds. He nevertheless relaxed not, and fought like Abhimanyu with the army of Duryodhana. He did not even pause to draw out the arrows that had struck him, but when his stock of arrows were expended, he drew out those which were in his body; and discharged them, thereby slaying several of his foes. But at length from the number of his wounds he became exhausted and expired. His troops were cut to pieces. A few, however, though wounded, took his body to Madura. Soon afterwards, Baṅgāru heard that Chanda Sahib was advancing to Madura and, as he was destitute of forces, quitted that place, together with the prince and the royal appurtenances for Sivagaṅga." The *Carna Govrs.* gives a slightly different version. It says that Chanda Sahib did not personally go against Baṅgāru, but despatched the Daḷavāi and Pradhāni Gôvindaiya and Rāvaṅgaiya "at the head of 8,000 cavalry and some infantry against Dindigul. They captured it, and were about to march on Madura, when Baṅgāru Tirumala Nāikar sent his Daḷavāi Mutu Veṅgu Aiyar with a few men and 2,000 horse, to await the enemy at Ammaianayakanur Pālayam and give battle. In the battle which consequently followed the heavy odds of the Trichinopoly army gained the day, and the howdah of Mutu Veṅgu Aiyar was surrounded. From his seat he discharged all his arrows and killed many of the enemy's horse, but was eventually slain. The victorious army then marched on Madura. Baṅgāru Tirumala had no army to support him. So he left Madura and came to Sivagaṅga, the estate of Uḍaya Tēvar."

Baṅgāru's Exile.

At this important crisis of his life Baṅgāru had the consolation, the only consolation, of the loyalty of some of his Polygars. When he fled from Madura⁹⁶ for safety, he was welcomed by the Sētopati Kāṭṭa Tēvar and the Sivagaṅga Chief Saśiva Tēvar. They met him with golden and silver flowers, paid him homage, and escorting him in pomp to their estate, placed at his disposal a number of villages for his maintenance, and also supplied everything needed. The village of Vellaiikkuruchchi formed the residence of the father and the royal son, and from there they were, we can hardly doubt, reminded every day of their fallen condition, all the more by the faith of their loyal feudatories.

⁹⁶ A remarkable instance of the absurd adherence to mere political terminology, which has no meaning whatever, is clear from an inscription in the name of Baṅgāru Tirumala, dated A.D. 1733. The Vijayanagar Empire had long been extinct, the Musalmans and Marathas had come and ruled, and the Nāiks themselves had acted independently or in accordance with the dictates of the Musalmans. Yet this inscription discovered in the Kālāstīśvara temple of Uttamāpālayam says that he was the servant of Sri Rāṅga Rāya of Vijayanagar,—Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Rājadhīrāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Rājamārtanḍa, Rājagambhīra, the conqueror of all countries, the giver of no country, the death to the triad of kings, the scatterer of Uriya forces, the humiliator of the Uriya pride, the scatterer of the Musalman forces, the humiliator of the Musalman pride, the king of kings who collected tribute from all kingdoms, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, the lord of men, the Navakōṭinārāyaṇa,—the Rāyya of Anagundi!—See Taylor's *Rest Mack. MSS.*, II, p. 276-8.

Chanda Sahib's betrayal of Minākshi.

After the flight of Baṅgāru and Vijaya Kumāra, Madura lay open to the forces of Chanda Sahib. Rāvaṇaiya and Gōvindaiya occupied it promptly, and after securing it continued their march southward as far as Tinnevely. The Polygars yielded and took the oath of allegiance to the queen. But it was not for long that that queen was to rule. With the conquest of Madura and Tinnevely, with the full acquisition of the kingdom, and with the flight and exile of the king and the regent, the necessity on the part of Chanda Sahib to assume a sham loyalty to Minākshi was gone. He could now openly throw off his disguise, and make his outward behaviour consistent with his secret desire. Chanda Sahib therefore confined the queen in her palace and openly flouted her authority. He assumed a supercilious air and a dictatorial tone, placed the defence of the fort in the hands of his own men, secured the treasury, seized the administration, and ordered the relations and followers of Minākshi to leave the fort. It must have been a shock and a surprise to them and to the people, but all defence, all hesitation, was useless. The villain had taken every precaution to back up his commands, and resistance would mean nothing but suicide.

Her Suicide.

The result was that Minākshi was a prisoner in her palace, her men in exile and her emancipation beyond hope. The only man who was likely to present an effective check to her oppressor was an exile. Did Baṅgāru Tirumala know her actual condition? Or, did he believe that the army which Chanda Sahib had recently sent against him was an army in reality sent by Minākshi? We have no materials from which we can pronounce an opinion on these questions. It is highly probable that Baṅgāru Tirumala was ignorant of the tyranny to which Minākshi was subjected at Trichinopoly; that he might have even believed, from his recent disaster, that Chanda Sahib and Minākshi were on cordially amicable terms. He was, in other words, ignorant of the miserable situation of his rival, the ambitions of Chanda Sahib, and the consequent feeling of friendship which Minākshi must have in her heart entertained for him. However it might have been, he did not stir a finger, after his flight to Sivagaṅga, to recover his kingdom. Either his ignorance of the actual state of things at Trichinopoly, or his incapacity with the resources he then had, to go to war, made him harmless. It is not improbable that the counsels of his supporters looked on an attempt to recover the kingdom by force would end in failure. Consequently, with the lapse of days, the position of Minākshi became intolerable. Every day the Mussalman was getting haughtier and she was treated with humiliation and insult. Every accident betrayed the impotence of her party and the turbulent temper of her guards, and it was not long before she realised that the conspiracy formed in her very palace-prison was too formidable to be quelled. The courtiers, who were loyal to her, were either exiles or powerless men, who had no access to her on account of the Mussalman soldiers stationed in the gateways and galleries, the vestibule and portico of the prison, and some were prepared, thanks to bribery and persuasion, to take part in Chanda Sahib's designs. Life became a burden under these circumstances. The loss of crown and freedom, the pressure of remorse and the poignancy of grief, prepared her for removal from this world, and the last Hindu sovereign of Trichinopoly died broken-hearted by her own hand.

Such was the ignominious fate of the last Nāik ruler of Madura and Trichinopoly. She had been on the throne only for a space of five years, and the penalty she had to pay for her short-sighted opposition to her cousin, with whom she might have come to an under-

standing of an amicable nature, in the very beginning of her reign, was her life, and the extinction of her kingdom. The Musalman was now firmly seated at Trichinopoly and Madura. The most powerful remnant of old Vijayanagar, the dynasty which had survived the vicissitudes and political revolutions of two centuries after the downfall of Vijayanagar, was now no more. The institution of Viśvanātha Naik and Aryanātha Mudaliār became extinct; and if the Polygars of Madura still assumed the title of Polygars, few traces can be discovered of their political subordination.

Chanda Sahib's March against Baṅgaru.

The ambition of Chanda Sahib impelled him, after the acquisition of the kingdom, to prompt and decisive action. In accordance with his preconceived design, he resolved to employ his new resources in the renunciation of his allegiance to his relation and suzerain. At the same time, he wanted to be tactful enough not to rashly provoke him against himself. Tempering his ardour by this consideration, he kept on friendly terms with his master for a year. In the meantime, he devoted himself to the consolidation of his new kingdom. He repaired and strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly, and appointed his two brothers as governors of the stronghold of Dindigul and Madura. He then embraced the resolution of marching against the Polygars of Rāmnād and Sivagaṅga who, as we have already seen, had given refuge to Baṅgaru Tirumala and Vijaya Kumāra. Vijaya Kumāra was still the titular Kartā, and so long as he lived, and commanded the allegiance of the Polygars, the Muhammadan would be, in the eyes of the people, a usurper. Chanda Sahib, therefore, proceeded to remove the obstacle.

Baṅgaru's Alliance with Tanjore, and Failure.

Baṅgaru Tirumala was alarmed. He saw that the heart of Chanda Sahib was set on his ruin, that the chiefs who had given him refuge could not, owing to their limited resources, aid him any further. He sought for allies; found one, a companion in trouble, who was prepared to sympathise with him and to co-operate with him in undertaking means to overthrow the haughty Musalman. That companion in trouble was the contemporary King of Tanjore, Sayaji. Sayaji⁹⁷ had ascended the Tanjore throne in 1738 as successor to queen Sujana Bai, the wife of his elder brother. Immediately after his accession, Sayaji found himself in an exceedingly difficult and embarrassing position. An impostor named Savai Shahji or Siddoji, who pretended to be the son of Sayaji's elder brother and therefore the legitimate heir to the throne, disputed his right and set up a formidable standard of rebellion. The progress of this treason in fact was so startling that Sayaji found himself, with a tragic suddenness, a deserted chief and had to seek refuge by flight. Proceeding to Chidambaram he asked for the assistance of the French at Pondichery, in return for the cession of Kāraikāl, which they had been long desirous of obtaining. Dumas, the French Governor, agreed, and was about to occupy Kāraikāl and send an army to assist Sayaji, when the latter, who had in the meanwhile been engaging other means than force, succeeded by dint of bribes and promises to the nobility of Tanjore, in effecting a *coup d'état* and recovering his crown, cancelled his treaty with the French. Governor Dumas was highly indignant at this turn of events, but he had no other alternative than to acquiesce in it. At this crisis, Chanda Sahib invaded the Tanjore dominions in the name of the Nawab to collect tribute, and he made an alliance with the French by which he was to

⁹⁷ See *Tanj. Gaz.*, 44-5.

compel Sayaji to surrender Kāraikāl to them, a measure which he thought he could take, as the Nawab was the suzerain. The place was then forcibly taken and Sayaji was compelled to agree to his treaty and ratify it in a formal agreement (Feb. 1739). He at the same time was compelled to pay enormous booty to Chanda Sahib.

Baṅgāru Tirumala calls in the Marathas.

It is not surprising that Sayaji was, like Baṅgāru Tirumala, embittered in his feeling against Chanda Sahib and ardently longed for his overthrow. Both the chiefs put their heads together and embraced the resolution of calling the Maratha Peshwa to their assistance. The Peshwa⁹⁸ of the time, the celebrated Baji Rao I., was not the man to let slip an opportunity which promised so much for Maratha expansion. He, therefore, eagerly seized the proposal of the ex-chief. With characteristic astuteness he suppressed domestic disunion for the sake of common ambition, and persuaded even his rival, Raghoji Bhonsle, to take part in an expedition into South India, ostensibly to take the cause of Baṅgāru, in reality to extend the sovereignty of the Mahārāshtra to the furthest corner of India. Raghoji Bhonsle and his colleague Fateh Singh were soon on the march to the south. The troops of Dost 'Ali vanished before them, and the Hindu powers, headed by Tanjore, hastened to renounce the Musalman⁹⁹ yoke and rally round the invaders. The coast being thus not only clear but inviting, Raghoji Bhonsle was soon at the foot of the Trichinopoly fortifications. The place was promptly invested, and after a few months' blockade, was induced to capitulate. The acquisition of Trichinopoly was followed by the acquisition of Madura; for its Governor, Bade Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib, had already met, in an engagement with the Marathas, in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, with defeat and death.

The Maratha Occupation of Trichinopoly.

The Maratha conquest and occupation of Trichinopoly and Madura had naturally the effect of reviving the fortunes of Baṅgāru Tirumala and his royal ward. One of the Chronicles¹⁰⁰ describes how Fateh Singh summoned, after his victory, the regent and the crown prince to Trichinopoly; how in an interview with them, he dwelt on the great trouble he had

⁹⁸ *Hist. of the Carna. Dynas.* Duff does not mention this.

⁹⁹ Duff points out that Safdar Ali, being defeated, bought off the Marathas, and also entered into a secret compact by which Raghoji was to crush Chanda Sahib in Trichinopoly, in return for the cession of that place. "No bait could be more allowing to the Marathas than Trichinopoly, and the troops only retired 250 miles towards Mahārāshtra to prepare for the promised conquest and lull suspicion of an attack" (pp. 2-3). Raghoji then returned to Poona to prevent the accession of Bālaji Bāji Rao to the Peshwaic dignity. He failed, and then returned to attack Trichinopoly, accompanied by Sripat Rao Pratinidhi and Fateh Singh Bhonsle. "In regard to the subsequent operations of the Marathas in the Carnatic, very little illustrative of what has been so ably recorded has fallen within my observation in the Maratha country. It appears, however, that the Tanjore State, though then agitated by factions, entered into a friendly correspondence with their countrymen, but whether to avert attack or to afford assistance is not mentioned." Trichinopoly surrendered, 26th Mar. 1741. It will be seen from this that Duff was ignorant of the fact that the Marathas attacked Trichinopoly not only to fulfil the promise of Safdar Ali, but ostensibly to restore the Madura dynasty.—According to the *Madura MSS.*, moreover, Tanjore was distinctly for assistance.

¹⁰⁰ *Hist. of the Carna. Dynas.* Here it closely agrees with Duff. See II, p. 5. The *Mys. Gazr.* says that the Marathas, when they took Trichinopoly, "took Chanda captive to Satara, and disregarding the claims of Baṅgāru Tirumala," appointed Murāri Rao as the governor of the conquered kingdom. This, it will be seen, is not supported by the chronicles.

taken to restore their kingdom to them; and how he demanded, as the price of his service, a war indemnity of 30 lakhs of rupees and a regular payment of the old annual tribute of three lakhs. Baṅgāru Tirumala, we are further told, replied to these demands, that, in consequence of Chanda Sahib's appropriations of all the ready money and jewels of the crown, he was unable to pay the thirty lakhs in a lump sum, and that he agreed to pay it in three yearly instalments of ten lakhs. The Maratha chief agreed and, after taking a written agreement to that effect from Vijaya Kumāra, deputed the task of reinstating him to his gallant lieutenant, Murari Rao, and then left for his distant home, with Chanda Sahib as his prisoner. Murari Rao, the chronicle continues, discharged his duties with sympathy and with justice. He brought the whole country into order and, "giving it over to Baṅgāru," himself stayed in Trichinopoly to ensure proper cultivation and collection of revenue. Another chronicle, differing slightly from this version, says with greater probability, that after the capture of Trichinopoly, Fateh Singh "placed Murari Rayar in charge of the fort instructing him to send for and call Baṅgāru Tirumalai Nāicker hither, to crown him and give the country over to him; appointing an acknowledgment for the crown of 30 lakhs of Rupees, to be paid to Murari Rayar"; that Murari Rao, in consequence, wrote to Uḍaya Tēvar to bring Baṅgāru with him, when the Nizam invaded the Trichinopoly dominions and put an end to the Maratha power there. According to this authority then, no interview took place between the Maratha general or his representative and the Nāik chief; nor was the latter restored to power; for, before that task was accomplished, the Maratha had to surrender Trichinopoly to the Nizam and return to the Mahārāshtra. A third manuscript gives some more details than the other two, though it is silent in regard to the actual treatment accorded to Baṅgāru Tirumala. It says that Fateh Singh (whom it wrongly calls a Mysore chief) slew Bade Khan, dispersed the Muhammadans, captured Trichinopoly, and placed Murari Rao as the chief of that fort, ordering that the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples should be conducted according to custom. Fateh Singh then returned to the north. "Murari Rayar," continues the record, "was a just chief. He despatched Appāchi Rāyar with 20,000 cavalry (to Madura)"; and the latter took immediate steps to restore the gods of that place. He recompensed the Sētopati for his services and expenses and, on Saturday, the 17th of Āvaṇi, *Dunmuki*, two hours after sunset, brought the images to their own temple at Madura. Appāchi, it is further said, caused all the villages and lands endowed by the Karnāṭa kings to be restored.

The Nizam's Conquest and promised Naik Restoration.

From this it is clear that the relations between the Marathas and the Nāiks are not certain. We cannot definitely say whether Vijaya Kumāra was restored and invested with full power of sovereignty or not. But the question is, after all, not important; for, as has been already mentioned, the Maratha occupation of the South barely lasted two years. In the early months² of 1743, the Nizam, whose natural desire was to drive the Marathas from the assertion of supremacy over a kingdom which was tributary to his Subah of Arcot, marched at the head of 10,000 cavalry and encamped at the foot of the Trichinopoly walls. In the engagements which ensued, Murari Rao was defeated and compelled to leave the Carnatic. The *Record of Carna. Govrs.* says that, when Murari Rao was unable to prevail over the formidable forces of his adversary, he entered into negotia-

² In January 1742, Safdar Ali had been murdered by his brother-in-law and there was general confusion in Mughal territory, S. of the Krishna; and the Nizam took advantage of this opportunity to establish his power there (Duff).

tion with him and explained "that he had been entrusted with the task of reinstating Rāja Muttu Tirumalai Nāik, and that, as His Highness was come in person, he was relieved of his task. He, therefore, gave up the fort to the Nizam and went ² to Poona." Asaf Jah immediately took possession of the fort and despatched, we are told, messengers to Baṅgāru Tirumala, summoning him and the king to meet him. The interview took place at Trichinopoly. The Nizam was gracious enough to acknowledge the sovereign power of Vijaya Kumāra, but imposed, as a condition of his restoration, the payment of 30 lakhs promised to the Marathas and the payment of the tribute of three lakhs every year. A written agreement bearing the signature of the boy-king was prepared to this effect; and the Nizam then returned by way of Arcot to Hyderabad in accordance with this arrangement.

The Nizam's Treachery.

If the Nizam had left Vijaya Kumāra to rule as of old at Trichinopoly, his motive can be pronounced to be sincere, but there are ample reasons for believing from his subsequent conduct that his sympathy with the Nāik chief was a pretence, and the document he got from him a sham. For, the same manuscript tells us that when the Nizam proceeded to Arcot, he took Baṅgāru and Tirumala with him practically as prisoners, though he assured them that they were to be his friends and guests. "Subsequent ³ to their arrival at Arcot, Safdar Ali Khan died and, as his children were young, the Nizam gave it in charge of Alivardi Khan till the children of Safdar could be competent to manage the affairs of Government. He also charged him to conduct the Karnāṭaka⁴ prince, Vijaya Kumāra, to Trichinopoly and reinstate him on his ancestral throne, and receive and remit the tribute due from him. Giving these instructions to Alivardi Khan in the presence of Baṅgāru Tirumala and further directing him to return (to the North) when these affairs were adjusted, the Nizam returned to his own dominions." But no sooner was the back of his master turned on him than Alivardi Khan became an indifferent agent of his. He had been apparently, at least, ordered to instal the Nāik king promptly, but either a secret understanding with his master, or his own unwillingness to part with the extensive and beautiful region from Trichinopoly to Cape Comerin, made him a tardy executor of his superior's command. Baṅgāru Tirumala did not see that he was a dupe and a plaything in the hands of his Musalman allies, and with characteristic simplicity, he asked Alivardi Khan to hasten his favour, but the latter gave a plausible reply that he would devote himself to his service after the country was reduced to order. At the same time he allotted to the royal exiles the daily stipends of 100 pagodas and Rs. 100 respectively till their return with himself to their capital. As for Baṅgāru, he seems to have believed entirely in the sincerity of his Muhammadan friend. So ardent a believer in it was he, that he spared no efforts to help him in the restoration of order in the discontented province of Arcot. When the people of Veṅkaṭagiri and Kālahasti, for instance, defied the power of Anwaru'd-din and defeated, with great slaughter, his armies, Baṅgāru Tirumala it was, we are informed, that

² This was in August 1742. The fact is, as Grant Duff says, Murari Rao had never been loyal to his own countrymen. He was guided solely by his interests, and he would fight on behalf of Europeans and Mughals if he could gain advantage. The Nizam recognised him as Chief of Gooty, and he in return gave up Trichinopoly and went away.

³ This is wrong. He had been murdered in 1742 and Nizam's invasion was caused by that.

⁴ Anwaru'd-din was appointed for Carnatic *payinghat* and Hidayat Muḥāyū'd-din Khan (Muzaffar Jang) for the Carnatic Proper, with Adōni as *jāgir* and Bijapur for headquarters (Duff).

saved the Nawab and turned disaster into success. The ranks of Anwaru'd-din's army became sorely thinned. His howdah fell into the enemy's hands. Never did the Nawab sustain so serious a disgrace in the hands of such petty chiefs. Baṅḡaru Tirumala saw this and argued that the disgrace of the Nawab, inasmuch as the refractory chiefs were his subordinate Polygars, was his own disgrace. He, therefore, took a leading part in the campaign and ultimately succeeded in shattering the Polygar levies.

Anwaru'd-din's Murder of Baṅḡaru Tirumala.

The hope of the Baṅḡaru Tirumala to secure, by means of his services, the gratitude and the favour of Anwaru'd-din Khan was, however, not destined to be realised. As we have already seen, Anwaru'd-din had his own designs on the Nāik Kingdom and the sanction he gave for pensions to Baṅḡaru and his crowned son was evidently intended to be a final disposal of the question. The little lingering doubt he may have had was shattered by the heroism which Baṅḡaru displayed on his own behalf in the affair of Kālahasti. The Nawab admired his valour, but with the feeling of admiration was combined the feeling of fear. He felt that the restoration of such a man would hardly conduce to the strength of his own position. He, therefore, issued secret orders to his men to remove the regent for ever from his path of ambition. And the murder was perpetrated in a singularly mean manner. In the late war, Baṅḡaru had received two wounds of a deadly nature and the Nawab, with a pretended solicitude, sent his own men to dress his wounds and administer medicine. The physicians were then instructed to mix poison with the medicine, so that the patient died within an hour of his taking it.

Vijaya Kumāra's Flight to Sivaganga.

Thus perished the only man who could, if any man at all could have done so, secured the revival of the Nāik power. There is something pathetic, something melancholy, about the figure of this ill-fated prince. Born of a younger line and excluded from the throne by a combination of circumstances, he fought without success for the exercise of his power; and when he at length got it by the moderation or the death of his rival, he and the king and kingdom, whose destinies were in his guidance, became the victims of a formidable foreign power. Even in the court of the Nawab he did not lose faith either in the fortunes of himself and his royal son or the honesty of the Nawab, and in that faith he was so firm that he himself took part in the settlement of his country, forgetting or little thinking that, by his loyal assistance, he was only rousing jealousy in the heart of Anwaru'd-din and thus digging his own grave. Never in the annals of Indian history do we find such simplicity and trust repaid by ingratitude and treachery. As for the nominal king of the Nāik dominions, Vijaya Kumāra, he was in a peculiarly hard and embarrassing position. Deprived of his crown and kingdom, of his father and guardian, himself a boy of inexperience, he was in the midst of enemies, the very destroyers of his power and father. Life was no longer safe at the Nawab's

court. Every day the events transpiring therein proved it. For some time after the murder of Baṅgāru, a young son of Safdar Ali, whose guardian Anwaru'd-din was, was also assassinated at the instance of the latter, by a band of Pathans who, under pretence of asking for arrears of pay, raised an altercation, and stabbed the young prince. The only possible claimant of the Nawabship was Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Safdar, and he was rotting in the dungeons of Satara. Anwaru'd-din, therefore, became the undisputed Nawab of Arcot. His next measure would be, it was feared, the removal of Vijaya Kumāra also from the scene. The relations of the Nāik chief were alarmed and advised immediate flight. Thus it was that, on a dark night, when the Nawab and his men hardly knew what was happening, Vijaya Kumāra left Arcot with his retinue, and came in hot haste to Sivagaiga. He could not go to either Trichinopoly or Madura, for these places had been already occupied by the Nawab's own men, and to go thither "would be to go straight into the jaws of death."

The chiefs of Rāmnāḍ and Sivagaiga played at this crisis a very noble and honourable part. Frequent sources of trouble as they had been in the time of peace and of Nāik magnificence, they now proved themselves, by their loyalty and support, to be true friends. They welcomed the unfortunate refugee from Muhammadan treachery and behaved towards him as if he was still the undisputed sovereign of his ancestral dominions. They paid him homage, congratulated him on his escape from the scene of danger, and expressed the hope that, with the advent of some legitimate king in the future, his claims would be recognised and his kingdom restored. With great kindness, they urged him to stay till that time in their own estates, and arranged for his comfort and convenience.

The practical end of the Nāik Dynasty.

With the flight of Vijaya Kumāra to Sivagaiga we may date the extinction of the last hopes of the revival of the Nāik dynasty. The Nāik dominions were now not under a king tributary to the Nawab, but under the direct rule of that functionary. The legions that garrisoned the Nāik capitals no longer uttered the names of Baṅgāru or Vijaya Kumāra, but openly acknowledged the Nawab as their master. The real king was an exile depending for his safety and support on the precarious loyalty and generosity of his own vassals. From Madras to Cape Comorin, in other words, the whole country, excepting the subordinate kingdoms of Tanjore, Travancore and Cochin, was under the administration of the Nawab. Arcot was henceforth the capital. Trichinopoly and Madura (to which Tinnevely continued to be attached) were henceforth provincial capitals, the headquarter of the Viceroys appointed by the Nawab. The Polygars had henceforth to wait not on the Telugu descendants of the veterans of Viśvanātha Nāik, but on the agents and representative of the Muhammadan rule at Arcot.

It was at this juncture that Chanda Sahib effected, thanks to his friendship with Dupleix, his liberation from Satara, and immediately after his emancipation, came to the Carnatic, and set up his claim to the Nawabship. The campaigns which followed, the

simultaneous succession dispute in Hyderabad between Nazir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, and other events are, it is well known, of the greatest moment in Indian history, and they made the English and the French play for the first time an important and conspicuous part in the political affairs of South India.

The exiled Naik and Chanda Sahib.

When Chanda Sahib, with the assistance of the French, overthrew and slew Anwaru'd-din in the battlefield of Ambur and proclaimed himself the Nawab of the Carnatic in his place, the Naik capital, within the walls of which Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaru'd-din took refuge, became the most important place of contest in South India, the bone of contention between the rival claimants to the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Such a circumstance could hardly advance the claims of the phantom monarch, who lived in obscurity in Râmnâd and declared that Trichinopoly was his. The declaration of Chanda Sahib of his mastery over the Carnatic was followed by two events: first his attempt to reduce the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely which Muhammad Ali, with the assistance of his English allies, had been cautious enough to secure immediately after his flight to Trichinopoly,⁵ and secondly to undertake the siege of Trichinopoly. The dominions of the Naik kings, in fact, became the chief scene of war, Trichinopoly being, owing to its situation and its direct rule by Muhammad Ali, the heart of the contest, and Madura and Tinnevely the scene of serious fights and engagements. The general of Chanda Sahib who conquered the Southern provinces was an able adventurer named Alam Khan. Endowed with tact and discretion, with the power of leadership and the knack of managing men, Alam gained over the soldiers of Muhammad Ali at Madura by his personal address, and the tenants by his promise, in Chanda Sahib's name, to free them from the arrears of rent due by them to the State. The superior ability and the remarkable personal influence of Alam Khan were of the utmost service to his master; for his possession of Madura meant to Muhammad Ali the loss of more than one-half of his dominions. It moreover severed the communication between the Trichinopoly and Tinnevely country, and made Chanda Sahib's power as secure in the region of the Tambaparai as in that of the Vaigai. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, Muhammad Ali endeavoured his best to reconquer Madura. In 1751 he despatched Captain Cope for this purpose; but that general was defeated and compelled to retreat back to Trichinopoly. The French, the Nizam, and Chanda Sahib were exultant and hoped every moment to reduce the place and complete the ruin of Muhammad Ali. The latter had not remained idle. He called in the aid of the English to counter-balance the French, the Marathas under Murari Rao who were more than equal to the Nizam, and the Mysoreans, who hoped in the ruin of Chanda Sahib for territorial acquisition. Vigorous fighting went on around Trichinopoly and in the provinces, and the fate of South India trembled in the balance.

(To be continued.)

⁵ Madura was brought under Muhammad Ali by an army of 2,500 horse and 3,000 peons (assisted by a detachment of 30 Europeans under Innes) under the command of Abdu'r-Rahim, Muhammad Ali's brother.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

7. Administrative rule to prevent favouritism.

28 February 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Stables and Council at Vizagapatam. We send you also some more assistance, vizt. John Oneel, Henery Croke, Thomas Stables, and tho tis not comon for Relations to

be together, yett in respect to his father we now dispence with it, not doubting Mr. Stables will be any ways partiall to his son or spare him from such business as the Honble. Companys service may requier him.—Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George. 1689, p. 13.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE IN MYSORE. The Kēśava Temple at Somanāthpur, by RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

RAO BAHADUR Narasimhachar has undertaken to issue about half a dozen short monographs, with suitable illustrations, on the notable buildings of the Hoysala and Dravidian styles. The present monograph on the wellknown Kēśava Temple is the first of the series. It contains 11 pages of description in quarto, 7 pages of introduction, some 15 illustrations and a Devanāgarī transliteration, in 4 pages, of the Sanskrit inscriptions at the Temple and at Harihar. The printing of the text and the illustrations has been very neatly executed by the Mysore Government Press at Bangalore.

We notice with satisfaction that "It is under contemplation to prepare and publish a monograph on Hoysala" architecture in Mysore. A synthetic view surveying the entire subject-matter will be more useful than booklets on individual buildings. The latter, however, are not without value.

Mr. Narasimhachar proposes to change the designation style "Chalukyan," popularised by Fergusson, and to call it 'Hoysala style,' for the style attained its fullest development in the dominions of the monarchs of the Hoysala dynasty, and also because "the name Chalukyan is undoubtedly a misnomer, so far as Mysore is concerned, seeing that all the buildings of this style in Mysore were erected during the rule of the Hoysalas." The proposal of the learned Director seems to be one which ought to be accepted.

Mr. Narasimhachar has got some 60 artistic buildings of the Hoysala style (c. 1047—1286 A.D.) and some 12 buildings of the style called the Dravidian (c. 800—1600 A.D.) in his official jurisdiction. He has thus got sufficiently large materials to build up and present a synthetic picture of Hoysala art.

The Kēśava temple was built according to its inscription in 1268 A.D. by Somanātha, *daṇḍa-ndyaka* under king Narasimha III (1254—1291.) It is situated near the left bank of the Kāveri, some 20 miles east of Seringapatam. It is a *trikūṭāchala* or a three-peaked (or as Mr. Narasimhachar calls it a *three-celled*) building. "the main cell facing east

and the other two which are opposite to each other, facing north and south respectively." "They are surmounted by three elegantly carved towers, which are identical in design and execution. The two towers are attached to the *Nava-rāṅga* or the Middle Hall which is again attached to the *Mukha-Mandapa* or Front Hall." On both sides of the entrance, around the Front Hall there runs a *jagati* or railed parapet covered with sculptured freezes of Puranic scenes. Each *kūṭa*, each of the three members of the temple, consists of a *Garbhagriha* or adytum and a *sukhanāsi* or vestibule. The chief *kūṭa* opposite the entrance, contained the image of Kēśava which is no more to be found there. The height of each tower or *kūṭa* is not given by Mr. Narasimhachar. Fergusson guessed it to be 30 ft.; in Workman's *Through Town and Jungle* it is given as about 32 ft.

The illustration of the two towers which Mr. Narasimhachar gives fully bears out the praise that: "Not a square inch of the surface is without decoration. These towers captivate the mind by their profusion of detail and perfection of outline and there is no suggestion of superfluity in the endless concourse of figures and designs. To construct a building of less than 35 feet in height, load it from bottom to top with carving and produce the effect not only of beauty and perfect symmetry, but also of impressiveness, shows supreme talent on the part of the architects." (Workman).

Grandeur has been produced by an artistic grouping of materials, which in reality are not grand or too small to produce an 'architectural effect.' The structures are not grand, but the *ensemble* is grand. In this lies the greatness of the architects of the Kēśava Temple. Mr. Narasimhachar, however, has not himself discussed this aspect. Possibly he is reserving it for his greater work on the Hoysala buildings.

The illustrations of images and inner details (which are accessible only to a Hindu writer) bring us in closer touch with the temple. Many of the images are signed by the artists. The image of Veṅṇu Gopāla is the most elegant of the illustrated specimens. The exquisite ceilings would furnish fine models for modern buildings.

K. P. J.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.Litt.

(Continued from p. 232.)

IN the desert south of the present cultivated area we found interesting remains of far earlier times. My search here was greatly facilitated by the excellent topographical surveys on a large scale, which had been effected under the direction of Mr. G. P. Tate, of the Survey of India, in connection with Sir Henry McMahon's Seistan Mission of 1902-05, and which proved very helpful also in other parts. On this desert ground, which an abandoned old branch of the Helmand had once watered, excessive wind-erosion, acting on alluvial clay had produced conditions exactly corresponding to those I had found in the dried-up delta north of Lop-nor. Since moisture and vegetation had deserted this soil, the scouring effect of the sand driven by the north wind that blows over Seistan, with more or less violence but almost constantly during four months of spring and summer, had lowered the level of the ground to varying depths, down to 20 feet or more, below the original level, except where the surface had been protected by hard *débris* of some kind. The erosion terraces, thus left rising island-like above the bare plain, were always found thickly covered with prehistoric remains. They consisted of potsherds, often decorated in colours, and stone implements mainly of the Neolithic period, but in places included also relics of the Bronze Age. It was easy to pick up here an abundant archaeological harvest literally on the surface.

It was a very interesting and quite unexpected discovery, when in the same area I came upon the remains of a close line of ancient watch-stations, stretching right across the desert from the southernmost Hamun in the direction of the true terminal basin of the Helmand, the marsh and lake-bed of the Gaud-i-Zirreh. It was a fascinating task to trace this Seistan *Limes*, and the experience gained during my explorations along the ancient Chinese border-line once protecting the extreme north-west of Kansu helped me greatly. The fortified frontier posts, solidly built with bricks of great size on a uniform plan, and, as it were, to "specification," were found always to occupy erosion terraces retaining prehistoric pottery *débris*. Chosen, no doubt, for the sake of increased command of ground and wider outlook, these elevated positions had helped also to save the ruins from complete destruction by the erosive force of wind and sand. The watch-stations were found at distances from half to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart. The position of sectional headquarters could also be identified by additional structures, etc.

Seistan, in spite of its dreary arid look, does not enjoy a climate quite sufficiently "desiccated" for archaeological purposes, as it still receives a fairly regular rainfall of *circ.* 2 inches per annum. So the refuse heaps at these stations, which might have furnished us with interesting dateable records, were found to have decayed into mere odorous layers of earth. But a variety of archaeological finds and observations pointed to centuries near the commencement of our era, as the time when this ancient border-line was established. Its object was clearly to protect the cultivated portion of the Helmand delta against raids of nomadic tribes in the south, corresponding in character and habits, if not in race too, to the present Baluch and Brahui tribes to be found there. I cannot indicate here in detail the curious points of analogy presented to the ancient Chinese frontier line of Kansu constructed *circ.* 100 B.C. against Hun raids from Turkestan. But I may hint at least at an interesting question which suggests itself in view of the geographical position. Would one be justified in regarding this fortified desert border of Seistan as a link between that ancient "Chinese

Wall" in the desert and the *Limes* lines by which Imperial Rome guarded its marches in Syria and elsewhere in the Near East against barbarian inroads? Only from future researches can we hope for a safe answer.

From these desert surveys I returned to the inhabited portion of Persian Seistan by the beginning of January, 1916, and was kept busy during a few weeks with the examination of the numerous ruins surviving there. Almost all proved of mediæval Muhammadan origin or even more recent, a fact which the physical conditions of the present Helmand delta easily account for. At two sites, however, which their high level has protected from the effects of irrigation of periodic inundation, I discovered definite archaeological evidence of ancient occupation. At the large ruined stronghold known as Shahristan, occupying a high alluvial terrace, this included pottery fragments inscribed in early Aramaic characters.

I should have much liked to visit the Afghan portion of Seistan, to the north of the Helmand, where Sir Henry McMahon's Mission and earlier travellers had found a large number of ruins still awaiting expert examination. Permission for such a visit could, however, not be secured, and I did not feel altogether surprised at it. So, after collecting useful anthropometric materials which help to illustrate the curious mixture of races in the population of Seistan, I returned to the desert south and supplemented my survey of the ancient *Limes* by some rapid excavations. They disclosed interesting details as to the construction and internal arrangements of those ruined watch-stations and the life once led there.

Thence I set out by the beginning of last February for the return journey to India, whither most of my archaeological finds from Seistan, filling twelve cases, had already preceded me. I travelled by the Seistan-Nushki trade route, which the zeal of Captain (now Colonel) F. Webb Ware, of the Indian Political Department, had first pioneered through the desert some twenty years ago. Well known as the route is, this desert journey of close on 500 miles through the wastes of Baluchistan had for me a special interest. I could not have wished for a better modern illustration of the conditions once prevailing on that ancient route through the Lop desert, which the Chinese had opened about 110 B.C. for the expansion of their trade and political influence westwards, and which two years before I succeeded in tracking through those waterless wastes after sixteen centuries of abandonment.

It is true that wells of tolerably good water at most of the stages, comfortable rest-houses at all, and good camel grazing to be found at half a dozen points, made progress along this modern desert track seem child's play compared with what we had gone through. Even in ancient times the physical difficulties successfully overcome by those early Chinese pioneers must have been vastly greater than those which the route to Seistan ever presented in the days before its improvements. And yet the latter, by the political reasons which have necessitated its opening, by its purpose, by the character of the traffic I found moving along it, provided a most striking analogy, and neither as a geographer nor as a historical student could I fail to appreciate its significance.

By February 21 I reached Nushki, whence the railway carried me to Delhi. During my week's stay at the Indian capital I received fresh proof of the kind personal interest with which His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, had from the start followed and encouraged my enterprise. There, too, I was able to meet again some of my oldest friends in India, to whom I had never appealed in vain for such official support as they could give to my scientific labours. A subsequent brief visit to Dehra Dun, the Survey of India headquarters, enabled me to arrange for the suitable publications of the topographical results brought back from this journey, in an atlas of maps. At the same time I secured the admission of

Afrazgul Khan to the Survey Department's service under conditions which open up to this capable young assistant the amply deserved prospects of a good career. When I subsequently paid a brief visit to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, at Lahore, I had the great satisfaction of learning from this kind old friend that the splendid services which R. B. Lal Singh had rendered to Government for a lifetime were to be recognized by a grant of land on one of the new Punjab canals. It meant the realization of my devoted old travel companion's most cherished hope, and a reward such as I had always wished to secure for him. Finally, after the middle of March I reached Srinagar, in Kashmir, my favourite base, from which my expedition had been begun in July, 1913. It had lasted close on two years and eight months, and the aggregate of the distances covered by my marches amounted to nearly 11,000 miles.

At Srinagar the 182 cases of my collection of antiquities from Turkestan had safely arrived by October, and there the greatest part of the work demanded by its arrangement and detailed examination will have to be done with the expert help of my old friend and collaborator, Mr. F. H. Andrews, now Director of the Technical Institute and Industrial Art School of the Kashmir State.

The elucidation of the antiquities brought to light by the thousand, and in such great variety of place, time, and character, will involve heavy and manifold labours, and for them and the proper decipherment of the abundant manuscript remains, recovered in about a dozen of different scripts and languages, the help of quite a staff of expert scholars will be needed. The Government of India, though intending that the whole of my collection shall ultimately be deposited in the new museum planned at Delhi, fully realized that this expert help can for the most part be secured only in this country and in France, where after my former expedition, too, I had found the most helpful and important of my collaborators. So I was given permission temporarily to bring here whatever materials stood in need of specialist examination and research, and to come myself to England for a time to make all necessary arrangements in person. But after all the efforts and toils it has cost to recover those relics of past ages from their safe resting-places in the desert it would have obviously been unwise to expose a great and valuable portion of them to the grave risks to be faced at present on a long sea voyage round the shores of Europe. So I decided to transfer myself only across the seas, and to use a short rest in England for preparing a preliminary record of the results achieved and for organizing well in advance the work of my future collaborators.

After the greatest struggle which the history of mankind has known had lasted two years, I returned to England fully prepared for considerable changes, and I found such, some sad, some reassuring and hopeful. But no change has affected the kind interest shown in my scientific efforts by old friends within the Royal Geographical Society and outside, and the encouragement derived from this boon I shall ever remember with gratitude.

Before the paper the President of the Royal Geographical Society said: Our business this evening is to welcome Sir Aurel Stein, one of our most distinguished Asiatic travellers, on his return from his third journey to the heart of Asia. He needs no introduction here. We have heard him more than once in this hall, and we know how much he has done, not only as a geographer, as a cartographer, as a surveyor, but also as an archaeologist. We know that his travels have led him to one of the most interesting regions on the Earth's surface, where from times long before the beginning of our era the trade to and from Europe and the Nearer East crossed the Chinese frontier. Sir Aurel Stein has got so much to tell us that I am sure the best thing I can do is to ask him at once to begin his discourse.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, said: When I came here to-night as the guest of one of your members, and even when on entering this building you expressed a desire that I should say a few words in the course of the evening, I did not quite understand the position of prominence which you intended to allocate to me, and I am afraid that I am wholly unfitted for it. I am not a fellow of your Society and I am afraid if any geographical knowledge, let alone any geographical exploration, is necessary to qualify for that position, I shall never attain to it. My recollections of geography are of a painful study which, laboriously acquired, was inevitably quickly forgotten; a study of maps of which most were already too full, and which it is the business of your Society to crowd with still more details. You and perhaps the audience will feel that these confessions hardly indicate my fitness for my present position; but at least I am trying to improve. I had the pleasure of welcoming Sir Aurel Stein at the India Office, in virtue of the position I hold there, and though I learned very little from him in the brief and very modest account which he gave me of his travels, it was at any rate sufficient to make me feel the importance of the work which he had done, and the immense interests of the results which he had achieved. I think I may fairly say—for I had nothing to do with his travels at any stage—that he was fortunate in the collaboration of the representatives of two Governments. He had the good will of the Government of India, and, as we are glad to recognize, he enjoyed equally the good will of the Russian authorities. By their aid, and above all by his own indomitable perseverance, his courage, his endurance, and his enthusiasm, he has achieved results which are of interest to all of us, which are of importance to the Governments of India and of Russia, and which, I venture to add, will serve to confirm the high reputation which he has won among explorers. I am not fitted to initiate a discussion of the kind you have invited. I am glad to pay my tribute—and to pay my tribute as Secretary of State for India—to what Sir Aurel Stein has done; but for a learned discussion of his work you must turn to other and greater authorities.

The President: Mr. Austen Chamberlain has alluded to one of the happiest points in the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein—that they constitute a new link in the friendship between the two great Empires that share the larger part of Asia, England and Russia. We are happy in having here to-night the distinguished Russian officer General Baron Kaulbars. I do not know if he would be kind enough to say a few words to us. (*General Baron Kaulbars bowed his acknowledgements.*)

Sir Hercules Read (British Museum): I am personally very glad to say a few words in order to bear my small testimony to the extraordinary qualities that my old friend Sir Aurel Stein has brought to bear upon the varied aspects of the journey that he has just described to us. I know nobody among all the explorers whom I have met, who has greater capacity for carrying on archæological and geographical work under conditions that we all can imagine, after having seen that beautiful series of slides he has put before us. In the intervals of extremely tedious marches he has devoted himself to archæological research in temperatures and climates which are very trying, and, as in former years, he has brought home a collection of antiquarian remains which have opened up fresh fields to archæologists in these islands. For this we who perforce remain at home are most grateful, and not only to Sir Aurel Stein but in a very great degree to the authorities at the India Office. The atmosphere at this meeting is naturally a geographical one, and I feel that the importation of archæological questions is somewhat of an intrusion; but I can speak only about my own business. Sir Aurel Stein has given us from time to time a *résumé* of his geographical discoveries, using

archæology, if I may say so, as a series of signposts; and very useful he has found it, as he has confessed. But when one considers that he begins with the Palæolithic period, which you may put back to any remote date, and comes up to something like the seventh or eighth century, and that we have withal not one single piece of these antiquarian remains before us, it is somewhat hopeless to discuss the archæological questions at present. When these remains come to Europe to be studied they will be distributed amongst a number of distinguished scholars, and will then go back to the Central Indian Museum which is to be established at Delhi. That, I am sure, is a very proper place for them. I have myself taken considerable interest in the Museum, and have gladly given advice on certain administrative points regarding it; but a difficulty I find as an archæologist, domiciled in England and incapable of leaving it for more than a few months, is that there will be no opportunity for European students ever to consult these antiquities, except for those fortunate ones who are able to go anywhere at any time and for as long as they please. Sir Aurel Stein's first antiquarian results were divided between the Government of India and the British Museum. There is no difficulty therefore to some extent in still seeing in England the type of object that was discovered on the first expedition. With regard to the later expeditions the case is different, and I think presents a difficulty for the people living in the British Islands of judging the culture that belongs to Central Asia, to these ancient civilizations, dating from a century or two before our era to several centuries afterwards. Beyond the small collections to be found in Paris, nowhere in Europe will any of these remains be seen. It seems to me a pity that these objects of extraordinary interest, covering almost all periods of human activity and human industry, are not to be represented at all in these islands. I think that some measures should be taken by which adequate representations of these very interesting historical and religious remains should find their place somewhere within reach of the ordinary British citizen.

Sir Francis Younghusband: As a traveller in both Chinese Turkestan and also on the Pamirs I can testify to the splendid exploit of our lecturer this evening. I know well the hardships he must have gone through and the indomitable courage which actuated him in carrying out these explorations. Since the time of the great Russian, General Przhevalsky, there has been no traveller in Central Asia who has shown so great a persistence over such a large number of years, and such courage and determination in carrying out his explorations, or has brought back such fruitful results, as Sir Aurel Stein. I wish to congratulate him most sincerely on his magnificent achievement.

Sir Henry Trotter: Some years ago I had the pleasure on the occasion of Sir Aurel Stein's last lecture before the Society of congratulating him on the success of his work, and I laid particular stress upon the magnetic influence by which he seemed to attract such very different persons as the Trustees of the British Museum, the Viceroy of India, the *personnel* with whom he worked, and last but not least the Taotai of the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas. It is gratifying to note that he has by no means lost that magnetic power, as is proved by the record of his journey, the splendid work of his surveyor Lal Singh, and the excellent reception of the lecturer by the Russian and other authorities with whom he came in contact.

I should have liked to have made some remarks on a good many points [see note following the discussion], but the lateness of the hour prevents me from doing so. I will only take up your time with one. I was in Central Asia forty-three years ago and know many parts of the ground described by Sir Aurel. The point to which I wish to refer is the great problem as to the principal source of the Oxus River.

Lord Curzon a good many years ago gave in this hall an account of his travels in the Pamirs, and of his discovery in the mountains of Kanjud of a glacier from which flowed a river that, as he maintained, was the principal source of the Oxus. As a result of my own

previous observations I (in common with some Russian geographers) looked upon the Little Pamir Lake, also fed by glaciers, as the principal source. From the lake a river, the Aksu, flows eastward, then north, and then north-west as the Murghabi, and later on as the Bartang River, which joins the Panjah branch of the Oxus a few miles above Kila Wamar, where the river makes a great branch to the west.

Lord Curzon maintained that his (i.e., the Panjah) branch was the more considerable of the two. I adduced the testimony of an Indian native surveyor, who had visited the spot and clearly proved that the Bartang River at the time he visited it had a much greater flow of water than the Panjah; but Lord Curzon produced the testimony of a reliable European witness to prove that when he visited it, at another season of the year, the Panjah branch contained much more water than the Bartang. Both statements were probably true; but for my part I stuck to my theory. I regret that the lecturer has told us this evening that the Bartang River has now been completely blocked up from the effects of an earthquake, that a large lake has been formed, and that it is unlikely that any water will flow down the Bartang into the Oxus for many years to come. So at last I must confess myself vanquished.

Colonel C. E. Yate: I am delighted to add any words I can to congratulate Sir Aurel Stein on his return. We have all watched the news that has been received from him from time to time with the greatest interest, and are delighted to see him back here again. We are looking forward to seeing the results of his finds displayed here as soon as the roads are safe. As to what has just been said regarding the final disposition of the treasures I too think that a certain amount should remain in this country, and all should not be taken back to India. It seems to me a fair thing to leave some part at any rate for show in this country. I cannot see any reason why all should be taken back to Delhi, as I understand from Sir Hercules Read, is the present intention. I congratulate Sir Aurel Stein most heartily on his journey, and we all join in thanking him for the paper he has given us.

Dr. Barnett: I well remember seven years ago when this Society met to hear Sir Aurel Stein's report of his second expedition and expressed appreciation of his work. It was felt that Sir Aurel Stein had added not only great areas to the Trigonometrical Survey, but even greater realms to knowledge. Further study has confirmed that view, because we have found in result that his second journey was rich to an almost inconceivable degree. His archaeological discoveries throw enormous light on the ancient history of that important region which he has covered, and his literary documents have opened up new areas of literature. Similarly, his ethnological studies have been fruitful. Now Sir Aurel Stein, with his usual habit of eclipsing himself, has returned from a third expedition that has exceeded his former ones in importance, inasmuch as he has nearly doubled the net archaeological proceeds of the last. From the second journey he came home with 96 cases; now he has 182, after having traversed nearly 11,000 miles. I have no doubt that, in the same way as his previous journey was epoch-making in many ways, so the results of this journey will be equally epoch-making, and I feel sure that this Society in honouring him is doing honour to itself.

The President: At this what Dr. Mill would call "fraudulently late hour of the evening" I will not keep you longer, but I am sure you will wish me to say a few words of most hearty thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for the very brilliant and exhaustive account he has given us of his labours in these barren and difficult regions of Central Asia—labours that are double-sided in a way I think few travellers' have been. The manner in which he first rushes over a series of glacier passes—and so many of them that I believe they would have given even the Alpine Club a surfeit—and then turns to explore buried cities and study the civilization of two thousand years ago is almost unique. We owe, I hold, special gratitude to travellers who go to the very ugly places of the Earth. It is a great temptation to most of us to go only to the beautiful places. When we see those pictures of interminable sand-dunes and rocky hummocks torn asunder and laid bare by the most cruel winds, we feel that the man

who for the sake of geographical knowledge and archaeology would linger among them deserves a double meed of thanks. The results are extremely interesting, because we find that these desert-places once maintained a great population. This fact opens up many subjects of inquiry, historical, meteorological, changes of climate, migrations of peoples. We also find this charm in these particular trade-routes, that they were the old trade-routes between Greeks and Romans and the farthest East. Sir Aurel Stein tells me that in those days the trade caravans must have gone, not over the easiest routes but over hundreds of miles of desert, in order to avoid the marauding tribes who were living where there was some possibility of human beings living happily. We have followed, perhaps with some difficulty owing to its very complexity and richness, the account of his labours put forward by Sir Aurel Stein. We shall all read it with the deepest interest when published in the *Geographical Journal*, and we may hope that it will not be published without specimens of the appropriate illustrations which we have admired to-night. The perseverance with which Sir Aurel Stein photographed as he went along is, even in these days of photography, deserving of the highest praise. I will say no more, but offer to him the very hearty thanks of this meeting and all geographers in this country and the rest of Europe—except perhaps in Berlin, where they may grudge him some of his Buddhist frescoes. I am sure his reputation over Europe as one of the greatest travellers of modern times is now firmly established. Three times we have seen him here and each time he comes back with a richer harvest than he did the time before.

Additional Note by Sir Henry Trotter.

I at one time took considerable interest in the geography of the Oxus below Kila Wamar. In the spring of 1874, when leaving Wakhan to return to India, I despatched the Munshi Abdul's Subhan (an employe of the Survey of India) to follow the course of the river from Kila Panjah to Roshan and Shighnan. The account of his journey was published in the *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. 48, pp. 210-217. He followed the course of the river for 60 miles from Kila Panjah to Ishkashim, where turning northwards he followed the Oxus for nearly 100 miles further, passing successively through the districts of Gharan, Shighnan, and Roshan—countries which had hitherto only been known to us by name. He could not penetrate beyond Kila Wamar, the chief town of Roshan; but curiously enough another employe of the Survey, "The Havildar," who had been dispatched by the late General Walker from India in 1873 on an independent exploration, went from Kabul to Faizabad, the capital of Badakhshan, and thence started on a tour which, combined with the Munshi's exploration to Kila Wamar, entirely altered the map of that hitherto little-known portion of Central Asia. He visited the towns of Kolab, Khawaling, Sagri Dasht, Kila Khum (the capital of Darwaz), Kila Wanj, and Yaz-Ghulam. At Kila Khum the Havildar struck the Oxus (still called the Panjah), and his road for 40 miles lay on the right bank of the river—never previously mapped or, as far as I know, visited by any explorer. At Yaz-Ghulam, the eastern frontier village of Darwaz, he was unfortunately turned back—just as he had got within a long day's march of the Munshi's farthest point at Kila Wamar. The Havildar, who was ignorant of what the Munshi had done only a few weeks previously to his own arrival at Yaz-Ghulam, was most anxious to complete his own work. In order to do so he went back by Kolab to Ishkashim, and endeavoured to make a survey down the river to Yaz-Ghulam; but he was again stopped, this time at the southern frontier of Shighnan, and was prevented from carrying out his intentions. Thus there was a gap between the explorations of the Havildar and the Munshi, the existence of which was much regretted; fortunately the missing link was a short one—some 20 miles as the crow flies. A Russian scientific mission visited these parts ten years later, in 1883; but the map then compiled differs greatly from their latest published map of 1910, which again differs from an intermediate map published in 1900. I fancy that accurate surveys of these little-known countries have still to be made.

JOB CHARNOCK—HIS PARENTAGE AND WILL.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

ALTHOUGH much has been written concerning the Founder of Calcutta, his origin has hitherto been wrapped in obscurity. It has now been my good fortune to clear up this point. While annotating a series of 17th century letters, written in India and now appearing in *Notes and Queries*,¹ the occurrence in the collection of a letter from Charnock induced me to try to establish his parentage.

Sir George Forrest in his article on Job Charnock² gave an abstract of his will. Among the legacies was one to "the poor of the parish of Cree Church, London." This led me to believe that by birth he was a citizen of London, and a search among the wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury resulted in the discovery of his father, Richard Charnock.

The will of Richard Charnock³ is an interesting document and I therefore give it in full.

"In the Name of God Amen the second day of Aprill Anno Domini one Thousand Six Hundred Sixty Three And in the Fifteenth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the Faith &c. I Richard Charnocke of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch London Yeoman being in good health of Body and of perfect mind and memory (prayed be God therefore) But considering the Frailty and uncertainty of this present life Doe therefore make and ordaine this my present Testament (conteyning therein my last will) in manner and forme following (That is to say)

"First and principally I recommend my soule to Almighty God my maker and Creator hoping and stedfastly beleiving through his grace and the alone meritts of Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer to receive full and Free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes and life everlasting

"My body I Committ to the Earth To be buried in the parish Church of St. Katherine Creechurch London And my will is That not above the summe of Eight pounds shall be spent upon the Charge of my funerall And I will that all such debts and duties as I shall truly owe to any person or persons att the tyme of my decease shall be well and truly paid within as short a tyme after my decease as may be conveniently

"And as touching That worldly meanes and estate That it hath pleased Almighty God of his mercy and goodness to bestow upon me (my debts by me oweing and my funerall Charges thereout first paid or deducted) I doe give devise bequeath and dispose thereof in manner and forme following (That is to say)—

"First I give and bequeath unto my sonne Stephen Charnocke All that my message Tenement or Inne with the appurtenances comonly called or knowne by the name or signe of the Bell scytuate lying and being in Markett Streete in the County of Bedford And all the land now thereunto belonging and therewith used All which premisses are now in the tenure of George Sayers or his assignes To have and to hold the same unto my said sonne Stephen Charnock and his assignes for the terme of his naturall life And the Reversion of the said Messuage and Land with the appurtenances expectant after the decease of my said sonne Stephen Charnocke I doe give and devise unto the Parson and Church wardens of the Parish of Pennerton⁴ in the County of Lancaster And to their successors and assignes for ever upon Trust and confidence that out of the Rents thereof The said Parson

¹ *Correspondence of Richard Edwards*, 1669-78 (N. & Q. from Jan., 1917).

² *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1902, pp. 771-782.

³ *Wills*, P. C. C., 58 Hyde.

⁴ Penwortham, a parish in the hundred of Leyland, Lancaster, two miles S. W. of Preston.

and Churchwardens and their Successors shall yearly and every yeare forever place out to Apprentice in London Two poore Boyes borne in Hutton⁵ in the said parish of pennerton, or within some other village or place in the same parish

"Item I give and bequeath unto my said sonne Stephen Charnocke the summe of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of England And a Trunke with Barres Corded upp with such Lynnen and other things as are or shall be therein att the tyme of my decease

"Item I give and bequeath unto my sonne Job Charnocke the summe of six hundred pounds of lawfull money of England

"Item I give to my brother William Marsh the summe of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of England And to my sister Mary Marsh his wife the summe of Forty shillings of like money And to each of their Foure Children now at home with them the summe of Forty shillings a peece of like money

"Item I give unto Samuell Waters Grocer in Candleweeke Street⁶ London the summe of Tenn shillings of like money to buy him a Ring

"Item I give unto Mr Thomas Bateman Merchant sometymes servant to Mr Michaell Markeland the summe of Six pounds of lawfull money of England And unto James Hall Woollen draper in Candleweeke streete aforesaid the like summe of Six pounds of like money

"The Rest and residue of all and singuler my goods Chattells ready moneyes Plate Leases debts and other things whatsoever to me belonging and not before in these presents given and bequeathed I give and bequeath unto my said Two Sonnes Stephen Charnocke and Job Charnocke to be equally devided between them which said Stephen Charnocke and Job Charnocke my sonnes I Doe make ordeine and appoint the full executors of this my present Testament and Last will

"And I Doe make nominate and appoint my said brother William Marsh and the said Thomas Bateman and James Hall the Executors of this my will in Trust for the benefitt of my said sonnes in case my said sonnes shall be out of England att the tyme of my decease And my will and mind is That if my said sonne Job Charnocke shall happen to depart this life before his returne to England Then the Six hundred pounds to him above herein bequeathed shall be disposed of and accrew as followeth (That is to say) one Hundred pounds thereof shall accrue and come to the Five Children of my said brother William Marsh in equall shares and proportions And the other Five hundred pounds residue thereof shall come and accrue to my said sonne Stephen Charnock

"And my will and mind is That my Executors in Trust in the absence of my sonnes shall have power to put forth any moneyes of myne att Interest for the benefitt of my sonnes The bonds for which moneyes Soe to be put out shall be taken in the names of my said Executors in Trust and in the Conditions of the same the moneyes shall be expressed to be for the use of my said sonnes And then and in such case if any losse doe happen to my Estate my Executors shall not be therewith Chargeable

And I doe hereby revoke all former wills by me made And doe declare This my present Testament to be my very last will and none other In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and yeare First above written.

"The marke of the said Richard Charnocke

⁵ A township in Penwortham containing a free grammar school.

⁶ Candlewick Street, at the east end of "Great Eastcheape," now known as Cannon Street.

"Signed sealed Published and declared and delivered by the said Richard Charnocke the Testator as and for his last will and Testament in the presence of John Alsop S orivener William Braxton and John Bargeman his Servants."

Probate was granted to Stephen Charnocke on the 2nd June 1665, power being reserved to issue the same to Job, the other executor, on his return to England.

The Charnocks were a Lancashire family. They are said to have assumed the local name of their dwelling places in Leyland Hundred in that county, and to have given them the distinguishing epithets of Charnock Richard, Heath Charnock and Charnock Gogard. These are all mentioned in the 13th century and the villages of Charnock Richard and Charnock Heath are still so called.

The legacy of Richard Charnock to Penwortham and Hutton indicates that he had cause to be specially interested in those parishes, one of which may have been his birth-place. Unfortunately, the early registers of Penwortham, which might have cleared up this point, were destroyed by fire in 1857.

A branch of the Charnock family settled in London and another in Hullcote, Bedfordshire, both in the 16th century, and Richard Charnock, as a London citizen and the owner of property in Bedford, may possibly have been connected with both branches; but no actual proof is forthcoming.

As regards the relationship between Richard and Job Charnock there can be no reasonable doubt. No record has been found of any other Job Charnock at this period and the fact that Richard Charnock's younger son was out of England when the will was drawn up goes far to establish his identity with the famous Anglo-Indian. There is, moreover, the additional proof of Job's bequest to the poor of the district in which Richard Charnock resided.

The identification of Richard Charnock's elder son Stephen presents rather more difficulty. There is a great temptation to connect him with Stephen Charnock, puritan divine and chaplain to Henry Cromwell (a son of the Protector), and there are several reasons in favour of this theory. The divine was born in the parish of St. Katharine Cree in 1628, where Job also appears to have been born some two or three years later. Subsequently, Richard Charnock probably removed to the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch¹ where he died. At any rate, the divine's father was also a Richard Charnock. The absence in the will of any allusion to Stephen's profession may be accounted for in two ways. First, the chaplain had fallen into ill odour after the Protector's death and he remained in obscurity in London for fifteen years with no regular charge. Secondly, Richard Charnock was probably a Royalist and High Churchman and consequently would have little sympathy with his son's puritanical views. The main obstacle to the identification of the divine with the brother of Job Charnock lies in the statement in Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, III, 1234-6) that Stephen's father, Richard Charnock, was "an attorney or solicitor." However, I have searched in vain for any record of a Richard Charnock, solicitor at this period. I have also discovered but one will of a Stephen Charnock² and this was proved in 1680, the date given as that of the death of the divine.³ I am therefore inclined to think that the *Athenæ* must be in error and that Richard Charnock, yeoman, was the father of both Henry Cromwell's chaplain and the founder of Calcutta.

¹ The church of St. Mary Woolchurch was not rebuilt after the great fire of 1666. Its site was roughly that of the present Mansion House.

² *Wills, P. C. C.*, 92 Bath.

³ See the article on Stephen Charnock in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

It now only remains to quote the will of Job Charnock who spent at least 37 years of his life in India and ended his days there on the 10th January, 1693. The will was dated from the infant settlement of Chuttanuttee (Sûtanati), afterwards to become famous as Calcutta. So far as I am aware, no complete copy of the document has been printed and I therefore give it in full.¹⁰

In the name of God Amen.

"I Job Charnock at present Agent for Affaires of the Right honorable. English East India Company in Bengall being indisposed in body but perfect and sound in mind and memory doe make and ordaine this to be my last Will and Testament (*Vizt.*)

"Imprimis I bequeath my soul to Almighty God who gave it and my body to be decently buried at the discretion of my Overseers and for what estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bless me withall I doe hereby will and bequeath it as followeth.

"Secondly I will and bequeath that all debts or claimes lawfully made on me be discharged by my Overseers.

"Thirdly I give and bequeath to my beloved Friend Daniel Sheldon¹¹ Esquire Seventy pounds Sterling as a Legacy to buy him a Ring.

"Fourthly I give and bequeath to the honble. Nath [aniel] Higginson¹² as a Legacy to buy him a Ring four hundred Rupees.

"Sixthly I give and bequeath to Mr. John Hill¹³ as a Legacy to buy him a Ring two hundred Rupees and that likewise he be paid out of my parte of the permission Trade Commission one hundred Rupees more in all three hundred Rupees.

"Seventhly I give and bequeath to Mr. Francis Ellis¹⁴ as a Legacy to buy him a Ring one hundred and fifty Rupees.

"Eighthly I doe hereby ordaine and appointed [*sic*] the honble. Nathaniel Higginson President of Madras and Mr. John Beard¹⁵ of Councill in Bengall to be overseers¹⁶ of this my will.

"Ninthly I give and bequeath to the poore of the Parish of Cree Church London the Summe of fifty pounds Sterling.

"Tenthly I give and bequeath to Budlydasse [Badli Dās] one hundred Rupees and the meanest sort of my sonns Cloathes lately deceased.

"Eleventhly I give and bequeath to the Doctor now attending me fifty Rupees.

"Twelfthly I give and bequeath to my Servants Gunnyshams [Ghansyām] and Dallub [Dalab] each twenty Rupees.

"Thirteenthly I give and bequeath after the payment of the abovementioned debts Legacies that all my whole Estate in India and elsewhere be equally given and distributed to my three daughters Mary Elizabeth and Katherine only with this reservation that as an addition to my daughter Marys portion there shall be paid her out of my daughter Eliza [beths] and Katherines two thirds Six hundred pounds Sterling.

"Fourteenthly I will and desire my Overseers beforementioned that my three daughters be sent with a convenient handsome equipage for England and recommended to the Care of my well beloved friend Daniell Sheliton [*sic*] Esqr. in London and that their Estates

¹⁰ *Wills, P. C. C.*, 91 *Irby*.

¹¹ Chief at Kāsimbāzār, 1658-1665. He returned to England in 1666.

¹² Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, 1692-98.

¹³ Captain John Hill, "Secretary and Captain of the Soldiers." See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, II. 92.

¹⁴ Then Second of Council at Hūgli. He died at Fort St. George in 1704.

Governor of Bengal, 1701-1710.

¹⁵ Executors in Bengal.

be invested in goods proper for Europe and sent as by the Right honorable. Companies Permission on as many and such shippes as my Overseers shall think convenient.

"Fifteenthy I hereby acquitt Mr. Charles Pate from his debt to me of Fifty Pagodas lent him at the Fort.¹⁷

"Lastly I will and ordaine the honorable. Daniell Sheldon and my eldest daughter Mary Charnock to be Executors of this my last will and Testament revoaking and disanulling all former or other Will or Wills that have beene made in witness whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale this ninth day of January one thousand Six hundred and ninety two [1692/3].

JOB CHARNOCK

Signd and Sealed in the presence of Jonathan White

Francis Houghton

John Hill."

Probate was granted on the 12th June, 1695, to Robert Dorrell, attorney to Mary Charnock, Daniel Sheldon renouncing.

Job Charnock's behest with regard to his daughters' return to England was disregarded. The three girls, children of his native wife, remained in India and married there. Mary became the first wife of Charles Eyre, Charnock's successor as Agent in Bengal. She died on the 19th February, 1697. Elizabeth married William Bowridge, a junior merchant in the Company's service. He died in April, 1724 and his widow survived in Calcutta until August, 1753. Mary Charnock, Job's youngest daughter, married Jonathan White, also a servant of the Company. He became Second of Council and died in Calcutta on the 3rd January, 1704, three years after the death of his young wife.

It is interesting to trace the fate of Job Charnock's bequest to the poor of his native parish.

A vestry minute of St. Katharine Cree of the 28th August, 1695, records the gift of "Mr. Job Charnock, late of the East Indies, merchant, of 50*l.* to the poor of this parish," and further states that it was ordered at that vestry, that "in consideration of the said 50*l.* the poor should have distributed amongst them 3*l.* yearly, for ever, by two equal payments, upon the 5th November and 5th February."

At a subsequent vestry, held on the 1st February, 1699, it was ordered that "the 50*l.* given to the parish for the use of the poor by Mr. Job Charnock, and the 100*l.* given for the like use by Mr. John Jackson should be settled on the house belonging to the parish, situate in Fenchurch-street, and the said house was thereby charged with the repayment thereof, with five per cent. interest, such interest being 7*l.* 10*s.*, to be yearly paid for the use of the poor.¹⁸

In 1860, the house, No. 91, Fenchurch-street, was let on lease to John Moore for a term of 21 years from Christmas, 1849, at the rent of £42 per annum, and Charnock's £2 10-0 interest was carried to the bread account for the distribution of twenty 2-lb. loaves to 20 persons every Sunday.

For the later history of the bequest I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bowyear, Chief Charity Commissioner, who informs me that "The house, No. 91, Fenchurch-street, was taken under the provisions of Michael Angelo Taylor's Act (57 Geo. III. c. XXIX) and the purchase money was paid into Court and was represented by a sum of £1,949-10-8 Consols. By the statement prepared under the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883, for the Parish of St. Katharine Cree, this sum is scheduled as the endowment of the three Charities of Richard Lingham, Job Charnock and John Jackson, and by the operation of that Act and the Central Scheme made thereunder, on the 23rd February, 1891, it was merged in the Central Fund of the City Parochial Foundation."

¹⁷ Fort St. George, Madras.

¹⁸ Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, Accounts and Papers (H. of C. Vols. 71 and 334 of 1904).

THE DATE OF KANISHKA.

BY RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A., CALCUTTA.

THE most characteristic feature of all the recent discussion about the date of Kanishka is the tacit admission of the scholars that the initial year of his reign must be either 58 B.C. or A.D. 78. Both the theories are, however, beset with serious difficulties that have been quite clearly brought forth in the discussion held in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¹ I propose, therefore, to offer my own views² about the matter, which are substantially different from those mentioned above.

Two classes of evidence alone throw direct light on the question of Kanishka: the Chinese historical texts, and Indian coins and inscriptions. I believe that if they are interpreted without any bias, they agree in placing Kanishka in the first half of the third century A.D. I propose to show how the evidence of Chinese history directly leads to this inference, which is again supported by the Indian evidence when interpreted without any pre-existing bias.

Chinese Evidence: Two Chinese historical texts throw important light upon the history of the Indo-Kushans. These are the "Heou Han Chou" or the "History of the Later Han Dynasty" and the "Wei-liao". The former covers the period between A.D. 25 and 220 and was composed by Fan-Ye who died in A.D. 445. The latter was composed by Yu Houan between A.D. 239 and 265, and the events mentioned in it come down to the period of Emperor Ming (A.D. 227-239).³

Fan-Ye gives the following accounts of the Kushan conquest of India:

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hioungnu. They then went to Tahia and divided the kingdom among five 'gabgous,' viz. those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou of Kouei-chouang (Kushan) named K'ieou-tsieou-kio (Kozoulo, Kadphises) attacked and vanquished the four other 'Yabgous' and called himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kushan. He invaded Ngan-si (Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kaofu (Kabul). He also overcame Pouta and Kipin (Kasmir?) and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-kio died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen (Oemo-Kadphises) succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered India and established there a 'Chief' for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushan after their king, but the Han retain the old name and call them Ta-Yue-che."

In the course of his description of India Fan-Ye adds the following:—

"At this time all these Indian kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi. The Yue-chi had killed their king and installed a 'Chief' to administer the government."⁴

Now if we altogether banish from our mind all preconceived theories regarding the Kushan Chronology the meaning of the passages quoted above offers no difficulty. As Fan-Ye dates past events by referring them to distinct chronological periods (apparently the Chinese equivalent of our method of dating in the years of an era) it appears plainly, from the

¹ JRAS., 1913, pp. 627-650, 910-1042.

² These were propounded at first in a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in October, 1912.

³ My accounts of these books are based on the French translations that appeared in *T'oung Pao*, 1907, (p. 163 ff.), and 1905, (p. 519 ff.)

⁴ *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 193-4.

use of the phrase "at this time", that at the close of the period with which Fan-Ye is dealing (i.e. about A.D. 220) the different kingdoms of India were subject to the Yue-chi king, who had installed a 'Chief' to govern the country. Fan-Ye is quite explicit on this point as the last quotation will show. It will be observed that the separate accounts which Fan-Ye gives of the Yue-chi and the Kabul kingdom are quite consistent with this. The last thing he records of the Yue-chi is their conquest of India under Wema-Kadphises and the consequent increase in their power, and the last thing mentioned of Kabul is also the Yue-chi conquest of the country. There can hardly remain any doubt that the picture of the Yue-chi which he has preserved is true of the period with which his history closes.

This plain interpretation is, however, fatal to all the theories that have hitherto been entertained regarding the chronology of the Kushans. It has been therefore confidently asserted that the above accounts were all taken from Pan-Young, and it has been implied that the significant words "at this time" were taken verbatim from Pan Young's report, and that therefore the historical accounts of the Yue-chi and India were only true of the period when Pan Yong wrote, viz., about A.D. 125.

This explanation, originally propounded by M. Chavannes, has been improved upon by Mr. Kennedy, and it is therefore necessary to consider in detail the basis upon which it is founded. M. Chavannes in the introduction to his 'Translation of the 118th chapter of Fan-Ye's work' refers to a passage, where the author says that he took '*all his facts*' from Pan Yong's report,⁵ and argues that the whole account of the western countries, as given by Fan-Ye, was based upon that report. It is quite clear, however, that, either the French translation is faulty or there is something wrong in the copy, for '*all the facts*' that Fan-Ye describes could not possibly have been based upon Pan Yong's report, inasmuch as just before this statement, Fan-Ye mentions incidents which took place in A.D. 132, 134, 152 and 153 and were therefore posterior to Pan Yong's report. As a matter of fact, in regard to almost all the countries, of which he gives historical account, he narrates events which were posterior to the time of Pan Yong and could not therefore have been described in the latter's report. These facts, of course, did not escape the notice of the French savant, but he seeks to explain away their importance by the following observations:—

"It is true that as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan, Fan-Ye mentions some events which took place between A.D. 150-170. This does not, however, weaken the importance which must be attributed to the Text of Pan Yong in this chapter. In reality it is this text itself which constitutes the whole account of the western countries. Only, in regard to countries which were nearer to China, and with which she had continued her intercourse for a longer time, the historian adds some facts which were posterior to the report of Pan Yong."⁶

Against this view it must be observed in the first place that it is not only as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan that Fan-Ye mentions events which were posterior to Pan Yong, but also as regards India, Kiumi (pp. 170-171), Ta-tsin (Syria) and incidentally of Parthia (p. 185).⁷

The view cannot, therefore, be maintained that the only additions that the historian made to Pan Yong's report were with regard to countries nearer to China. As he gives additional accounts of India, Parthia and Syria he had certainly not to depend upon the

⁵ *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 168.

⁶ *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 150.

⁷ The pages refer to *T'oung Pao*, 1907.

report of Pan Yong alone in his account of the Yue-chi country and Kabul kingdom which lay in an intermediate position between China and those countries.

But all possible doubts on this point are removed, so far at least as India is concerned, by the express statement of Fan-Ye, that he had access to later authorities than Pan Yong's report. In the dissertations which end the chapter, Fan-Ye remarks that very meagre accounts of Buddhism are given in the geographical treatises on India of the Han period and then observes as follows :—

"Changkien merely writes 'the country is mostly warm and the inhabitants ride on the elephants when fighting.' As to Pan Yong, although he has stated that the people adore Buddha, and that they neither kill nor attack, still he does not convey any information regarding the perfect style and the excellent doctrine (of the Sacred Books), and the merit these possess of guiding the people and making them comprehend (the truth). For me here is what I have heard spoken on the subject by others at a subsequent period."⁸

Fan-Ye thus positively asserts that he had utilised other sources of information regarding India, besides Pan Yong's report, and that these belonged to a period subsequent to it. No doubt it was from these sources that he learnt the events which he records to have happened subsequent to Pan Yong's time.

Besides it has been elsewhere clearly shown by Chavannes himself that Fan-Ye's work was based upon previous works, not less than ten in number and all posterior to Pan Yong's time.⁹

There is thus no reason to suppose that the events mentioned by Fan-Ye had all taken place before Pan Yong's report. As regards the phrase "at this time", on which Chavannes remarks "Apparently, at the time when Pan Yong wrote", the case is still more clear. As Fan-Ye drew upon sources of information, both anterior¹⁰ and posterior to Pan Yong's time, there is no reason why that phrase should refer to it. Besides, Fan-Ye was not reproducing the report of Pan Yong, he was writing an independent account of India: and even if it were wholly based on that report, he could not borrow any such expression: because any man possessed with a grain of common sense (and Fan-Ye has clearly proved that he had a fair share of it) could not have been blind to the fact that such expressions, if they were meant to refer to Pan Yong's time, would be entirely misleading in a work which professes to record the historical events down to A.D. 220. It would indeed be a most astounding thing if a writer, usually so precise about dates, would so far forget himself as to

⁸ "Tchangkien s'est borné à écrire" Ce pays est le plus souvent chaud et humide; les habitants montent sur les éléphants pour combattre.

"Quant à Pan Yong quoiqu'il ait exposé que ces gens adorent le Buddha et qu'ils ne tuent ni n'attaquent, cependant il ne nous a rien transmis sur le style parfait et sur la doctrine excellente (des livres saints) sur le mérite qu'ont ceux-ci de guider les hommes et de leur faire comprendre (la vérité).

"Pour moi voici ce que j'ai entendu dire à ceux qui, plus tard, ont parlé de ce sujet." *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 218.

⁹ An old Chinese authority has furnished us with a list of historical treatises which were written before Fan-Ye's time and to which evidently Fan-Ye had access, for we are told that Fan-Ye "rassembla et compléta tous ces auteurs." The extract has been translated by Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 1906, pp. 211-214.

¹⁰ It is quite evident that Fan-Ye had access to Changkien's report. See the first sentence of the quotation in footnote 8. Chavannes remarks on observations attributed therein to Changkien: "These two sentences are found almost word for word in the 96th Chapter of Sumachien's history which is based on the report of Tchangkien." *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 218, F. N. 2.

reproduce an expression from Pan Yong's report which could not but mean an entirely different thing to the readers of his own work. Now such a strange phenomenon can be accepted as true only if adequate proofs are forthcoming; but what are the proofs?

Fan-Ye, no doubt, says that the facts he describes had been related by Pan Yong in his report. But this applies to India as well as to all other countries of the West described by him, and as we have seen that all the facts he describes about them could not be taken from that report, inasmuch as many of them are posterior to it, we cannot suppose that his Indian account was brought down only to the period when Pan Yong wrote. Further Fan-Ye merely says that "all these facts were related by Pan Yong", but he nowhere says that he gives extracts from Pan Yong's report, so as to warn the reader that all personal references to time should be taken to apply to the period of Pan Yong alone.

When Fan-Ye describes events of Pan Yong's time, and in which Pan Yong himself played a part, he does not use the first person nor indicate the time by any such expressions as "at the present day," "at this time," "Now," "last year," or "so many years ago," &c., which must have been used in Pan Yong's report, but he indicates the time as a later author would naturally do, even when his facts are all taken from Pan Yong's report, by referring them to distinct chronological periods.

The position with regard to the question under discussion may therefore be described as follows:

Fan-Ye in the course of his description of India says, "At this time, all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi."

It has been contended that the phrase 'at this time' apparently refers to the time of Pan Yong. The contention rests on two grounds:—

- (1) Fan-Ye tells us that he borrowed his facts from Pan Yong's report.
- (2) He expressly indicates (or actually tells us, as Mr. Kennedy would have us believe) that some of his sentences are borrowed from Pan Yong ('borrowed verbatim' according to Mr. Kennedy). (See *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 678, F. N. 2.)

Against this view it has been clearly demonstrated that

- (1) Fan-Ye did not take all his facts from Pan Yong; he did not even confine himself to the period when Pan Yong wrote, but noticed events which happened posterior to it.
- (2) The phrase 'at this time' if quoted verbatim from Pan Yong's report would mean an entirely different thing in Fan-Ye's work, and it would be absurd to suppose that Fan-Ye could have remained ignorant of it. Fan-Ye has proved himself too critical to be capable of quoting in such an absurd way. Strong and definite proofs are therefore needed to induce us to believe that he actually did any such thing and such proofs are entirely wanting. There is no clear indication that any sentence was borrowed from Pan Yong in the sense that it was reproduced word for word.

The conclusion is therefore obvious that the phrase 'at this time' should be taken, in its normal sense, to refer to the closing years of the period with which Fan-Ye dealt, i.e., sometime about A.D. 220. Any forced construction of it would be inadmissible as there are no circumstances warranting the same.

The results obtained by the plain and natural interpretation of Fan-Ye's history are fully corroborated by Yu Houan, the author of the Wei-liao. In describing the

three routes that lead from China to western countries, he mentions, in connection with the southern route, that it passes along the kingdoms of Kipin (Kashmir?), Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kabul) and T'ien-tchou (India) all of which are subordinate to the Yue-chi.¹¹ There cannot be the slightest doubt that this state of things was true of the period with which Wei-liu concluded. This has been recognised by the French translator of the work, M. Ed. Chavannes, who remarks on the above passage: "So at the middle of the third century of our era, the power of the Kushan kings was at its height."¹²

It is evident that the conquests of the Yue-chi, as described by Fan-Ye, entirely agree with the above account. Both the works speak of Kao-fu, Kipin and T'ien-tchou being conquered by the Yue-chi. But this agreement is brought out more fully in connection with another kingdom, called Tong-li by Fan-Ye and Kiu-li, Li-wei-t'o or P'ei-li-wang by Yu-Houan.¹³ That both the authors mean the same country is placed beyond all doubt by the almost identical descriptions which they give. Thus both place the country at a little more than 3000 li to the South-east of T'ienchu, and both name 'Cha-Ki' as the capital of the country. Indeed no doubt has been entertained on this point.¹⁴ Now Fan-Ye says in regard to this country that "the Yue-chi attacked this kingdom and made themselves masters of it."¹⁵ Yu Houan tells us about the people of the same country, "Now the Yue-chi have conquered them and imposed taxes upon them."¹⁶

The two works thus speak in the same strain about the Yue-chi and the facts they relate about them perfectly agree with each other. Now one of these works describes the events which took place about the year 239, and about this no doubt has hitherto been entertained. The other work also covers the period down to A.D. 220 and naturally enough the accounts in the two works perfectly agree. And yet we are asked to suppose that this latter work describes events which took place 100 years earlier. If proof were needed, that Fan-Ye really recorded events down to the year A.D. 220 as he professes to have done, the *Wei-liu* furnishes it, and even scepticism itself can no longer refuse to believe that the natural interpretation of Fan-Ye is the true one.

But even the *Wei-liu* has not been spared the hands of critics who are determined to make the Chinese texts fit in with preconceived theories of their own. According to Mr. Kennedy, the Yue-chi, referred to in the *Wei-liu*, mean the later Kushans.¹⁷ But what are these later Kushans of whom so much has been made by him? The only definite evidence of their existence is furnished by a number of coins, mostly debased imitations of the early coins of Kanishka and Vāsudeva and mechanically repeating these illustrious names. Of the earlier class of these coins the greater number were found in the Punjab, and only a few gold coins have been discovered in stupas in the Kabul valley; while the coins of the later class

¹¹ "La route du sud, en allant vers l'ouest, passe par.....le royaume de Kipin (Cachemire), le royaume de Ta-hia (Bactriane) le royaume de Kao-fu (Kabul), le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) qui tous dépendent des Ta-Yue-tche." *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 535, 538-9.

¹² "Ainsi, au milieu du troisième siècle de notre ère, la puissance des rois Kouchans était à son apogée." *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 539, F. N. 1.

¹³ For Fan-Ye's account, see *T'oung Pao*, 1917, pp. 194-195. For that in *Wei-liu*, see *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 551.

¹⁴ Thus in a footnote to Fan-Ye's account of Tong-li, Ed. Chavannes remarks: "In the *Wei-liu* the kingdom is called Kiu-li, or Li Wei-to or p'ei-li-Wang." *T'oung Pao*, . 191, F. N. 5.

¹⁵ "Les Ta-Yue-tche attaquèrent ce royaume et se l'asservirent." (*Op. cit.*)

¹⁶ "Maintenant des Yue-tche les ont asservis et leur ont imposé des taxes." (*Op. cit.*)

¹⁷ *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 1054-1064.

are confined to the Northern Punjab alone.¹⁸ The style of these coins does not also favour the supposition that they were issued by a line of powerful rulers. The available evidences therefore seem to indicate that the so-called later Kushans were a line of weak rulers, who at first held sway over Kabul and the Punjab, but whose territory was afterwards confined to the Northern Punjab alone.

Now the empire of the Yue-chi, as described in *Wei-liao*, extended from Bactria to the East Indies, and according to Mr. Kennedy it even included the kingdom of Magadha. Does Mr. Kennedy seriously ask us to believe that this description is applicable to the later Kushans? There is not a particle of evidence to show that these held either Bactria¹⁹ or any Indian territory to the east of the Punjab. If they really held sway over such a vast extent of territory, it is almost incredible that definite evidences should not be forthcoming to establish the fact, and that their coins should indicate such debasement, when compared with those of the great Kanishka line.

Mr. Kennedy has referred to some other evidences in support of his theory of a Later Kushan kingdom, but they do not deserve serious criticism.

The description of the Yue-chi as found in *Wei-liao*, is only applicable to the great line of Kushan Emperors in India, beginning from Wema Kadphises and ending with Vāsudeva. This, as we have seen above, is in entire agreement with the account of Fan-Ye, which when plainly interpreted refers to the Indian conquests of Wema-Kadphises shortly before A.D. 220. The joint testimony of these two writers cannot be lightly ignored and we are therefore bound to hold that the Yue-chi had established their supremacy in India in the beginning of the third century A.D., and that their power was at its height by the middle of it.

We next turn to the Indian evidence. It is held by almost all the scholars, with the exception of Dr. Fleet and the supporters of his theory, that the Northern Satraps and Gondophares preceded the Kushan Emperors, and that among the latter, the Kadphises group preceded Kanishka. I accept this view and refer the reader, for reasons, to the printed report of the debate held in the Hall of the Royal Asiatic Society. (*JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 627 ff., 911 ff.)

Now we have a series of epigraphic dates for these rulers which may be arranged as follows:—

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|------|------|-----|----|----|----|-----|
| So-lāsa | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 72 |
| Patika | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 78 |
| Gondophares | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 103 |
| Kushan Kings (without any proper name) | .. | 113, | 122, | 136 | 20 | | | |
| Kanishka, Vāsishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva | .. | .. | 3-99 | | | | | |

It is quite evident that the dates 3 to 99 cannot refer to the same era as the others. The inscriptions, which refer to Kushan rulers, without any name, should naturally be placed before those of Kanishka, for we know from the Chinese writers that the early Kushan

¹⁸ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, pp. 116, 121; also Rapson's *Indian Coins*, § 74, pp. 18, 19.

¹⁹ The so-called Scytho-Sassanian coins are regarded by Drouin as the coins of Kushans themselves, while, according to Cunningham, they were issued by the Sassanians. In any case their date is limited to 300-450 A. D., and they do not therefore belong to the period contemplated in the *Wei-liao*. (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, § 75, p. 19).

²⁰ Kuldarra (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 41), Panjtar (*ASR.*, p. 61, pl. xvi) and Taxila (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 975 ff.) Inscriptions.

Emperors did not personally govern India, but a Viceroy ruled there in their name. We have a series of coins (the coins of the so-called Nameless kings) which are in some respects parallel to these inscriptions and have been referred, on independent grounds, to the period of Wema Kadphises.²¹ These coins and inscriptions may therefore be referred to the period of interval between the first Kushan conquest of India and the assumption of the Indian Government by the Kushan Emperors themselves.

It is legitimate, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, to take all these dates ranging from 72 to 136 as belonging to one era.²² Kanishka, according to this view, would have to be placed after the year 136 of that era, and a great advance may thus be made in the solution of the Kanishka problem, if we can fix the initial point of the era.

Dr. Fleet has emphasised the principle that we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of an era, for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all.²³ Dr. Oldenberg made a similar remark in connection with the Gupta era. "The fundamental mistake," said Dr. Oldenberg, "which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology, consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition, which we possess regarding the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it. We shall try to proceed in this way so clearly prescribed by the nature of the question."²⁴

These principles, applied to the question at hand, limit our choice in the first instance, to the two well-known eras which commenced in 58 B. C. and A. D. 78.

On general grounds, the era of A. D. 78 must be preferred to that of 58 B. C., in interpreting the dates of these foreign rulers. In the first place, tradition attributes the inauguration of the first to the accession of a Saka ruler, while it assigns an indigenous origin to the second. Secondly the Western Satraps, who undoubtedly used the era of A. D., 78 indicate close connection with the north-western parts of India by the Kharoṣṭhi letters on their coins,²⁵ and all the rulers we have to deal with belong to that quarter.

Interpreted by the 'Saka Era', the dates of the various rulers will be as follows:—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Soḍāsa | A. D. 150 |
| Patika | A. D. 156 |
| Gondophares | A. D. 181 |
| Kushan Kings (before Kanishka) .. | A. D. 191 to 214 |
| Kanishka | Some time after A. D. 214 |

²¹ *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 661.

²² Sir John Marshall has disputed the validity of the generally accepted belief that the date of the Taxila copperplate of Patika and the year 72 of Soḍāsa refer to one and the same era. (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 985-86). His arguments, I am afraid, are not quite convincing to me. The inconsistency which he has pointed out may be removed either in the way suggested by Dr. Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 1034-35), or by supposing that the number of small inscriptions which cover the entire face of the Mathura Lion pillar capital were written at different times by different individuals. Both the styles of writing as well as the subject matter support this hypothesis (See M. Barth's remarks in *ante*, 1908, p. 245). It must also be remembered that the inscription of Satrap Soḍāsa need not necessarily be referred to a period earlier than that of Mahākshatrapa Soḍāsa for though, as a general rule, the transition is from the state of Kshatrapa to that of a Mahākshatrapa, the reverse case is not unknown: cf. e.g., the case of Rudrasimha I. His coins show him to be a Mahākshatrapa in the years 103, 106, 109 and 110 and a simple Kshatrapa in the years 110 and 112. Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, &c., pp. 87-91).

²³ *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 231.

²⁴ *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 217.

²⁵ Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, p. CIV.

The results may appear to be too startling for serious consideration; but, when calmly considered, they are found to be opposed to nothing but vague prejudices inherited from earlier writers, who had to form their conclusions on very insufficient grounds.

The Northern Satraps have usually been referred to very early times, but there are no positive data to determine their dates, and their chronological position has been fixed solely with reference to that of the Greeks and the Kushans. As the date of the Kushans is the matter of dispute, it would be begging the question to rely upon it, and the Greek chronology is far from being settled as yet. It must never be forgotten that numismatic and palæographic evidences can only supply relative dates and never an absolute one (unless of course the coins are dated in a known era, which however is not the case in the present instance). When specific dates are given to a king on numismatic and palæographic evidences, they are simply conjectured on the basis of the dates of other king, or of kings with relation to whom his chronological position has been established by means of coins and inscriptions. Everything therefore depends upon the latter, and the specific dates of the former, arrived at by numismatic and palæographic evidences, possess no more value than may be attached to it. We should therefore distinguish the numismatic and palæographic *facts* from the *theories* based upon them. The establishment of these facts requires a great deal of technical skill and observation, and they should not be slightly treated, when their accuracy is established by the joint testimony of a number of experts in these branches. The chronological theories established on the basis of these facts do not stand however on the same footing. They are based on some assumptions with regard to historical events, and must stand or fall with them. As regards the Northern Satraps, early dates were assigned to them on the basis of the assumed date for the extinction of the Greek rule in India. This was first taken to be 120 B. C. and next shifted to a period 100 years later, but even this did not rest on secure grounds. Already a still later date has been proposed and generally accepted, and more shifting will probably take place in future. While therefore we should accept in general the priority of the Greek sovereigns, we are unable to rely much upon any specific date assigned to the Northern Satraps. The proposed date for the Northern Satraps is not therefore *prima facie* an impossible one.

There seems to be a consensus of opinion among the scholars as regards the date of Gondophares, but the unanimity is more apparent than real. By a curious coincidence they have come to maintain the same point, though their views are based on diametrically opposite principles. Thus Dr. Fleet arrives at the date by referring the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription to the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C., which he considers to be the historic era of Northern India being founded by the great emperor Kanishka. Dr. Thomas, Mr. V. A. Smith and Mr. Rapson, who all deny any association between Kanishka and Vikrama Samvat, and do not even recognise the possibility of the Vikrama Samvat having ever been used in those regions at so early a period, arrive at the same conclusion on numismatic and palæographic evidences, which place Gondophares a little before Kanishka, whom they refer to about A.D. 78.

The position with regard to Gondophares is briefly this: A Christian tradition associates him with the apostle St. Thomas and thus refers him to the middle of the first century A.D. It is generally admitted, however, that the tradition by itself is unworthy of serious belief.

Thus Mr. V. A. Smith says: "The whole story is pure mythology, and the geography is as mythical as the tale itself After much consideration I am now of opinion that the story of the personal ministration and the martyrdom of St. Thomas in the realms of Gondophares and Mazdai should not be accepted."²⁶ Dr. Fleet also expresses a similar but a more moderate opinion as follows: "Now in the Christian tradition there are details which tend to prevent us from placing implicit reliance upon it. And as regards its external bearings, it would hardly suffice, standing alone, to allow us to introduce into the early history, as a proved fact, the existence, at some time between about A.D. 33 and 68 of two kings of India, or of parts thereof, whose names should be found in the Gudnaphar, Gundaphar, Goundaphoros or Gundaforus, and the Mazdai, Misdaio or Mesdeus of the tradition."²⁷ Mr. Burkitt who has made a special study of the subject is also of opinion that "That the stories in the Acts of St. Thomas have little or no historical basis is indeed almost self-evident."

The tradition about Gondophares therefore cannot be accepted as an historical fact, unless it is corroborated by independent evidence. Reliable independent evidence however there is none, and scholars do not even agree as to the bearing of the numismatic and palaeographic facts with regard to the question. Dr. Fleet and Mr. R. D. Banerji do not hesitate to place Kanishka before Gondophares, while Dr. Bühler, Dr. Thomas, Mr. V. A. Smith, Mr. Rapson and others would reverse the position. I am inclined to accept the latter view, and hold it as an established fact, on numismatic and palaeographic grounds, that Kanishka flourished later than Gondophares. But the specific date proposed for Gondophares on this ground possesses little value, as the date of Kanishka itself is open to dispute and forms the subject-matter of the present discussion. There is thus no good ground for the assumption that Gondophares flourished in the middle of the first century A.D.

The above discussions make it quite clear that no serious objection can be opposed to the results obtained by referring the dates under consideration to the era of A. D. 78.

The Chinese evidence is thus corroborated by the results deduced from Indian inscriptions regarding the date of Kushan sovereignty. We have seen that, by referring the Indian inscriptions to the well-known era beginning in A.D. 78, the date of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares falls in A.D. 181 and that of the Kadphises kings between A.D. 191 and 214. The Chinese evidence also shows that Kozoulo-Kadphises defeated the Parthians and conquered Kabul, and that his son conquered India, shortly before A.D. 220. This perfect agreement between two such different sources of information shows that we are on the right track.

It follows from what has been said before that Kanishka must be placed after A.D. 214. The silence of Fan-Ye regarding Kanishka seems to carry this limit to about A.D. 220. We must therefore look for the initial point of the Kanishka era very near this date, for he cannot well be very far removed from Wema-Kadphises. As I have said before, we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand new era for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all. Our choice must therefore fall upon a known era which commences close to A.D., 220 if there be any. Such an era is to be found in the so-called "Traikūṭaka, Kalachuri or Chedi era," the initial point of which falls in A.D. 248-249, and assuming our main arguments to be correct, there can be scarcely any hesitation in looking upon Kanishka as the inaugurator of the era.

²⁶ *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, pp. 233-234.

²⁷ *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 227.

The origin of this era is shrouded in mystery. The earliest instance where its use can be definitely established is afforded by an inscription of the Traikûṭaka king Dahrasena dated in the year 207. From this time onwards the era was mostly prevalent in the Gurjara country and Konkan without any definite name, being simply referred to as 'Samvatsara'. In one instance it is referred to as "*Tr-(ai)kûṭakânâ(ś) pravarddhamâna-râjya-sa(ś)-vatsara-sata-dvaye pañcha—chatvâri(ś)sad-uttare*," which seems to show that it was mostly in use in the Traikûṭaka kingdom. It is not until the year 893 of the era that a definite name, viz., Kalachuri Samvatsara, was given to it. In all these there is nothing inconsistent with the assumption that the era was founded by Kanishka and made current in Gurjara and Konkan by dynasties of feudatory kings. An analogous instance is afforded by the Gupta era, which was prevalent in western parts of India long after it had ceased to be current in its home provinces, and even came to be known as the Valabhi Samvat.

A close study of the coins of the Western Satraps seems to show that the influence of the Kushan Emperors had made itself felt in this quarter. The following remarks of Rapson, who has made a special study of the subject, show the gradual process of decline in the power of the Western Satraps.

"Already in this reign (of Vijayasena) appear the first symptoms of a decline about the year 167 or 168 (A. D. 245-246); and from this time onwards until the end of the dynasty it is possible to observe in the coinage a process of continuous degradation, varied occasionally by short-lived attempts to restore a higher standard." (Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, p. 137).

"In any case there must have been a long interval in which there was no Mahâkṣatrapa. The first part of this interval is taken up with the reigns of two Kshatrapas, Rudrasimha II, 227-23 (5-9) [A. D. 305-31 (3-7)] and Yasodaman II, 239-254 [A.D. 317-332]; during the latter part, 254-270 (A.D. 332-348) the coins of this dynasty cease altogether."

"All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period, the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahâkṣatrapas and afterwards of both Mahâkṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful." (*Ibid*, p. 142.)

It will be observed that my theory about the Kushan chronology fully explains the process of continuous degradation noticed by Rapson. The first symptoms of decline appear shortly after the Kushans had established their supremacy in India. The dynasty is shorn of power during Huvishka's time, altogether ceases to exist as a ruling power during the rule of Vâsudeva, and revives some of its power and influence only after the death of this prince and the consequent downfall of the Kushan power. It is quite permissible to hold, therefore, that a rival dynasty was established in Gujarat to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushans long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

Another circumstance corroborates the theory that Kanishka flourished about A.D. 249. We have a Mathura Inscription dated in the year 299 whose letters resemble those of the Sarnath Inscription of Kanishka, and which must therefore be placed, on palæographic grounds, close to the period of Kanishka. It is admitted by all that this date cannot be referred to the era used by Kanishka or the Northern Satraps. Those who place Kanishka in A.D. 78 are thus compelled to refer it to a second unknown era (the first unknown era being that to which they refer the dates of Soḍāsa and Gondophares).

According to my theory all difficulties are removed by referring it to the Vikrama Samvat which places it about ten years earlier than the Sarnath Inscription, and seven years earlier than the inauguration of the Kushan era. This latter fact probably explains the use of Vikrama Samvat in Mathurā. The Śaka power had been extinguished and the new dynasty of the Kushans had not yet established an era. Under such circumstances one who is conversant with Vikrama Samvat may use that era in Mathurā. This seems to me to be the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty, for it must be remembered that the era was current for about 300 years and can hardly be explained by the theory of a local origin without any definite proof.

The position may thus be summed up as follows: The natural interpretation of the Indian and Chinese evidences place Kanishka after A.D. 220, and as there is a well-known Indian era running from A.D. 248-9 we can hardly be mistaken in looking upon Kanishka as its inaugurator. This proposition is fully supported by the history of the Western Satraps and the inscription of Mathurā dated in the year 290.

I shall now proceed to show that the theory I have put forward is in perfect agreement with the known facts of palæography and numismatics.

Palæography: According to my theory the Kushan period is brought quite close to that period of the Guptas, of which we possess epigraphical record. This is fully in agreement with palæographic facts. Dr. Bühler, after an exhaustive analysis of the peculiarities of the Kushan inscriptions, makes the following remarks:—

“All these peculiarities, as well as the advanced forms of the medial vowels, of *ā* in *rā*, of *u* in *ku* and in *stu*, and of *o* in *to*, reappear constantly in the northern alphabets of the next period, those of the Gupta inscriptions and of the Bower MS., or are precursors of the forms of those documents. The literary alphabets used in Mathurā during the first two centuries A.D. very likely were identical with or closely similar to the later ones, and the admixture of older forms, observable in the inscriptions of the Kushan period may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions.”

Thus Dr. Bühler fully noticed the remarkable similarity of the letters of the Kushan and Gupta periods. But as he was not prepared for its logical consequence he had to maintain the identity of alphabets separated by more than two centuries. The theory, I have advanced, shows that the alphabets of the two periods were similar for the very natural reason that one of them closely followed upon the other.

Numismatics: My theory offers a more satisfactory explanation of the close connection between the coins of the Kushans and the Guptas than any that has yet been proposed. Dr. Oldenberg, while placing Kanishka in A.D. 78 made the very apposite remark that, “It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this [Kushan Coinage] is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off.”²⁸ He further added, “that the vacant period between Vāsudeva and the Guptas is already [by placing Kanishka in A.D. 78] perhaps greater than might be expected.”²⁹

Mr. V. A. Smith practically agrees to this, when he says: “The close relationship in weights, types, and palæography between the coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty (A.D. 320-480) and those of the Kushan kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, is obvious and has always been recognised.”³⁰

²⁸ *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 217.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 216.

³⁰ *JRAS*. 1903, p. 35.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 247.)

Such was the position in the year 1752. The nominal king of the country, the exiled Nâik, was a refuge in the Râmnâd estate. His kingdom was an object of contest between the powers of South India. It would be exceedingly interesting to ascertain the nature of the feelings which each of the contending parties felt towards the ex-king. One thing is certain, however: he was not such a forgotten figure in the politics of the day as we have to infer from the great English historian of the period. The descendant of Tirumala Nâik did not indeed actually exercise power. But his name had a charm to the Hindu population and was received with applause and with loyalty by many of the Polygars. Vijaya Kumâra could not therefore be ignored by the parties of the war. Intrigues and counter-intrigues must have passed between him and them, but the details of these we unfortunately do not possess. With regard to the Policy of Chanda Sahib, or at least his lieutenant Alam Khan, however, we have got ample material to pronounce a judgment. Chanda Sahib had behaved, as has been already mentioned, like a determined opponent of Vijaya Kumâra. It was his want of sympathy, in fact, that made Baṅgaru Tirumala apply to the Mahrattas for help in 1741. But it seems that, after his conquest of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib apparently changed his attitude towards the ex-king of Madura. He seems to have no longer regarded him as an adversary to be removed at any cost from the field. Either a wise policy of conciliation or a hypocritical pretence, for the time, of friendship, induced him to negotiate with Vijaya Kumâra and recognize his birthright as the king of the cis-Kaveri region. Perhaps he feared that Muhammad Ali might befriend him and thereby strengthen his cause. Perhaps he thought that he would strengthen his own cause by respecting the loyal sentiments of the Hindus and recognizing their titular monarch. Whatever the reason was, his lieutenant Alam Khan tried his best for the restoration of Vijaya Kumâra to Madura. He himself could not do it in person, for the state of affairs at Trichinopoly called his immediate presence, there to stand by his master. When departing to the scene of war, however, he ordered his own son-in-law and representative,* Muda Miyan, whom he appointed the Viceroy of Madura and Tinnevely, to immediately restore the Carnatic prince to his birthright. "From the time of our ancestors," he said, "we have been the servants of the Trichinopoly Raj. The same is the case with me now. The Karnâṭaka Monarch is now in the Marava country. Call him thence, crown him, and seek from him a *jâgîr* for your service."

The Naik restoration.

With this order, Alam Khan proceeded to Trichinopoly to join his master. There unfortunately, he fell a victim to a skirmish against Lawrence and Clive. His orders were, if we are to trust the chronicle, scrupulously carried out by Muda Miyan. Proceeding

* Orme does not mention all this. He simply says that Alam Khan in 1752 left Madura under the management of three Pathan officers, Muhammad Barki (Myana), Muhammad Mainach (Muda Miyan), and Nabi-Khan (Katak), while proceeding to Trichinopoly.

to Rāmnād, he had an interview with the Sêṭupati's *padhāni*, (*velian*, *sêrvaikāran*), a man of absolute loyalty and honest bravery, and expressed the purpose of his visit. The Marava Minister was transported with joy at the turn of his master's fortune. He immediately took Muda Miyan to Srirāṅgam where, Dorasāmi Tāṇḍavarāya Piḷḷai heartily joined them. All the three officers then went to Vellai Kuruchchi, and congratulating Vijaya Kumāra on his change of fortune, escorted him in pomp to his capital. Then in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, he received, from the hands of Goddess Minākshi, the sceptre, and the symbols of sovereignty in Āṅgīrasa Mārgali. Mounted on an elephant, seated on a howdah, he was taken in procession around the city; and to the great joy of the people, crowned with pomp. Almost all the Polygars graced the occasion with their presence, and hastened to perform homage. They prostrated themselves before him as if before a divinity, and showered on him gold and silver flowers.

Muhammad Ali's final overthrow of it.

Vijaya Kumāra enjoyed his kingdom only for the space¹ of two years according to one account and six months to another. Even during this short period he seems to have been merely a nominal king. The Muhammadan officers of Chanda Sahib, Myana, Muda Miyan and Nabi Khan, either remained in the Madura fort or *jāgirs* near, and made no hesitation in ignoring the power of the restored monarch and treating him as their tool. But so long as Chanda Sahib was alive, they at least nominally obeyed the Nāik king. But late in 1752 Chanda Sahib was captured and killed, and the Carnatic became the undisputed possession of Muhammad Ali. A man of a mean and unscrupulous temperament, Muhammad Ali at once took steps to remove Vijaya Kumāra. With a bribe of a lakh of rupees, he persuaded a Muhammadan saint, Asafu'ddin Sahib by name, to proceed to Madura and give Muhammad Miyan, the son-in-law of Myana, a written document in which he mentioned that he would offer a jagir of the value of a lakh of rupees and a cash of Rs. 50,000 in case he treacherously seized the person of the king. Myana was consulted in the matter by his son-in-law, and was mean enough to readily yield to it. The project, however, was looked upon with disfavour by Hussain Khan, a brother of Myana. He expressed in a bitter invective his contempt and abhorrence for the author of such a crime, rebuked his brother for his treachery towards a master whose salt he and his ancestors had eaten, and pointed out how his treason, which deserved death, was detestable in the eyes of both God and man, while it would bring eternal shame on the whole family of which he was the head. But the obstinacy of Myana, seconded by the passions and interests of his colleagues, Muda Miyan and Nabi, ignored the advice of his brother. Hussain saw that it was hopeless to reform his brother or to prevent the conspiracy. He therefore secured an audience with the king and, after making known to him the evil machinations of the Nawab's emissaries and the treachery of his own servants, persuaded him, for the sake of his life, to leave Madura, for the present, to a more secure locality. The fears of Vijaya Kumāra were alarmed by the view of the least danger. A coward of a despicable character, he held life more precious than honour and yielded a ready consent to the proposal of his Musalman friend. The village of Vellai Kuruchchi in the Sivagaṅga Zamindary became, thanks to the constancy of the Sêṭupatis, once again the place of exile. It was soon however exchanged, in accordance with the advice of the same chief, to a place, more remote from

¹ The 1st is *Carn. Lords* and the 2nd the last *Mist. MS.* The latter distinctly says that he was restored in Āṅgīrasa Mārgali and that he ruled in the Karnāṭaka fashion down to Srīmukha.

Madura, and therefore more secure, from the Nawab's designs. The generous loyalty⁹ of the Sêtipati built for him a palace at Dharbha-Sayanam, the place of his new exile, endowed the village of Virasôren in his name, and furnished him with the expenses of his household and his maintenance.

Muhammad Ali was now the master of Madura and Tinnevely. His first work after the assumption of Government was to endeavour to complete the ruin of his rival. Umad Aleam Khan, the son of the Nawab, was despatched to reduce the Râmnâd and Sivagaṅga pālayams and to bring the king as a captive.

The Karta in exile.

Umad was soon near Râmnâd, and when he was about to take it, he sent men to search the surrounding country and discover the whereabouts of Vijaya Kumâra. The agents of the latter at Râmnâd acquainted him with the fact, and he instantly resolved to leave the place. Horses and camels, elephants and palanquins for the ladies, were at once set in motion, and that very night Vijaya Kumâra went westward to the Pālayam of Tirumalai Gaṇḍama Nâik. The latter with a rare and commendable loyalty, met the fallen and flying king at the boundary of his estate, and prostrating himself at his feet, performed homage and presented gold and silver flowers. He declared that his estate, as well as his life and services, were at his disposal. He built for him a residence, and left for his sole maintenance the village of Têgâmbaṭṭi.¹⁰ Besides, he supplied him with all the expenses of his household, and himself paid homage twice every day, waiting in respectful attendance for more than an hour. This intercourse of respectful duty he steadily continued.

Glimpses of the Nâik family in later times.

With the final fall of the Vijaya Kumâra, now a helpless exile, the history of the Nâiks of Madura closes. They did not entirely die from the current politics of the age; for as we shall see presently, the Polygars looked to the Royal exile as their right chief and even, as late as 1757, tried, by concluding an alliance with Mysore, to bring about his return. No doubt, by this alliance it was resolved to restore the fallen monarch. Mahfûz Khan (who was then a rebel against Muhammad Ali's authority) was to be given a suitable establishment in Mysore, and Mysore was to have the Dindigul province. The alliance, however, was shattered by the military genius of Yusuf Khan. In 1777 Minâkshi Nâik, an agent of Vijaya Kumâra, waited on Lord Pigot in Madras and obtained his sympathy and promise to consider the past history of his master and his claims.

But before he could do anything he was himself, as every student of Madras history knows, a victim of party squabbles and a prey of his adversaries. Vijaya Kumâra therefore continued to live in Gaṇḍama Nâikanûr till his death on Mârgaṣi 23, Hêvitaṃbl (1777)—more than forty years after the death of the unfortunate Minâkshi. His son Râja Viśvanâtha Nâik succeeded to his claims and was even formally anointed and waited upon by the Polygars of Gaṇḍama Nâikanûr, Bôdi-Nâikanûr, Irchaka Nâikanûr, Elumalai, etc., and was paid formal homage, presents and offerings. Next year these faithful chiefs celebrated the marriage of their phantom chief. He remained there for six years and subsequently settled with his people once again at Vellai Kuruchchi. The rule of the East India Company was now firmly established, and the son of Viśvanâtha Nâik, Vijaya Kumâra, Viśvanâtha Baṅgaru Tirumala, whose poverty was acute in consequence of the resumption of the two villages granted of old by Râmnâd and Bôdi-Nâikanûr, endeavoured, as late as 1820, to obtain pecuniary assistance from Government.¹¹ He and

⁹ *Hist. Carna. Govts.*

¹⁰ A *Mist. MS.* (May, 1820) says that Setṭikkuruchchi in the Bodhinâyakhan Zamindari was also given him. See *O. H. MSS.*, II, 260.

¹¹ Caldwell's *Tinnevely*.

his family lived at Vellai Kuruchchi and their children were there until quite recently.¹¹ "It is said that they still kept up the old form of having recited, on the first day of Chittrai in each year, a long account of their pedigree and the boundaries of the great kingdom of which their forebears were rulers." (*Madura Gaz.*, p. 60). These titles alone, recognized by a few obscure men, remained their possession out of the large Empire their ancestors once ruled.

(Concluded.)

MISCELLANEA.

BANDHU-BHŪITYA OF THE MUDRA RAKSHASA.

THE explanation¹ given by the *Tikkādra*, of the phrase श्रीमद्भुम्हृत्यः in the *bharata-rākya* to the *Mudra-Rākshasa* (स श्रीमद्भुम्हृत्यश्चिरमवतु. महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रसुतः) is not satisfactory. The honorific *Śrīmat* excludes the meaning offered by Dhunḍhirāja. *Bhūityā* would be hardly called *Śrīmantah*. I would take it as "He whose *bhūitya* (servant) is Śrīmān Bandhu."

Who was this Bandhu, who was important enough to be mentioned in the *bharata-rākya* to denote the greatness of Chandragupta II?² In the next reign we find Bandhuvarman, son of Viśhvarman of Mālāwā, as a governor (or vassal) of the Gupta emperor at Mandasor (Daśapura).³ But in the time of Chandragupta, Bandhuvarman's father must have been ruling over Mālāwā, as he was ruling even after him in 423 A.D. (Gaṅgadhār inscription of

480 M. E.).⁴ It appears that neither Viśhva-varman nor his ancestors at Pokarana acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.⁵

It seems that Bandhuvarman, son of the sturdy Viśhva-varman had come away to the court of Chandragupta II, most probably against the wishes of his father. The event would have caused some sensation at Pāṭali-putra, for the Pokarana sovereigns claimed to be great monarchs, Chandra having conquered up to Baktria only a generation before. Bandhu's acceptance of service or offer of allegiance would have promised the certainty of the allegiance of the great monarchy of the Varmans to the Imperial Throne in the near future. The event would have very well appeared to Viśākha-datta worthy of being associated with the name of his Emperor to indicate his great prestige.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

8. Punishments for Piracy—hanging, whipping, branding.

28 April 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to the Honble. Rhede, Commissary General for the Rt. Honble. Netherlands East India Company. The 9 English prisoners your Honor was pleased to send us from Pollicat were lately tried by a Court Martiall, one of whome being pardon'd accused the rest confessing their several robberies and Pyracies; when upon examination, some being found more culpable then others, the Court Condemned the most notorious Criminal to be

hanged aboard ship at the yard arme, another to be whipt at the severall Europe ships in the road, and after to be branded with a hott Iron in the forehead, and the remaining 6 to be likewise stigmatized in their foreheads with a P, which sentences were accordingly executed, and all banisht the Country. God grant their sad examples may terrefye others from the like horred crimes. This I thought necessary to acquaint your honor with, since some of their wicked crew remain stil in your Custodye. *Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George, 1689* pp. 21-22.

R. C. T.

¹¹ Buchanan, while on his way from Dodora Balapura to Sira, met at a particular place a renter of some villages "named Trimula Nayaka, from whom I received the intelligence which I consider as the most accurate that I procured during my whole journey." He says that he was a descendant of the Madura Rājas and that his ancestor was "a brother of the then reigning prince who, in a dispute, was savage enough to threaten the life of so near a relation." See Vol. I, p. 252.

¹ श्रीमद्भुम्हृत्यः : श्रीमन्त-भुम्हृत्यश्च यस्व सः : Dhunḍhirāja, Telang's *Mudra-Rākshasa*, p. 318.

² *Ante*, 1913, p. 265.

³ Haraprasad Shastri, *Ante*, 1913.

⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Insers.*, p. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

BOOK NOTICE.

VIJÑAPTI-TRIVENĪ, A JAINA EPISTLE.

THE Jain community of the Hindu people is showing laudable activity in bringing to light pieces of their hidden literature, which are as valuable as any other ancient literature of the country. The *Jaina-Ātmānanda-Sabha* of Bhavnagar has undertaken to publish an historical series (*Itihāsa-mālā*) and the *Vijñapti-trivenī* is its first number. The work is edited in Hindi, which the Jain community has adopted as its common language. The text, however, is given in the original Sanskrit. The introduction in Hindi covers 96 pages containing valuable information, and the text covers 70 pages of octavo print.

The *Vijñapti-trivenī* is a Sanskrit epistle dated Māgha Sudi 8, 1484 V. S. and the text is edited from the original MS. of the author. That manuscript is at present in the Jain library of Vāḍipura-Parsvanātha at Pāṭan in North Gujarat. It has been brought to light and edited with care by Muni Jina-Vijayaji, pupil of Mahārāja Pravartaka Muni Śrī-Kānti-Vijayaji.

This epistle is one of the many literary epistles called *Vijñaptis* written by medieval Jains to their spiritual leaders on the last day of the Par-yushanā week. On that day the Jains are supposed to forgive others and ask for others' forgiveness. The week falls in Bhādra (Vadi 12th to Sudi 4th) or in Śrāvana according to local reckonings. After the week the Jains write letters between themselves and also to their *Āchāryas* asking for forgiveness. Some of the letters written on the occasion in the Middle Ages used to be profusely illustrated with pictures of well-known buildings, e. g., palaces, temples, mosques and various scenes, from still-life to acrobatics. One such letter covers a roll of nearly 60 feet! Generally letters written by 'Munis' to their *Āchāryas* are so many attempts at artificial Sanskrit poetry. The *Indu-dāta* and *Cheto-dāta* are such epistles written in imitation of the *Meghadūta*. Our present epistle, however, is more sedate and contains more valuable materials.

The author Jayasāgara-Upādhyāya addressed this epistle from Malikahana in Sindh to Śrī-Jinabhadra Śūri, Āchārya of the Kharatara Gachchha at Anahilapūr-pāṭana in Gujarāt. It describes a journey to Kāngrā. The description is divided into three sections. The journey was undertaken by a number of merchants at the invitation of Jayasāgara, and the *saṅgha* on its way was protected by armed retainers. The object of the journey was the worship of a Jain deity in the hill fortress of Kaṅgadaka (modern Kāngrā), situated by the capital called Nagara-koṭṭa, which in those days was held by an independent Hindu King, Narendra-

chandra of the Somavamsa. The names of the capital and fortress are now combined in our present-day Koṭa Kāngrā. The old fortress has been unfortunately destroyed within living memory, by the dreadful earthquake of 1905.

The time of Jinabhadra is fully ascertained. He is well-known for having built many Jain temples and for having established a number of Jain libraries in Western India, one of which survives in the present library of Vāḍipura-Parsvanātha at Pāṭana, where the MS. of the *Vijñapti-trivenī* has been discovered. The present number of the volumes in the Pāṭana library is about 750. They are written on paper-leaves of generally one size and also generally in letters of one and the same type. This was done in the age when the Jain Āchāryas had old manuscripts on palm-leaves transferred to paper. Jinabhadra took a leading part in that movement. From the existing manuscripts of the Pāṭana Library it appears that Jinabhadra carried on this mission of manuscript-making from 1475 V. S. to 1515 V. S.

The epistle is useful for tracing the route from Western India to the Punjab in the 15th century; and the place-names on that route may be consulted for the purposes of comparison and identification. The document, like the majority of the Jain records of the Middle Ages, is reliable for dates and other material data. A great contribution of the epistle to the history of Kāngrā is that it settles the date of King Narendrachandra whose coins we possess. No date with certainty could yet be given to him; Mr. V. Smith tentatively placed him about 1465—80 A.C. (*Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 278). Now we know on contemporary evidence of the epistle that he was reigning in 1427 A.C. and also the fact that he was a Jain. This definite date brings order at least on one point into the chaos of the Kāngrā chronology. There are some further informations of historical value. The kingdom of Kashmir extended upto Hariyānā in those days, which also marked off the boundaries of Jālandhara, Madhya-deśa and Jāngala-deśa (Kuru-Jāngala). Apparently to the east of Hariyānā (modern Hariyānā) lay the Madhya-deśa. Near Hariyānā on the Bias the pilgrims witnessed an engagement between the troops of "Sakander, King of Turushkas" and those of "Yaśoratha, lord of Shoshara." It seems that the Epistle's *śapāda-lakṣa* is our 'Sewalik'. We are highly indebted to Muni Vijayaji for bringing this unique kind of composition to the notice of scholars and for writing a valuable preface to it.

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

Introductory Remarks.

TWO and a half years ago my attention was drawn to a MS. account of a survey of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1787 by Captain Alexander Kyd.¹ In his description of Car Nicobar, Kyd refers as follows to a settlement made under the auspices of Austria in 1778 :—

"The Imperial Company, by the advice of Mr. Bolts, established a factory upon one of these Islands a few years ago, but no support was given to the first settlers, who being ill-supplied with every necessary for a hot climate and miserably lodged, mostly all perished, probably more from the above causes than from the badness of the climate."

In my endeavour to obtain further details of this settlement, I made a search among the India Office Records and found a number of documents dealing with Austria's attempt to seize a share of the trade with India. These I have extracted from the many ponderous tomes in which they are buried, and by the courtesy of the authorities of the India Office, I now reproduce them verbatim, only altering the punctuation where necessary for the sense.

As I understand that a detailed work on William (or Willem) Bolts and his career under the East India Company, as well as during his employment by Austria, is in preparation, I have not attempted to present an exhaustive history either of the man or his schemes. I have merely made a collection of papers relative to the Austrian venture, arranging them in groups with suitable headings, and adding brief notes to elucidate the text.

The papers so collected fall under the following divisions :—

- I. Measures taken in the Presidency of Bombay to nullify the Austrian enterprise.
- II. Measures taken by the Council at Fort William to obstruct the endeavours of Bolts to trade in Bengal.
- III. Obstructive measures at Madras directed against individuals interested in the Austrian venture.
- IV. Details and prospectus of the Triestine Society promoted by Bolts in 1783.

A few words regarding the man entrusted with the carrying out of Austria's plans for trade in the East are necessary to complete the story.

Willem Bolts, a Dutchman, was born in Holland c. 1735. He went to England when fifteen years old, and thence to Lisbon, where he witnessed the great earthquake of 1755. Shortly afterwards he proceeded to India and arrived in Bengal subsequent to the tragedy of the Black Hole in June, 1756. Owing to the want of clerks, he was taken into the Company's service at Calcutta, became factor in 1762, and junior merchant and second in Council at Benares in 1765. In that year he was recalled to Calcutta and was charged with using the authority of the Company to further his own interests. In 1766 he resigned the Company's service and accepted a post as Alderman at Calcutta. From that time,

¹ The account is to be found in *Factory Records, Straits Settlements*, Vol. II, Consultation at Fort William, 14 September, 1787 (India Office Records). I had it copied and annotated it for printing in this Journal. The article, however, went down in the ill-fated *Persia* in December, 1915.

until 1768, when he was deported to England, he was repeatedly quarrelling with the Bengal Council on account of his private trade, by which he had accumulated a large fortune.

On his return to England, Bolts issued a pamphlet² recording the "oppressions" he had "suffered in Bengal." He then appealed to the Court of Directors, who, instead of espousing his cause, instituted a law-suit against him. The legal costs of the suit and the publication (in 1772-1775) of a work, in which he attacked the administration of the Company, nearly ruined him. The book (in 3 4to vols.) was entitled *Considerations on Indian Affairs, particularly respecting the present state of Bengal and its Dependencies. By William Bolts, merchant and alderman or Judge of the Hon. the Mayor's Court of Calcutta.*

The antagonism that Bolts had roused among the authorities in Bengal found vent in their letters after his departure. In January 1770 the Council at Fort William wrote that they imagined the sending home of Mr. Bolts would meet with the Directors' approbation "by reason of the just idea you entertain" of his "dangerous and intriguing spirit." They also enlarged on the extent of his illicit trade and the "little regard" he "pays either to the Commands of his Superiors or to publick faith."³ The Directors also received voluminous appeals from the attorneys appointed by Bolts, complaining of the obstacles they met with in collecting his debts.

Finding himself worsted in his struggle with the Court of Directors, Bolts proceeded to utilize his knowledge of Indian affairs for the benefit of another European power. He approached Count Belgiogoso, the Ambassador in London of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, with proposals for inaugurating a direct trade between the Austrian Empire and Persia, the East Indies, China and Africa. The proposals were favourably received, and in 1775 Bolts was summoned to Vienna to unfold his plans. There he was made an Austrian subject, was invested by the Empress with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was granted a charter, dated 5th June 1775, for the foundation of a commercial company. In the course of his proceedings, Bolts formed establishments on the S. W. Coast of Africa (Delagoa Bay), on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, and in the Nicobar Islands.

These, however, were only of temporary duration, since the Company became bankrupt in 1781. Bolts returned to Europe and immediately proceeded to set on foot another trading scheme for Austrian enterprise in India under the name of the Triestine Society. One ship sailed at the end of 1783, but the undertaking was launched at an inopportune time and in 1785 the Company declared itself insolvent. Bolts afterwards proceeded to Paris and eventually died there in great poverty in 1808.

There are notices of this 18th century company promoter in the *Biographie Universelle* and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and allusions to his Indian venture in the *New Imperial Gazetteer of India* (II. 466 and XIX. 64). The fullest account, however, that has yet been written in English of this remarkable personage is to be found in a paper entitled *Extract from the Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara": The Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal*, which is printed in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department*, No. LXXVII (Calcutta, 1870, pp. 193-207).

² *Oppressions suffered in Bengal by Mr. William Bolts, &c., from the East India Company's representatives.* London, 1769.

³ *Bengal Letters Received*, IX. 180-181.

In his *History of the Mahrattas* (II. 345), Grant Duff pays the following tribute to the ability of the emissary of Austria :—

" Mr Bolts, originally in the Company's service in Bengal, who was in Poona at the same time [1777] as an avowed agent of the house of Austria, received no such civilities [as those accorded to the adventurer, St. Lubin, French ambassador]. Nana Furnuwees [Nānā Farnawis] probably perceived that St. Lubin was a fitter tool ; and Mr Bolts, who was early dismissed, might have viewed that circumstance as complimentary to his character."

The Company's instructions to their three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to obstruct the Austrian enterprise.

Letter, dated London, 24 December, 1776.⁴

We are informed from unquestionable authority that an enterprize of trade is in agitation by Mr William Bolts (formerly in our Service in Bengal) under Imperial Colours, and the protection of the Queen of Hungary, in a large ship, late the *Earl of Lincoln*, now named the *Joseph and Theresa*, which towards the end of June last imported at Leghorn from Lisbon, where besides considerable quantities of goods before shipped, ordnance, ammunition and all kinds of military stores to a great amount were received on board, with a very valuable proportion of merchandize, consisting principally of copper, iron and steel brought thither by two Danish and Dutch ship[s] from Trieste, and as the *Florentine Gazette*, published by authority, avows "belonging to a Company erected in Germany to carry on commerce between Trieste and the Coast of Coromandel, where the House of Austria means to establish a new Factory." We are also given to understand that a number of Austrian soldiers, Lutherans, were to be embarked at Leghorn on board the said ship, which left that port the 25th of September last with her consort, an English brigantine, laden with provisions for the voyage, and that both were from the Canary Islands to continue their course to the Coast of Choromandel.

It remains for us by the present opportunity in the strongest manner to recommend to your serious and speedy consideration either separately or conjunctively with our other presidencies, to pursue the most effectual means that can be fully justified to counteract and defeat the same, observing at the same time that this commerce is not contrary to any Treaty at present subsisting.

It will be particularly necessary to counteract this scheme in the beginning, because if the adventurers meet with but indifferent success in this first essay, it may discourage them from future attempts.

If their design to settle shall prove to be in the neighbourhood of your presidency, we particularly rely on your weight and efforts with the Country [Native] Powers to render their scheme abortive.

We further especially recommend the stopping all commercial and other intercourse of our covenant servants and all under our protection with the persons who conduct this expedition or are concerned therein, and to prevent the latter from being furnished by any persons subject to your authority with money, goods, stores, or any other assistance conducive to the execution of their plan, and in case of the breach of any orders issued in this behalf, it is left with you to shew a resentment adequate to the nature of the offence.

⁴ *Bengal Despatches*, VIII. 271-274. The same instructions were sent to Madras and Bombay early in 1777.

As there are sufficient reasons to conclude several British subjects are employed in the expedition, who are, by the laws of this kingdom now in force, liable to be arrested and brought to Great Britain if found in the East Indies without our licence, we direct that you put such laws into force.

You will receive from us or our agents, by every opportunity in the course of the season, what further intelligence shall offer on this object, that such measures may be taken as shall appear expedient in consequence thereof.

Note on the Company's Instructions.

The allusions to the *Florentine Gazette* in the foregoing letter are important for the history of the proceedings of William Bolts, as indicating the *bona fides* of his claim to be a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Austrian forces and to his having gone to the East as the representative of the Austrian Empire. The *Gazetta di Firenze* was established in 1768, and was continued as the *Notizie del Mondo* (1768-1774) and as the *Gazetta Universale* from 1775 to 1811, when it reverted to its original title. There are several references in it in 1776 to Bolts and his ship. Some of these evidently reached the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London and caused them to take the action mentioned in their letter of instructions to their subordinates in India. I give the extracts from the Italian newspaper here translated in full. They consist of a series of items of news from correspondents.

Gazetta Universale, 29 June, 1776 (p. 413).

Italy, Leghorn (Livorno) 26 June: On Tuesday evening there anchored in the road the *Joseph and Theresa* (*Giuseppe e Teresa*) from London, Lisbon and Cadiz, under the [Austrian] Imperial flag, commanded by Captain William Bolts. The said ship is of 900 tons, is armed with 32 guns and has a crew of 60 men. It is to sail to the Coast of Coromandel for the purpose of securing to His Majesty the Emperor the re-entry into possession of those factories which the House of Austria had there as far back as the time of the Emperor Charles VI. of glorious memory. It will depart under the escort of the Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which is now ready to sail.

13 July, 1776 (p. 444).

Leghorn, 9 July: On Wednesday of last week, at the palace of His Excellency the Commandant-General and Governor of this city, at the invitation of the high officials of State and in the name of His Majesty the Emperor Joseph, Mr. William Bolts, now Captain of the Austrian ship *Joseph and Theresa*, destined for Coromandel, was declared a Lieutenant-Colonel before the Austrian soldiers, who were present and are to serve in the said ship. Afterwards the oath of fidelity was administered to them by the aforementioned officials in the usual military form. On the Thursday following he [Lieut.-Col. Bolts] was received into that rank on board his ship with a salute of artillery, and afterwards was entertained at a sumptuous dinner given in his honour by His Excellency in the presence of the nobility and persons of rank.

20 July, 1776 (p. 461).

Leghorn, 17 July: The Imperial Austrian ship destined for Coromandel began last Thursday to take in cargo of various sorts (which had been transported here from Trieste) and also arms and ammunition of war. Permission has been granted for her equipment in this port with sailors, pilots and other officials, and already many have signed on for service in the same.

3 September, 1776 (p. 566).

Leghorn, 30 August: The Company of marines embarked this morning about half past seven on board the Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which has left this harbour with all speed, whence it has now passed into the road to set sail for a short cruise of a few days against the fleet of Barbary pirates who are said to infest these seas. The Imperial ship of war and merchantman, *Joseph and Theresa*, is completing her preparations for her departure for Coromandel. She will start immediately after the return of the Royal Tuscan Frigate, which is intended to escort her as far as the Canary Islands.

21 December, 1776 (p. 815).

Leghorn, 18 December: The English brigantine, which is to go with the Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, in order to carry a part of the provisions and to be serviceable to her, has just arrived.

24 December, 1776 (p. 821).

Leghorn, 20 December: The English merchant brigantine, which sailed with the Imperial Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, with a cargo of various provisions, returned here on Wednesday evening in 49 days from the Island of Madeira, whence her captain was sent back after having transferred a part of her cargo on board the same [Austrian ship]. The remainder has been brought back to the merchants Otto Francke (Ottofrank) and Co. of Hamburg, as [it would have been] a hindrance to the business as a whole. The said English captain reported that he had left the abovementioned ship at another island of the Canaries beyond Madeira, waiting for a favourable wind, and that both the Commandant and the crew were in the enjoyment of perfect health.

28 December, 1776 (p. 830).

Leghorn, 25 December: The Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which has remained disarmed in this harbour since her return from the last voyage made beyond the Straits [of Gibraltar], where she accompanied the Imperial Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, to which allusion has formerly so frequently been made, has been sent into wet dock.

I

Steps taken in Bombay.

*Bombay Diary 16 July 1777.*⁵

Signed a Letter to the Governor General and Council [of Fort William], in which We advised them of our having received Intelligence by a Vessel from Delagoa that a Ship under Austrian Colours and with a very rich Cargo had Arrived there and had been run ashore in endeavouring to bring her into the River. That Mr Bolts, formerly on the Bengal Establishment, was principal Owner and Commander of her, under a Commission from the Empress, and had taken in his Cargo at Leghorn and Trieste; that his Associate, Mr Ryan⁶ arrived here on the abovementioned Country [coasting] Vessel, and proceeds on the *Hastings* prow [should be Snow] to Bengal.

*Consultation at Bombay Castle, 20 August 1777.*⁷

Reperused the Honble. Company's Commands dated the 21st February.

We have already transmitted to the Governor General and Council all the Information

⁵ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 287.

⁶ Francis Ryan, one of Bolts' partners.

⁷ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 322.

we have gained of the Austrian ship mentioned in the 30th and the following Paragraphs, Copies of which must now be sent to . . . the President and Council at Madras, as it appears thereby that the Ship's Destination was for the Coromandel Coast, tho' by what we have heard it seems doubtful whether she can be got off from the Bar of Delagoa River, where she ran aground.

Letter from the President and Council at Bombay to the President and Council at Fort St. George, dated 28 August 1777.⁸

We enclose an extract from the Honble. Company's commands, dated the 20th February last, and a copy of the paper therein refer'd to. The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Delagoa in the month of April last and ran ashore in endeavouring to get into the river. It seems doubtful whether she will be got off, but we think it proper to acquaint you that Mr Ryan, the person mention'd in the extract, arrived here some time agoe in a Country Vessell from Delagoa and took passage from hence in the *Hastings* Snow for your Coast, which Vessell has been forced into Damaun⁹ by stress of weather and we suppose will not be able to proceed on her voyage for some time.

Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated 7 September 1777.¹⁰

Honble. Sir and Sirs, We dispatch this by express Pattamars [*pathmār*, courier] to your Honor &ca. purposely to advise you of the arrival of an Imperial Austrian Ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*, commanded by Mr William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in her Imperial Majesty's Service, last from Delagoa, after a passage of six weeks, which anchored at the Bar the 5th instant in the Evening.

Lieutenant Colonel Bolts arrived at the French Gardens yesterday Evening, and addressed a letter to the Chief [Monsieur Anquetil de Briencourt], Copy of which is now enclosed, with the reply thereto, which we hope will meet your approval [not traced].

Having duly considered the Commands of the Honble. the Court of Directors with respect to this ship, we have desired the Nabob [Nawāb, the Governor] to take effectual Care that the inhabitants in this City, under his protection, have not any commercial or other intercourse with these adventurers, and the Chief will take every Justifiable measure to prevent those under our protection and the powers about this place, and by the influence of the Nabob, the foreign nations resident here, from having any connexion with them.

In the 35th Paragraph of the commands aforementioned, the Honble. the Court of Directors have been pleased to order that if any Subjects of England are on board that vessel, they shall be arrested and sent to England by the first opportunity. But should any land here, from the situation of this Government and the neutrality of this Port, we are led to think that this would be esteemed an unjustifiable Act, And therefore beg leave to be favored with your sentiments thereon.

You will be pleased to remark the particular Claims made by Lieutenant Colonel Bolts in his letter to the Chief, and with respect to which we request your full and explicit orders.

We do not yet know what Cargo she has on board, but shall fully advise you of any particulars that may come to our knowledge respecting this vessel.

⁸ *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777) LVI. 107-108.

⁹ Damān, old Portuguese settlement on the Gujarāt Coast.

¹⁰ *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII.

Extract from a Consultation at Bombay Castle, 16 September 1777.¹¹

The Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa*, mentioned by the Honble. Company in their Commands, dated the 21st of February last, having unexpectedly arrived at Surat Bar, The President [William Hornby] still continuing much indisposed, desired Mr Carnac to summon this Meeting to deliberate what Measures to pursue on the Occasion.

The Surat Advices received yesterday were then read, together with the Honble. Companys Commands respecting the Ship, which being taken into consideration, the following Resolutions were Unanimously Agreed to.

We much approve of the Conduct the Chief has hitherto observed with respect to this Ship, and of the Answer He returned to the Application made by Mr Bolts, [not traced] and He must be directed to continue to pursue every justifiable Method to prevent all commercial and other Intercourse with every Person whatever belonging to, or concerned in this Ship, and for that purpose He must likewise make use of the Nabobs Influence.

The Chief and Council must also be instructed to raise every difficulty they legally can to obstruct Mr Bolts from making an Investment of Cotton, or any other kind of goods at Surat, and in this Point also to apply for the Nabobs Assistance.

Neither Mr Bolts or any of the Persons concerned in this Expedition must be permitted to have any intercourse with the Nabob, or any of the Officers of Government.

As the Honble. Company have pronounced that by the Laws of England now in force We have a right to seize all British Subjects who may be found in the East Indies without their Permission, the Chief and Council must be directed to take every consistent Opportunity for putting such Laws into Execution, but to prevent all Mistakes it must be observed to them that We are assured Mr Bolts himself is not a British Subject.

We are inclined to believe that when the Ships Company are apprized of the handsome Bounty Money we give to Recruits, many of them will enter voluntarily, and the Chief and Council must do their utmost to prepare a List of the Ships Crew as well as the Account they have promised of the Cargo.

With respect to the Requisitions made by Mr Bolts of Refreshments for the Sick, and Assistance for the Vessell, Humanity will not permit of our absolutely refusing them. The Chief and Council must not therefore deny them such aid in these Points as may be indispensibly requisite.

Should the Chief and Council be at a Loss on any other Points, they must refer to the Orders We have given respecting Swedish and other Foreign Ships which have at different times resorted to Surat.

Advice must be sent to all the Subordinate Settlements of the arrival of this Ship at Surat, with the most strict directions to prevent by every legal Method any Investments being provided for her within their Jurisdiction, and to carry the Company's Orders respecting her strictly into Execution.

However much We may wish to shew all possible respect to a Commission from so illustrious a Personage as the Empress Queen, We cannot, consistent with the Duty We owe to our Employers and their Orders, shew any distinction to Mr Bolts, who, after having been in their Service, has engaged in Commerce so repugnant to their Interest, and whose former Conduct at Bâgal occasioned his being arrested and sent to England by an Act of that Government.

¹¹ *Bombay Public Consultations, (1777), XLIV. 234-236.*

*Letter from the President and Council of Bombay to the Chief
and factors at Broach, dated 18 September 1777.¹²*

Enclosed is an extract from the Honble. Company's commands dated the 21st February to which you will pay strict obedience.

The Austrian Ship therein mentioned having actually arrived at Surat, you are hereby enjoined upon no account to permit of any commercial or other intercourse being carried on with the persons concerned in that ship by any persons whatever under your jurisdiction, and to prevent by every legal method any investment of cotton or any other goods being provided for her in any of the districts subject to your management. In short, you are, as far as in you lies, to carry the Company's orders respecting her strictly into execution.

*Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council
at Bombay, dated 27 September 1777.¹³*

We dispatch this chiefly to advise you the Imperial Ship left the Bar some days ago for Gogo.¹⁴ Mr Bolts from the impediments he found here, not having been able to transact any business here, we imagine induced him to take this Step. His Cargo consists of Iron, Copper, Steel, Cochineal, Saffron, a large quantity of Ordnance, warlike Stores, some Jewelry and other Articles, amounting to about five (5) Lacs of Rupees, but the former are the principal. The Chief, on his departure, took every measure in his power to prevent Mr Bolts meeting with any Success, thro' his influence with the Nabob, getting him to write suitable Letters to the Rajahs of Bownagur [Bhaunagar in Kâthiâwar] and Gogo, and by advices the Chief has just received, we find Mr Bolts has not hitherto been able to transact any business there.

At the time this Ship was at the Bar, the weather would not permit our Gallivats¹⁵ laying in the road, but we shall do what We possible (*sic*) can to communicate to the Ships Company the gratuity allowed to Recruits, to induce them to enter into the Company's Service. The other orders you have been pleased to give regarding this Ship will be duly attended to.

*Letter from the Council at Broach to the President and Council
at Bombay, dated 4 October 1777.¹⁶*

We have taken every Precaution to prevent any Subjects of this Government having any Commercial Intercourse with the Austrian Ship mentioned in your Commands of the 11th Ultimo, and shall use our Endeavours to carry the Honble. Company's Orders into Execution. That Vessel has left Surat and is now at Bownagur, the Rajah of which place, it is reported, for the Consideration of 20,000 Rupees, has given free Liberty for the Persons concerned in her, both of Import and Export Trade, without further Duties of any kind. This, We think our Duty to notice to you, altho' We have not sufficient Grounds to mention it as a Certainty.

*Letter from the President and Council of Bombay to the Residents
at Broach, Tellicherry and Anjengo, dated 11 October 1777.¹⁷*

Our Honble. Masters ships, *Rochford*, *Northington*, *Hawke*, arrived here from England the 12th, 13th and 15th August, and enclos'd is an extract of their Commands received by

¹² *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777) LVI. 115.

¹³ *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII.

¹⁴ Gogā, old seaport on the Kâthiâwar Coast, near Bhaunagar.

¹⁵ Large rowing boat (Port. *galeota*), derivation uncertain, connected with "galley".

¹⁶ *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII. 321.

¹⁷ *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777), LVI. 124, 126-127.

those Ships, to which you will pay the most strict attention, and particularly to that respecting the Austrian Ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*, which has since arrived at Surat Bar. You will therefore not only avoid all commercial and other intercourse with these adventurers, but use all your influence and every other legal method to prevent any purchases being made at your Settlement or in the Neighbourhood of any article of investment for that Ship.

*Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council
of Bombay, dated 17 October 1777.¹⁸*

The Chief is informed that Mr Bolts has not yet been able to sell any part of his cargoe, the Rajah of Bownagur having absolutely forbid the merchants under his protection trading with him, but that he has landed at Gogo Musters [samples] in hopes of disposing of it, and has sent to the Pundit¹⁹ of Amadavad, offering him a present of 25,000 Rs. annually in lieu of customs, provided he will permit him to establish a factory and carry on a trade there. Captain Lofthouse, when he went to the northward, got four men from his vessel, and we hear that Mr Bolts has purchased a small snow from the Portugeze, which they had bought here and sent over to Gogo.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 29 October 1777.²⁰

The President lays before Us Extract of a Letter from the Commander of an English Vessel at Delagoa to his Owners, by which We find Mr Bolts asserts a right to the Sovereignty of that Country by virtue of a Grant from the African King, and has in consequence thereof pulled down the English Colours by force and a house erected by the Captain for the purpose of carrying on his Trade. This Conduct We think excludes Mr Bolts from any right to the least Consideration from this Government and must be duly noticed to the Honble. Company.

Enclosures.

1. Extract of a letter from Captain John Cahill at Delagoa to his Owners, dated 18 July 1777.

This Letter goes by the Europe Ship that arrived here in March last, belonging to the Empress of Germany [Austria] and commanded by Mr. William Bolts, who is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Service. He has taken possession of Delagoa since his Arrival for her Imperial Majesty; he has left ten people here and many of his Guns.

One Mr Ryan, who came out on this Ship, is gone Passenger with Captain Burton to Bombay with an intent of freighting two Vessels for this place next Season. I hope you will cross him as much as possible, if you intend carrying on this Trade.

The enclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Mr Bolts to me after he made a Treaty with the Coffree [Káfiri, Kaffir, Caffre, native African] King named Copell²¹ for some Ground, desiring I would haul down an English Jack, which I hoisted on shore of a Sunday on a House that I built. I would not comply with his request, as my Colours were hoisted before his. When he found me positive, he ordered his People to pull the House down and likewise the Colours.

¹⁸ *Letters Received at Bombay, (1777), XLIII, 336.*

¹⁹ Pandit, usually shortened to Pant, Maráthá title, here applied to the Maráthá Governor of Ahmadábád.

²⁰ *Bombay Public Consultations (1777), XLIV, 464, 476-477.*

²¹ Also called in the correspondence (*infra*) Mohaar Capell.

2. Letter from Mr Bolts to Captain Cahill.

Sir

By virtue of special Powers from my Sovereign, Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary, &c., &c., I have concluded a Treaty with the Rajah Copell, by which he gives up to Her Majesty for ever the Sovereignty of this River Timbe [Tembi], alias Mafumo, together with all the land within a certain district on the Western side thereof. I therefore hope that you will not take it amiss that I request you, Captain Cahill, will not in future order any Colours to be hoisted on her Majesty's Territory, where none but the Imperial Colours will be permitted. In the mean time, any Ground you may want to build Houses or Banksalls²² on for your Conveniency, will be very readily allowed, subject always to Her Majesty's Sovereignty.

On board the Guiseppe and Teresa, 4th May 1777.

(signed) WILLIAM BOLTS

Bombay Diary 16 November 1777.²³

Received by the Sloop *Leopold* a Letter from Mr. Bolts dated at Gogo, the 31st Ultimo, wherein he complained of the conduct of the Commander of an English vessel at Delagoa and of the treatment he met with at Surat, and put to Us two Queries to which he requested our Answers.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 18 November 1777.²⁴

Read the Letter received the 16th Instant from Mr William Bolts [see *infra*], to which a Reply must be given to the following purport by the Secretary.

That We cannot in Justice decide upon the Affair at Delagoa until we have called upon Captain Cahill and heard his Account of the matter.

That We cannot consider mere Strangers in India as entitled to the same privilege and attention in our ports as the Nations who have had Establishments and traded in the Country for upwards of a Century and a half by vertue of Royal Grants and Phirmaunds [*furman*].

That the Company, by Phirmaunds from the Mogul [Mughal Emperor] are Governors of his Castle and fleet at Surat, and as his Allies, must certainly be affected by any Acts offensive to his Government.

Mr Bolts must be further acquainted that, circumstanced as he has been with our Honble. Employers, He must be sensible he can expect no further Countenance or Attention from Us than what the Laws of Hospitality indispensibly require.

Bombay Diary, 19th November 1777.²⁵

The Secretary, by Order, signed a Letter to Mr Bolts exactly agreeable to the Preceding Consultation.

(To be continued.)

²² Warehouses, wharves; derivation uncertain, probably *banklala*, through Malay *bangsal*.

²³ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 489.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 494.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 501.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA ERA AND MIHIRAKULA.

BY K. B. PATHAK.

I propose, in this paper, to determine the starting point of the Gupta era with the help of Jaina authors who preceded Albêrûnî, without relying in any way on the conflicting statements made by that celebrated Muhammadan writer, both as regards the origin and the epoch of the era so well known to the students of Indian epigraphy. I hope to be able to elucidate the problem, which has given rise to so much controversy, with greater precision and accuracy than have attended the efforts of those scholars, who have already discussed this interesting chronological question. There are four important passages in Jaina literature. Of their value as contributions to the study of Indian history it is impossible to speak too highly. The first passage¹ is the one in which Jinasena says that he wrote in Saka 705. This has elicited an interesting discussion and taxed to the utmost the ingenuity and learning of scholars in their attempts to identify the contemporary reigning sovereigns mentioned therein. The second, third and fourth passages are prophetic, in which future events are announced. Some of these events are historical, though they are mixed up with many legendary details. In the second passage² we are told by Jinasena that the Guptas reigned 231 years and were succeeded by Kalkirâja, who reigned 42 years, and that his successor was Ajitanjaya. The third passage³ is the one in which Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra says that Kalkirâja was the father and predecessor of Ajitanjaya, that he was a great tyrant who oppressed the world and persecuted the Jaina community of Nirgranthas, and that he reigned 40 years and died at the age of 70. As regards the date of Kalkirâja, we learn from Guṇabhadra that the tyrant was born when one thousand years of the *Dvāsamakāla*, commencing from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, had elapsed, and when there occurred the union of a *saṃvatsara* with Maghā-nakṣatra, that is to say, when there occurred a Māgha-saṃvatsara. The fourth⁴ passage, which is an illuminating commentary on the second and third passages, is found in the *Trilokasāra*, in which Nemichandra reproduces some of these details of the story of Kalkirâja, and adds that the Saka king was born when six hundred and five years and five months had passed by from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, and that king Kalkirâja was born when three hundred and ninety-four years and seven months had gone by from the rise of the Saka king, that is, when three hundred and ninety-four Saka years and seven months had elapsed. If we add 605 years and 5 months to 394 years and 7 months—we get 1000 years, the interval of time, according to Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra, between the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira and the birth of Kalkirâja. The most interesting and important point, which is worth noticing here, is the fact that the date of Kalkirâja, who immediately succeeded the Guptas, is given in terms of the Saka era; he was born when 394 Saka years and 7 months had gone by, and when, according to Guṇabhadra, there occurred a Māgha-saṃvatsara.

Before discussing the historical inferences which these facts suggest, we should know the dates of the three Jaina authors on whose statements we place our reliance. Jinasena wrote in Saka 705. He must have died about Saka 760, the latest date which can be assigned

¹ *Ante*, vol. xv, p. 143.² *Ibid.*³ Given at the end of this paper.⁴ Also given at the end of this paper.

to his unfinished work, the *Ādipurāṇa*; and his pupil Guṇabhadra must have completed his *Uttarapurāṇa* only a few years later.⁵ He was far advanced in years, when after finishing the remaining chapters of the *Ādipurāṇa*, he undertook to write his own portion of the *Mahāpurāṇa*.⁶ And the use of the past tense भासीत् with reference to Guṇabhadra in the concluding *prāśasti*⁷, written in the time of his pupil Lokasena, clearly indicates that the former had long been gathered to his fathers by Śaka 820 (A.D. 898). It is obvious, therefore, that he wrote shortly after Śaka 760, in the latter half of the ninth century.

As regards the date of the *Trilokasāra*, we know that its author Nemichandra enjoyed the patronage of Chāmuṇḍarāja (A.D. 778).⁸ This statement is confirmed by Nemichandra himself who, in the concluding *prāśasti* of his *Gomaṭasāra*, *Karmakāṇḍa*, ninth chapter, thus praises Chāmuṇḍarāja—

जमिह गुणा विसिंभा गणहरदेवादि इधिप ताण ।

सो अजियसेणणाहो जंस गुरु जयउ सो राऊ ।

[वृत्तिः] गणधरदेवादीनां ऋद्रिप्राप्तानां गुणा यस्मिन्विभ्रान्ताः सोऽजितसेननाथो यस्य व्रतगुरुः स राजा सर्वोत्कृष्टेण वर्तताम् ।

सिंधुतुवयत गयणि मलवरणे मिचंदकरकलिया ।

गुणरत्नभूषणं ब्रह्मि मदेवला भरउ भुवनतलं ॥

[वृत्तिः] सिद्धांतोदयाचले उदितनिर्मलवरने मिचंद्रकिरणैर्वर्धिता गुणरत्नभूषणां बुधेश्वरामुंडरायसमुद्रस्य मतिवैला भुवनतलं पूरयतु अथवा भुवने अतिशयेन प्रसरतु ।

In his *Purāṇa* completed in Śaka 700 Chāmuṇḍarāja tells us that he was the disciple of Ajitasena and had the title of Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa. From Sravaṇa Belgola inscriptions, we learn⁹ that Chāmuṇḍarāja was the minister of king Rāchamallaḍeva, an ornament of the Gaṅga dynasty, which was uplifted by the sage Siṃhanandin. This was the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla IV who was reigning in A.D. 977.¹⁰ These facts are also alluded to in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Gomaṭasāra*, which opens thus—

श्रीमदप्रतिहतप्रभावस्याद्वादशासनगुहाभ्यंतरनिवासिसिंहायमामसिंहनंदिनं दितगंगवंशलामराजसर्व-
ज्ञाद्यनेकगुणनामधेयभागधेयश्रीमद्राज(च)मलदेवमहोदयममहामात्यपदविराजमानरत्नरंगमहासहायपराक-
मगुणरत्नभूषणसम्यक्स्वरत्ननिलयादिविविधगुणनामसमासावितकीर्तिकांतश्रीमद्यामुंडरायप्रभावातीर्णकचत्वा-
रिंशत्पदनामसत्त्वरूपद्वारेणाशेषविनेयजननिकुरंबसंबोधनार्थं श्रीमज्जमिचंद्रसैद्धांतचक्रवर्ती
इदविशिष्टदेवताविशेषं नमस्करोति ।

⁵ See my paper entitled 'Bhartṛhari and Kumārila', *Journal B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

⁶ Compare *Uttarapurāṇa*, chapter 57—

जिनसेनानुगायास्मै पुराणकवये नमः ।

गुणभद्रनदन्ताय लोकसेनाविंतां प्रये ॥

⁷ Compare—

प्रत्यभीकृतलक्ष्यलक्षणविधिर्विशेषविधान्तराम्

सिद्धांतारूढवसानयानजनितप्रागल्भ्यवृद्धेऽधीः ।

नानानूनयप्रमाणनिपुणोगण्यैर्गुणैर्भूषितः

शिष्यः श्रीगुणभद्रसूरि(नयोरसीज्जगद्भिभुतः ॥

⁸ Nagar Inscip. 46, *Epi. Car.* Vol. VIII—

त्रिलोकसारप्रमुख [प्रबन्धान्]

[विरच्य सचोन्] भुवि नेमिचन्द्रः ।

विभाति सैद्धांतिकसारवर्धन-

आमुण्डरायचितपादपदः ॥

⁹ Mr Rice's *Sravana Belgola Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 34.

¹⁰ Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 47.

The Kannaḍa poet Ranna, who adorned the court of the Chālukya king Tailapa II, who was born in A.D. 949 and wrote his *Gadāyuddha* in A.D. 982, had Ajitasena for his teacher and Chāmuṇḍarāja for his patron.¹¹ These facts lead to the conclusion that Nemichandra lived in the latter half of the tenth century. It is thus clear that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra preceded Albérūni, who wrote in the first half of the eleventh century.

In order to enable Sanskrit scholars to realise the importance of the facts which Jaina literature holds in store for them, I must repeat here the exact words of Jinasena (*Harivaṃśa*, chapter 60)—

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ॥
एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्विरुदाहृतम् ॥ 487 ॥
द्वित्रिंशच्चर्षादेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितंजयो राजा स्यादिन्द्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥ 488 ॥
वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पञ्चमां मासपञ्चकम् ।
मुक्तिं गते महावीरे शक राजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥ 552 ॥

Guṇabhadra says that when one thousand years of the *Duṣṣamākāla*, commencing from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, had elapsed Kalkirāja was born. Jinasena says that the Sakarāja was born when 605 years and 5 months had passed by from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. If we subtract 605 years and 5 months from one thousand years, the remainder is 394 years and 7 months. It is thus clear that, according to Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, Kalkirāja was born when 394 years and 7 months had passed by from the birth of the Saka king. Nemichandra says exactly the same thing, when he tells us that, after the lapse of 605 years and 5 months from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the Saka king was born, and that, after the lapse of 394 years and 7 months from the birth of the Saka king, Kalkirāja was born. Guṇabhadra adds that when 394 years of the Saka era and 7 months more had passed by, there occurred a Māgha-samvatsara—

चतुर्मुखाद्वयः कल्की राजोद्विजितभूतलः ।
इत्यस्स्यते मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे ॥

This is a prophecy put into the mouth of Gautama-Gaṇadhara, who says—

"There shall be born the king Kalkin, named Chaturmukha, the oppressor of the world, on the occurrence of the union of a *samvatsara* with the Maghā-nakṣatra." When a *samvatsara* becomes मघानक्षत्रयुक्त, it is named माघसंवत्सर after the *nakṣatra*, the word मघा taking the termination अन् according to the *sūtra* of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*—

गुरुद्यात् भाद युक्तोऽब्दः (iii 2. 5.)

गुरुर्बृहस्पतिः तस्योदयो यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनी शुभः भासमर्थाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं स्यो भवति यो युक्तोऽर्थः स चैवम्भः स्यात् । गुरुदयेन पुन्येन युक्तोऽब्दः पौषः संवत्सरः । कालगुणं वर्षम् । शब्दान्वय-चन्द्रिका.

Guṇanandin thus explains the *Jainendra sūtra*—

गुरुर्बृहस्पतिरुदेति यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनी भासमर्थात् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं स्यो भवति योऽसौ युक्तः स चैवम्भः संवत्सरः स्यात् । इत्यण् । एरित्यखम् (iv. 4. 150) तेष पौषं मे (iv. 4. 157)¹² इति बखम् । पौषः संवत्सरः पौषं वर्षम् । एवं-कालगुणः संवत्सरः कालगुणं वर्षम् । *Jainendraprakriyā*, part ii, p. 162, Benares ed.

¹¹ *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-charita*, p. 54.

¹² Cf. also बखेति च, *Pāṇini* vi, 4, 148, and तिष्यबुधयोर्नक्षत्राणि, *Vārtika on Pāṇini*, vi. 4. 149.

Hemachandra, who owes his explanation to Śākaṭyāna, says—

उदितगुरोर्भाद्युकेन्द्रे (ii 2. 5.)

उदितो गुरुर्बृहस्पतिर्बस्तिन् मे नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनस्त्वतीयान्ताद् युक्तेऽर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति स चैद्युक्तो-
र्थोऽयः संवत्सरः स्यात् । पुष्येणोदितगुरुणा युक्तं वर्षं पौषं वर्षम् । कृत्तुनीभिर्दितगुरुभिर्युक्तः कात्थुनः
संवत्सरः । उदितगुरोरिति किम् । उदितशानैश्वरेण पुष्येण युक्तं वर्षमित्यत्र न भवति । भाविति किम् ।
उदितगुरुणा पूर्वशानेन युक्तं वर्षम् । अथ इति किम् । मासे दिवसे वा न भवति ।

From the Jaina grammatical *sūtras* and commentaries cited above it is obvious that Guṇabhadra's expression मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे means "on the occurrence (समागमे) of the union (योग) of मघा[नक्षत्र] and a संवत्सर; that is to say, मघाभिर्युक्तः संवत्सरः माघः. The word माघ, in the sense of a Māgha-saṁvatsara, is formed from मघा, which takes the instrumental case, by the suffix अन्; the आ of मघा, being elided, is replaced by अ of the suffix अन्, while अ, the first vowel in मघा, undergoes वृद्धि. We have thus the expression माघसंवत्सर. This is the teaching of Pūjyapāda, Śākaṭyāna, Hemacandra and Guṇanandin.

The occurrence of a Māgha-saṁvatsara in purely literary records, apart from early inscriptions and astronomical works, is of unique interest; and its supreme importance from a chronological point of view we shall now proceed to show.

We have seen that 394 Śaka years and 7 months had elapsed at the birth of Kalkirāja. The seven months completed belong to the current Śaka year 395. The first day of the eighth month, Kārttika śukla 1, was the day on which Kalkirāja was born, since a Śaka year commences with Chaitra śukla 1. The year that is actually mentioned by the Jaina writers is the expired Śaka year 394. Let us convert this into an expired Vikrama year by the addition of 135 according to the rule—

स एव पंचाभिर्कुभिर्युक्तः स्याद्विक्रमस्य हि ।

रेवाद्या उत्तरे तीरे संवत्सामेतिविश्रुतः ॥ २ ॥ Jyotiṣasāra.

The result is¹³ the Vikrama year (394 + 135 =) 529 expired. This expired Vikrama year is identical with the expired Mālava year 529, given as the second and later date in the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta I and his feudatory Baṇḍhuvarman and is expressed¹⁴ in the following words—

वत्सरघतेषु पंचसु विंश-य(विंशत्य)धिकेषु नवसु चाष्टेषु ।

यातेष्वभिरम्यतपस्यमासद्युह्वितीयायां ॥

Vikrama Saṁvat 529 expired, Phālguna śukla 2

Hence it is clear that the Mālava era is the same as the Vikrama era of 57. B.C. In order to elucidate the point further, the expired Śaka year 394 may be first converted into the corresponding Christian year by adding 78 thus—394 + 78 = 472 A.D.; and then this Christian year 472 can be converted into the Mālava year 529 by adding 57; thus, 472 + 57 = 529, 472 = 529 - 57, or 394 + 78 = 529 - 57 = A.D. 472.

It is thus evident that the Mālava era is the era of 57 B.C., which is known to us as the Vikrama Saṁvat.

¹³ पंचाभि=135; अभि=3, कु=1. अंकानां वामतो गतिः ।

¹⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 83; ante, vol. XV, p. 198

The first year in the same inscription, which is 36 years earlier, is the Vikrama year 493 expired, Pauśa *śukla* 13—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकेब्दानां रि(क्)तो सेव्यपनस्वने ॥
सहस्रमासयुद्धस्य प्रशस्तेऽपि चयोदये ।

If we subtract 135 from Vikrama year 493 expired, we get Saka 358 expired. It is there fore evident that Kumāragupta I, with his feudatory Bandhuvārman, was reigning in Saka 358 expired, exactly 36 years before the birth of Kalkirāja in Saka 394 expired. The year Saka 394 expired is a Māgha-saṃvatsara. I give below four Saka years with corresponding cyclic years beginning with this Māgha-saṃvatsara of Saka 394 expired, according to the rule¹⁵ of Varāhamihira—

| | | |
|----------|---------|---------------------|
| Saka 394 | expired | Māgha-saṃvatsara |
| " 395 | " | Phālguna-saṃvatsara |
| " 396 | " | Chaitra-saṃvatsara |
| " 397 | " | Vaiśākha-saṃvatsara |

The date given in the Khoh grant of Parivrajaka Mahārāja Hastin is Gupta-saṃvat 156, which is specified¹⁶ as a Mahā-Vaiśākha-saṃvatsara—

षट्पञ्चाशोत्तरेऽब्दशते गुप्तनृपराज्ययुक्तौ महावैशाखसंवत्सरे कार्तिकमासयुद्धपक्षद्वितीयाद्याम् ।

The four Śaka years with corresponding cyclic and Gupta years are exhibited in the following table ; that the Gupta years are expired will be proved further on—

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|---|------------------|---|-----------|----------|
| Śaka 394 | expired | = | Māgha-saṃvatsara | = | Gupta 153 | expired. |
| " 395 | " | = | Phālguna | " | " 154 | " |
| " 396 | " | = | Chaitra | " | " 155 | " |
| " 397 | " | = | Vaiśākha | " | " 156 | " |

It will be evident from the foregoing table that Gupta years can be converted into equivalent Śaka years by the addition of 241, in as much as each of the four equations stated above gives us a difference of 241. Kumāragupta I, with his feudatory Bandhuvārman, was thus reigning in Śaka 358, corresponding to Gupta-saṃvat 117¹⁷ and to Vikrama year 493—

Śaka 358 = Gupta-saṃvat 117 = Mālava or Vikrama 493.

And Kalkirāja was born 36 years later in Śaka 394, corresponding to Gupta-saṃvat 153 and to Vikrama year 529—

Śaka 394 = Gupta saṃvat 153 = Mālava or Vikrama 529.

It is worth noting that the birth of Kalkirāja took place only 5 years later than the latest date recorded for Skandagupta—Gupta-saṃvat¹⁸ 148, equivalent to Śaka 389,—and only one year earlier than the date¹⁹ of his son, Kumāragupta II,—Gupta-saṃvat 154, equivalent to Śaka 395.

वर्षशते शुभानां सचतुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे भूमिम् ।
शासति कुमारगुप्ते मासे ज्येष्ठे द्वितीयाद्याम् ॥

¹⁵ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Appendix III, p. 161.

¹⁶ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 95.

¹⁷ Bharadi inscription, *A. S. Progr. Rep. N. C.* 1907-8, p. 39. Valabhi is only another name of the Gupta era, see p. 295.

¹⁸ V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 327.

¹⁹ *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, 1915, p. 6.

That the Gupta year mentioned in this inscription, as well as the one mentioned in the Khoh grant of Mahārāja Hastin, referred to above is to be taken as expired is evident from the following inscription of Budhagupta,²⁰ Gupta-samvat 157 expired—

गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपंचाशदुत्तरे ।
शते समानां पुथिवीं बुधगुप्ते प्रशंसति ॥

The general conclusion is that all the Gupta years including those given in the above table must be taken as expired.

This point can be further cleared up by a comparison of the five corresponding years of the Vikrama, Śaka and Gupta eras exhibited in the following table—

| Mālava or Vikrama. | Śaka. | Gupta. |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 529 expired | 394 expired | 153 |
| 530 " | 395 " | 154 |
| 531 " | 396 " | 155 |
| 532 " | 397 " | 156 |
| 533 expired | 398 expired | 157 expired. |

The Gupta year 157 is specified as an expired year in the inscription of Budhagupta which has been quoted above. The difference between the expired Śaka year 398 and the expired Gupta year 157 is 241. The difference between the Śaka year 394 and the Gupta year 153 is also 241. The Śaka year 394 is known to be expired; therefore the Gupta year 153 must be taken as expired. The conclusion that forces itself upon us is that all the Gupta years mentioned in inscriptions are expired years and can be converted into corresponding expired Śaka years by the addition of 241.

We have here established five uniform equations between expired Gupta and expired Śaka years, with a difference of 241 in each case. The last equation is most important.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 157 = 398 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

This date of Budhagupta inscribed on two Buddha images is thus expressed²¹—"When the year one hundred and fifty-seven of the Guptas had expired, on the 7th day of the month Vaiśākha while Budhagupta is ruling the earth." The 7th of Vaiśākha belongs to the current Gupta year 158 corresponding to the current Śaka year 399—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 158 = 399 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

Thus the difference between current Gupta and current Śaka years is also 241, the same as the difference between expired Gupta and expired Śaka years. Now the Sarnath date of Budhagupta, expired Gupta year 157, is only 8 years earlier than the date of the same Gupta king given²² in the Eran pillar inscription—

शते पंचषष्ट्यधिकं वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते ।
आषाढमासशु[क्ल]द्वादश्यां शरगुरोर्दिवसे ॥

The date is "in the year 165, on the 12th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, on Thursday." We are now in a position to explain this date thus—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 165 = 406 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89.

"The 12th day of the bright half of Āshāḍha and Thursday" belong to the current Gupta year 166 corresponding to the current Śaka year 407—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 166 = 407 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

Here we cannot take the expired Gupta year 165 as current and make it correspond with the current Śaka year 407 as, in that case, the difference between 165 and 407 would be 242, instead of 241 as required by the statements of the Jaina authorities and the Sārnath inscription of Budhagupta thus—

$$\begin{array}{l} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} (a) 165 = (b) 406 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right. \\ \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} (c) 166 = (d) 407 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$$

A second reason for not making the Gupta year 165 correspond with the Śaka year 407 is that from our established equation—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 157 = 398 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year,} \end{array} \right.$$

it is evident that the Gupta year 165 is 8 years later than the Gupta year 157, while the Śaka year 407 is 9 years later than the corresponding Śaka year 398. A careful consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding expired or current Śaka years by adding 241.

The date in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta has been the subject of calculation and controversy for more than half a century. Many scholars have attempted to interpret this date by the statements of Albêrûnî, which were admitted on all hands to be conflicting. It may therefore be interesting to point out how many statements of this celebrated Muhammadan writer can now be accepted as correct. He says²³ that the era of Ballaba is subsequent to that of Śaka by 241 years. The era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. Then he mentions the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya, the year 953 of the era of Śaka, the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas, as equivalent years. These statements are reliable, as they are in agreement with our equation thus—

| Mālava or | | | |
|-----------|-------|-------|--|
| Vikrama | Śaka | Gupta | |
| (a) 529 | = 394 | = 153 | |
| (b) 1088 | = 953 | = 712 | |
| 559 | 559 | 559 | |

The difference between Mālava 529 and Śaka 394 is 135; that between Vikrama 1088 and Śaka 953 is also 135; the difference between Śaka 394 and Gupta 153 is 241; and that between Śaka 953 and Gupta-Valabhî 712 is also 241; the difference between the Mālava year 529 and the Gupta year 153 is 376; and the difference between the Vikrama 1088 and the Gupta-Valabhî year 712 is also 376. It is also interesting to note that from the year of the birth of Kalkirāja in Śaka 394 or Gupta year 153, when the Gupta empire was still enduring, to the year A.D. 1031-32 to which Albêrûnî refers as his gauge-year, 559 years had elapsed.²⁴ So that his equation (b) is as accurate as if it had been formed by adding 559 to each of the equivalent years of the three eras in our own equation (a).

²³ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro., p. 23 f.

²⁴ *Ante*, vol. xvii, p. 213, n. 1.

An interesting peculiarity of the years of the Mālava era deserves to be noticed here. The second date in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman is the Mālava year 529 expired, Phālguna śukla 2. The equivalent Śaka year is 394 expired. Deduct 394 from our present Śaka year 1839 in Western India. The result is 1445. Add 1445 to 529; the result is 1974. This will be our Mālava or Vikrama year on Phālguna śukla 2 next (April 14, 1918) in Western India. This is true according to our almanac. Let us now turn to the Mandasor inscription²⁵ of Yaśodharman, where the expired Mālava year 589 with the season of Vasanta is thus mentioned—

पञ्चसु घातेषु शरदां घातेष्वेकान्नववत्सहितेषु ।
मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥
यस्मिन्काले कलमृगुरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा
भिन्दन्तीव स्मरद्धारिणाः प्रीयितानां मनांसि ॥
भृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुरतं नारमन्द्रश्च यस्मि-
न्नाभूतजयं धनुरिव नवच्छूयते पुष्पकेतोः ॥
प्रियसमकुपितानां रामवन्धुरागं
किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं नानिनीनां ।
उपनयति नभस्वान्मानभङ्गाय यस्मि-
न्कुसुमसमयमसि तत्र निर्मापितोद्यम् ॥

Here the date is the वसन्त, i.e. चैत्र and वैशाख of the expired Mālava year 589, कुसुमसमय or पुष्पसमय being synonymous with वसन्त (Amara I, 3.18). To-day is अक्षयतृतीया, i.e. वैशाख शुक्ल ३ of the Śaka year 1839 (April 24, 1917) in Western India. The expired Mālava year 589 is 60 years later than the expired Mālava year 529. Add 60 to the expired Śaka 394. The result is the expired Śaka 454 corresponding to Mālava 589. Now deduct 454 from our present Śaka year 1839; the remainder is 1385. Add 589 to 1385 and we get Mālava year 1974 corresponding to our present Śaka year on अक्षयतृतीया. But our Vikrama-samvat today is 1973 because it is कार्तिकादि and will be found to be identical with the Mālava year 1974 on our next Phālguna śukla 2, as has been shown above. This may be illustrated by the following diagram—

| Expired Mālava | | Expired Śaka | | Expired Mālava | | Expired Śaka | |
|----------------|--------|--------------|--------|----------------|--------|---------------|----------------|
| | 529 | = | 394 | | 529 | = | 394 |
| | | | | | | | कार्तिक शु. २ |
| | | + 60 years | | | | | |
| Mālava | 589 | = | Śaka | | | | |
| | | वसन्त | 454 | | | | |
| | | + 1385 years | | | | + 1445 years | |
| Mālava | 1974 | | | Mālava | 1974 | | |
| Vikrama | } 1973 | = | { Śaka | Vikrama | } 1974 | = | { Saka expired |
| samvat | | अक्षयतृतीया | | samvat | | कार्तिक शु. २ | |
| | | | 1839 | | | | 1839 |

²⁵ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 154.

²⁶ The Northern and Southern Vikrama 1974 and 1973 as well as Śaka 1839 are expired years. D. Fleet's view that expired Śaka years are used owing to the adoption of the Śaka era by astronomers is thus untenable.

The conclusion that is forced upon us is that the years of the Mālava era in the times of the Guptas and the Hūnas were Chaitrādi Vikrama years. This will enable us to refute the opinion of Dr. Kielhorn²⁷ who, while admitting that the Vikrama era was called Mālava, says: "The Vikrama era was Kārttikādi from the beginning, and it is probable that the change which has gradually taken place in the direction of a more general use of the Chaitrādi year was owing to the increasing growth and influence of the Śaka era." This erroneous view is also shared by Dr. Fleet²⁸ who says: "It can hardly be doubted that the original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright half of Kārttika (October—November)."

The fact that the years of the Mālava era are Chaitrādi is most important. It will enable us not only to establish the absolute identity of the Gupta era with the Valabhī era, but also to ascertain the exact difference between the years of the Gupta era and of the Mālava era on the one hand, and those of the Śaka era on the other. The date of Col. Tod's Verāwal²⁹ inscription is Vikrama-saṃvat 1320 and Valabhī-saṃvat 945, *Āṣāḍha vadi* 13 Ravi. From Diwan Bahadur Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, Table x, p. 92, we learn that *Āṣāḍha vadi* Ravivāra falls in Śaka 1186 corresponding to Chaitrādi Vikrama 1321, and is Sunday, 25th May 1264, according to the Christian era. The Vikrama year 1320 mentioned in this inscription as equivalent to Valabhī saṃvat 945 is thus southern and Kārttikādi; therefore the corresponding Chaitrādi Vikrama year or Mālava year is 1321. We thus get the following equation—

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|---|--------|---|---------|
| | Saka | | Mālava | | Valabhī |
| (a) | 1186 | = | 1321 | = | 945 |

By deducting 792 from the above we get the next equation—

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|---|--------|---|---------|
| | Saka | | Mālava | | Valabhī |
| (b) | 394 | = | 529 | = | 153 |

By deducting 36 from (b) we get the following equation—

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|---|--------|---|---------|
| | Saka | | Mālava | | Valabhī |
| (c) | 358 | = | 493 | = | 117 |

We know³⁰ that Kumāragupta I was reigning in Gupta-saṃvat 117, which is thus identical with the Valabhī year 117. The last equation also proves that the exact difference between the Gupta and Śaka years is 241; while that between the Mālava and Gupta years is 376. Here our argument is based on Col. Tod's Verāwal inscription. This argument is easier to understand than that which is founded on the Māgha-saṃvatsara of Śaka 394 expired, and which presupposes a knowledge of the grammatical *sūtras* of Pūjyapāda and Śakaṭāyana. The conclusion arrived at by these two independent lines of argument is the same, namely, that the difference between Gupta and Śaka years is 241. We have also demonstrated that the difference between current Gupta years and current Śaka years is 241. Thus—

Expired Gupta 157 = 398 Śaka expired.

Current Gupta 158 = 399 Śaka current.

²⁷ *Asie*, vol. xx, p. 328 ff.

²⁸ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 66 f., n. 2.

²⁹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 85.

³⁰ *A. S. Progr. Rep. N. G.* 1907-08, p. 39; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 70.

It is of importance to note that in converting a Gupta-Valabhi year into its Śaka equivalent, it is not necessary to know beforehand whether the Gupta-Valabhi year is expired or current. If the resulting Śaka is expired, the Gupta-Valabhi year must be expired. On the other hand, if the Śaka year is current, the corresponding Gupta-Valabhi year must also be current. These observations can be illustrated by the Kaira grant of Valabhi-samvat 330 and by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-samvat 927. The date in the Kaira grant is thus expressed³¹—

Sam. 300 30 dvi-Mārgaśira śu. 2.

Here the Valabhi year 330 can be converted into Śaka 571 by adding 241. The exact date is अधिकमार्गशीर्ष शुक्ल २. On referring to Hindu Tables we find that the intercalary Mārgaśira actually falls in Śaka 571. This Śaka year is therefore current and equivalent to Valabhi 330. Our equation is thus—

Current Valabhi 330 = 571 Śaka current.

The date of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-samvat 927 is thus expressed³²—

Śrīmad-Valabhi samvat 927 Phālguna Śu. 2 Sau (Sô) mē. By adding 241 to 927 we get the following equation—

Valabhi 927 = 1168 Śaka.

By astronomical calculations the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit arrived at Śaka 1167 expired as the equivalent year. Therefore the current Śaka year is 1168, which corresponds to current Valabhi 927. Our equation therefore is—

Current Valabhi 927 = 1168 Śaka current.

These two records dated in current Valabhi years are most important and interesting—as they amply refute the erroneous theory of Dr. Fleet that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhi years and current Śaka years is 242. Nor can we accept as correct his opinion that the two Vikrama years 706 and 1303 are southern and the nominal equivalents of the current Valabhi years 330 and 927 respectively. For, on a comparison with the following equations—

| Śaka | | Mālava | | Gupta-Valabhi |
|------|---|--------|---|---------------|
| 394 | = | 529 | = | 153 |
| 571 | = | 706 | = | 330 |
| 1168 | = | 1303 | = | 927 |

It is obvious that these Vikrama years are Mālava or Caitrādi and the real equivalents of the two Valabhi years, and do not differ from southern Vikrama years, because they are coupled with the months of Mārgaśira and Phālguna in these inscriptions.

On the other hand the year 386, which is the date in the Nepal inscription of Mānadeva, is expired, because it can be converted into expired Śaka 627 by adding 241, and does not correspond to current Śaka 628, as maintained by Dr. Fleet.³³

Albêrûnî's first statement that Gupta or Valabhi years can be converted into Śaka years by adding 241 was perfectly accurate. [But it was invalidated by a second statement which he made to the effect that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. This led many scholars to discredit his statements entirely.

(To be continued.)

³¹ Gupta Inscriptions, Intro. p. 93.

³² Gupta Inscriptions, Intro. p. 91.

³³ Ibid, p. 95 ff.

THE WIDE SOUND OF E AND O WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI.

BY N. B. DIVATIA, B.A.; BANDRA.

In an appendix to his article on the "Proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputāna" ¹ Dr. Tessitori has done me the honor of mentioning my theory on the subject mentioned at the head of this article, and very courteously advanced certain reasons for disagreeing with me. My theory is that the vocalic groups, अइ and अउ pass through an intermediate step—अय and अव (eventually अय् and अव्)—before assuming the wide sounds ई and औ. Dr. Tessitori holds that this intermediate step does not play any part, and that the अइ and अउ sounds undergo a process of contraction through suppression of the *hiatus*, the only intermediate step thereafter being that of the diphthongal forms ऐ and औ.

His reasons for differing from me are put under three heads. I shall deal with each one serially :—

(1) There are no instances of अइ—अउ of O. W. Rājasthāni having changed to अय—अव. The examples quoted by me—वयर from वहर, वयरागी from वहरागी and पयसार from पइसार are disposed of by Dr. Tessitori by stating

(a) that O. W. Rājasthāni MSS. often write य for इ; and

(b) that वयर and वयरागी are *tatsamas* ² (meaning thereby Prākṛit words used unchanged in O. W. Rāj.), and that the अय in them may be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ instead of a modification of O. W. Rāj. अइ.

My answer to this is as under :

In the first place I take my stand on the broad basis of the general principle that, when unaccented, medial इ and उ are respectively changed to य and व during their transit into Gujarāṭi. This will include cases of such इ and उ preceded by अ as well as by other vowels. I therefore do not see why the issue should be confined to the इ and उ of अइ and अउ. Necessarily, instances under this restricted class will be fewer.³ But if instances can be shown to prove the operation of this change over a wider field, that very fact should strengthen the case of अइ and अउ passing into अय and अव. The following, then, are some instances to prove this general principle :—

| Sanskrit. | Prākṛ. or Apabhr. | O. W. Rāj. or Gujarāṭi. |
|-----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| कीकिलः | कीइलु | कीयल |
| | पइअं (<i>Deśya</i>) | पयइं |
| | पइसार | पयसार |
| वैरं | वइरु | वयर |
| वैरागी | वइरागी | वयरागी |
| उपविष्टकः | उवइवुड-वइउड | वयउड |

¹ JBAS. N. S. XII, 1916.

² The liberty taken with the recognized nomenclature in extending the meaning of *tatsama* to Prākṛit words that have undergone no change in transit from Prākṛit to O. W. Rāj. may at first sight strike one as a little bold. But this is another instance of Dr. Tessitori's happy choice of names, (the first one being the name O. W. Rājasthāni); for it accounts, in a single suggestive word, for the use of pure Prākṛit words in later old Gujarāṭi works, just as we should and do use Sanskrit *tatsamas* in our present-day Gujarāṭi; thus explaining the apparent anomaly of older Prākṛit words appearing side by side with words of later evolution in the old Gujarāṭi works I speak of.

³ For a further restriction see Appendix A.

| Sanskrit. | Prākṛ. or Apabhṛ. | O. W. Rāj. or Gujarāṭi. |
|------------|--------------------|--|
| प्रविष्टकः | पइडउ-पइडउ | पयडउ |
| देवकुलं | देउलं, देउलु | देवळ (Guj.) |
| अधुना | अहुणा-हउणा | हदणां (हमणां) (Guj.) |
| व्याकुलकः | वाउलउ | वावरो (व्हावरो) (Guj.) |
| | वाउझी (Deśya) | वावली |
| आयुष्यकं | आऊखउं—आउखउं | आवखुं (Guj.) |
| मातृका | माउडी | मावडी (Guj.) |
| मातरः | माउरउ | मावरो (Guj.) |
| | (possible Apabhṛ.) | |
| पादुका | पाउडी | पावडी (Guj.) |
| गौरी | गउरी | गवरी (Guj.—at the end of proper names, e. g., चंदागवरी, &c.) |
| | देसाउर | देसावर |
| नूपुरं | नेउरु | नेवर (Guj.—the fetlocks of a horse, “नेवर अथडावळे”) |
| नाथककः | नाडुलउ-नाउलउ | नावलो (Guj.) ⁴ |

(The practice of—sometimes writing चवथा for चौथा in Marāṭhi may be noted as throwing an incidental light on this process.)

The principle of anti-samprasāraṇa operates over a larger sphere, for, not confined to medial इ and उ, it even affects final इ and उ in cases like the following :—

| Prākṛit. | Apabhṛ., or O. W. Rāj. | Gujarāṭi. |
|----------|------------------------|-----------|
| | याइ | याय |
| | जाइ | जाय |
| | खाइ | खाय |
| (पादः) | पाओ—पाउ | पाव Hindi |
| (पातः) | पाओ—पाउ | पाव ” |
| (ततः) | तउ | तव |

⁴ वयर, वयरणी and पयसार are cited by Dr. Tessitori himself. I also find वयर in *Vimāla Prabandha* (V. S. 1568), *Khanda V*, st. 25, *Gautama Rāsa* (V. S. 1412), st. 17; विवरी (=वयरी=वैरी) in a translation of *Bhuvanadīpa* (V. S. 1537) *Gujarāṭa Śātā Patra*, March, 1910, p. 115, which has also विरी at p. 116, and विर at p. 112; वयरणी in the *Gautama Rāsa*, st. 35; वयडउ in *Sanghapati Samarasinha Rāsa* (V. S. 1471); also in *Vaitāḍa Panchavīsī*, Prose, (about V. S. 1629), p. 88, वयटु at p. 100, वयेटउ at p. 104; पयदा at p. 136; पयडउ in *Gautama Rāsa*, st. 9; गवरी in *Sudayavatsavira charitra* (about the beginning of the 16th century of the Vikrama era); गिवरी in *Karpūramanjari chaupai* (V. S. 1605; also in Janārdana's *Ushaharaṇa* (V. S. 1548), V. 10, 1; also गवरी in “the song of notice, p. 83; देसाउर in *Kāṇhaḍa Prabandha* (V. S. 1512), IV, 12; also in *Vimāla-prabandha*, I, 69; and in *Vaitāḍa-panchavīsī* (poem, V. S. 1619), p. 3, st. 24, also p. 62, st. 646. Dr. Tessitori cites (Notes § 57 (3)) *dākhua*, (आऊखु) as occurring in Avachūri to *Daśaraikāṇikāsātra*, VIII, 34. The shortening of the ऊ as a next step is not unusual.

Further, *उयहां, व्यहां, वयहां* from *जिहां, तिहां, किहां*; *उयम, व्यम, वयम* from *जिम, तिम, किम*; and similar instances (*गोव्यंदो* for *गोविंदो* and *म्यली* for *मिली*)⁵ point to a still wider field of operation of the anti-*samprasāraṇa* process; and it also manifests itself in the final *इ* preceded by consonants, as in

| | | | | |
|-------|------|------|---|--------|
| आंख | from | अंखि | — | अंति |
| गान्ध | from | गंडी | — | गन्धिः |
| वाल्म | from | वही | — | वलिः |
| गौरव | from | गवरी | — | गौरी |
| जाख | from | जाती | — | जातिः |

and the like.

The list of words given above will show that the change of *अइ* to *अय* is not confined to *वयर, वयरागी* and *पयसार*, but extends over a larger, though necessarily limited, field. All I intended was to indicate the tendency, and leave other cases of wide *è* and *ò* to be explained by that process, whether actual change to *अय* in their case was found or not in writing, by a reasonable inference of its operation.⁶

To take (b) in the first objection first :—

I do not think *वयर* and *वयरागी* can be found in any Prākṛit grammar or work. These always recognize *अइ* and *अउ*, *अय* and *अव* (as evolutes of *अइ* and *अउ*) having come into use at a very late stage even in O. W. Rājasthānī. One would rather say that *वहर* and *वहरागी* are *tatsamas* and *वयर* and *वयरागी* are *tadbhavas*. Again, to say that *अय* (and *अव*) may in these cases be a corruption of Sanskrit *ऐ* (and *औ*) is hardly supported by Prākṛit grammar. Hemachandra notes the change of *ऐ* to *ए*, *इ* and *अइ* (as also that of *औ* to *ओ*, *उ* and *अउ*), but he nowhere speaks of *अय* (and *अव*) as evolutes of *ऐ* (and *औ*), nor are they found in Prākṛit works, so far as I know. True, Dr. Tessitori has simply advanced a conjecture; but such a conjecture has hardly any basis, either in the grammatical or literary works in Prākṛit; nor are there any grounds for going behind Hemachandra and reading into his *sūtras* any such phonetic tendency, as may fairly be permitted by critical canons.

Now, as regards (a),—it is essential to know specifically the conditions under which O. W. Rājasthānī manuscripts write *य* for *इ* (and, as Dr. Tessitori states further on, *व* for *उ*): Is it in the case of initial, medial or final *इ* or *उ*? Is it when they are accented or unaccented? or, is this substitution of *य* (and *व*) for *इ* (and *उ*) dependent, like the spelling with a *w* or a *v* in Sam Weller's name, on the taste and inclination of the writer? Again, are those

⁵ I find *गोव्यंदो* in a poem of Padmanābha copied in V. S. 1715 (see *Gujarātī-Śāhī-Patra*, XII, May, article by Mr. Chhaganlal V. Rāva); and *गोव्यंद* in *Vaidīa-panchavīti* (poem), p. 178; *म्यली* in Bhāṣa's *Kādambarī*, pūrvabhāga, p. 81, l. 16; p. 83, l. 13; and p. 102, l. 20.

This substitution of *य* for *इ* is not to be mistaken as a vagary of the scribes. Even now in Gujarāt ladies of the old generation amongst Vajjanagarā Nāgaras and residents of Karnālī in Baroda State have this tendency to substitute *य* for *इ* in pronouncing words of this kind, e. g., *खल* for *तिल*, *म्यरी* for *मिरी* (*मरी*); and the like.

⁶ The genesis of *प्रतिसंप्रसारण* (anti-*samprasāraṇa*) may be this: when the *इ-उ* find themselves in a subordinate position they seek, as it were, some support for self-preservation, and an adventurous *अ* steps in to furnish such support, resulting in the usual *sandhi* process *इ+अ=य* and *उ+अ=व*. Pāṇini's rule, *इको यणचि* operates here; this rule is practically the opposite of *इगुणः संप्रसारणम्*; the change of *यण्* to *इक्* being called *संप्रसारण* (*samprasāraṇa*), that of *इक्* to *यण्* may well be termed *प्रतिसंप्रसारण* (*prati-samprasāraṇa*) or anti-*samprasāraṇa*.

vowels and semi-vowels interchangeable in writing like ज and य and व and ख ? In the absence of this detailed information, I shall assume that this tendency of writing य, व for इ, उ must have been noticed in occasional⁷ cases which Dr. Tessitori has not been able to reduce to any rule; and I shall proceed to point out instances where I discover some method in the madness of the scribe. Thus, I find इ written almost invariably in Bhāṭa's *Kādambarī*⁸ (about V. S. 1550), while य is written only in rare cases for इ, and where य is intended to be sounded, and not इ.

जाय Page 1, line 12. Here the word rhymes with उपाय and this at once shows that य is intended and not इ.

Whereas जाइ at Page 1, line 14. Here इ is lengthened in reading and therefore cannot be changed into य.

थाय Page 83, line 3. Where it rhymes with काय, and therefore intends a य sound.

जाय Page 83, line 5.

डेलाय Ditto.

जाइ Page 77, line 5.

विइ Page 85, line 2, also line 23

हिइ Ditto

line 5

} Here even वायि and हिंयि are written with an इ.

जाय Page 164, line 14, where it rhymes with काय.

थाय Page 165, line 8, rhyming with काय.

थाइ Ditto line 14.

थाइ Ditto line 20 "स्त्रीनू अपलपणू थाइ तिहां" where इ is short and yet it is not even altered to य; here was a suitable occasion for the play of the scribe's tendency to write य for इ.

जपाइ Page 165, line 21. Here इ is lengthened.

(The year of copy of the manuscript is V. S. 1672.)

I take up *Gautama Rāsa* (V. S. 1412) and find the following :—

निश्चइ, st. 5; गडरि, st. 5; पंचसय, st. 6; बइठड, st. 7; पयडड (? पयडड), st. 9; चउसठि st. 11; तड, st. 14, 18, 20, etc.; कउसीसी, st. 17; बयर st. 17; बयरागी, st. 35; डवझाइ, st. 43; कवण st. 44.

(The work concludes thus :—

चउवह सय बारोतर बरिसिहि
खंनयरि सिरिपासपसाहि (? इ)
गोयमगणहर केवल दिवसिहि
कियउं कविउ उपगार परो).

Mādhavānala Kathā (V. S. 1574, copied V. S. 1693) shows :—

कोइल (not कौवल), v. 190, इइडइ (not हयडइ), v. 203.

Ushāharāṇa by Janārdana (V. S. 1548) shows :—

गायसिइ (for गाइसिइ).

बइठो; पइसइ; कवण-कृण; पनउसी; थाइ;

इइडइ; जाय (for जाइ).

Vimalaprabandha (V. S. 1568) has :—

नइरव, p. 37, st. 24; बयर, p. 147, st. 25; देवर (Hindi देवर), p. 146, st. 23 सइ (for सय), p. 90, st. 10, 11; तव (for तड), p. 200, st. 86.

⁷ I use this word because Dr. Tessitori speaks of a tendency only.

⁸ Mr. K. H. Dhruva's edition.

Glancing through the selected specimens from O. W. Rājasthāni texts given as an Appendix to Dr. Tessitori's Notes on the Grammar of the O. W. Rājasthāni (pp. 100-106), I find इ and उ written throughout as इ and उ and not as य and व; e.g., चउयउ (at three places), तउ, माडला, आऊला, तउहइ, जाइसु, जाइसि, पइसी, बइडउ, पइसतु; all this in contrast to ययरी (at five places at p. 103, and at one place at p. 105),—only in one place we see वइराणु (p. 104), जायइ (p. 100), जायइ (p. 103), रोयइ (p. 104), where evidently the य represents itself and not इ. (The य in कियइ at p. 101, line 7, is of a different kind; it stands for ज in कीजइ, passive form. Prākṛit किजइ, Sanskrit कियते; and is therefore not to be counted in this connection.)

This much about the O. W. Rājasthāni MSS. As regards old Māravāḍī, the specimen given by Dr. Tessitori from the "Song of Jasavanta Sonigaro" has रामाइन where रामावन would have surely been expected.

I need not multiply instances.⁹ But the above instances will be enough to show that, instead of possessing a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ, the works disclose a well-established practice of writing इ and उ, and only in particular cases and conditions did they write य and व for इ and उ; these conditions being nothing but the fact of actual phonetic change into य and व. The very fact that only in certain words such as ववर, वयरणी and the like the य is emphasized would show that the anti-samprasāraṇa process had already commenced in their case, and if बइडउ is seen side by side with ययउउ, पइडउ, it is only because the process was in a stage of beginning and not quite settled down; for changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march; some forms will linger, some progress, go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached. Whatever may be the case, the isolated instances of य cannot be set down as the result of a tendency to write य for इ in the face of so many instances of words with इ written in them. In his "Notes," § 4, (5) Dr. Tessitori refers to the writing of य for इ, in a particular MS. (F. 722), and infers that it is a mere writing peculiarity of the MS.* The instances contain वयम, वयम and the like. These are exactly the representatives of the pronunciation in Gujarāṭi at present (alternatively with केव, तेव, etc.). If so, why could it not have been the case of actual change then?

⁹ Vaitāla-panchavīśi (V. S. 1629) gives a luxuriant crop of इ, and rarely, very rarely, य (as only in cases like पयडा (p. 136), वयडु (p. 100), वयरग (p. 104), वयेडउ (p. 104), वयडउ (p. 88); which are all explained above). It has also बइडउ (p. 174) and बइरी (p. 173), which fact is also explained above. Only in two cases we find abnormal य:—जायस for जाइसि (p. 132) and जायेडइ for जाइडइ (p. 111). These two isolated instances in the midst of an extremely large number of instances of इ cannot prove a tendency to write य for इ. We have to remember that we are to detect a general current out of a bewildering variety of manifestations resulting partly from (a) the habit of scribes tampering with genuine forms, and partly from (b) the fact that words assume different changes even during the same period. An instance of the former condition is seen in Bhālāpa's Kḍdambārī where, instead of the expected अइ (which is written only in rare exceptions) we find the करिडि and करि type almost invariably. We need not wonder at it when we remember that the oldest copy belongs to the last quarter of the 17th century of the Vikrama era, wherein this type was prominent and extensively used, although it began earlier. Take only one instance:—

केशवली शिववर्णी वीसिडि प्रमाण

(P. 56, l. 16.)

Here वीसिडि gives a great metrical deficiency, whereas वीसइडइ would fill the metrical measure properly.

घोमइ at p. 6, l. 19, is a rare exception, but it betrays the scribe who evidently forgot to turn it into घोमि.

(2) Dr. Tessitori's second reason is—

That O. W. Rājasthānī changes अव to अड invariably and it is not admissible that having begun its existence with such a change, it should retrace its steps and go back from अड to अव again.

My answer is as under :—

Considering the comparatively limited number of cases of *samprasāraṇa*, is it safe, I would ask, to state that O. W. Rājasthānī reduces every अव of the *Apabhramśa* to अड ? Assuming, however, that this process is a strong feature of the Old Western Rājasthānī, does it necessarily follow that the अड cannot revert to अव ? Such reversion is not unknown in linguistic development. For instance, the double ण (ण) of *Apabhramśa* derived from the न (ञ) in Sanskrit, goes back to न in O. W. Rājasthānī and its offspring languages, as in छन्नके (Sans.), छण्ड (Apabhr.), छानड (O. W. Rāj.), छानु (Guj.) and words of that type. Similarly an initial single ण of *Apabhramśa*, derived from the dental न in Sanskrit, goes back to the dental in O. W. Rāj. and derived languages ; e.g., नापि (Sansk.), पवि (Apabhr.), नपि (O. W. Rāj.), नव (Guj.).¹⁰ Take the very case of अव ; Sanskrit कः पुनः, Prākṛit कौटन-कडन came to be crystallized into कवण in *Apabhramśa*. (This is the real progress, although Hemachandra has found it convenient for the purposes of his plan to call कवण a ready-made *ādeśa* of किन्. See *Siddha-Hemachandra*, VIII. iv. 367). This कवण has reverted to कडण (by *samprasāraṇa*) in O. W. Rājasthānī, as Dr. Tessitori points out. (See also *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika*—V. S. 1450—which has कडण in nine different places at p. 3, 4, 5, 7, against four of कुण at p. 2, 7, 8.) This has again passed through a reflux, and we find कवण in *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568), p. 9, st. 25, also in *Vaitāla-panchavīsī*—Poem (V. S. 1619), p. 39, side by side with कोण or कुण also. If this be regarded as a retention of the *Apabhramśa tatsama* (कवण) in the 16th and 17th century literature, the same cannot be said of the कवण found frequently in still later literature and in popular *duhās* as in—

कवण खटकावे कमाड मदी छे राणकदेवनी.

The correct explanation must be found in a process of reversion which, in this case, exhibits the anti-*samprasāraṇa* process.

If more instances of reversion and *प्रतिस्प्रसारण* combined were wanted, I would cite देसावर (derived from देसावर-देश + अपर) reverting to देशावर in Gujarātī (the स is changed to श by the proximity of ए and is not to be mistaken as a sign of *tatsama* for the प is absent where we have व); and देडल (from देडल which really is the result of *samprasāraṇa* of the व in देवल from देवल, a potential contraction of देवकुल) reverting to देवळ (Guj.); and देवर (from Sanskrit देवर)—see *Vimala-prabandha*, p. 146, st. 23—reverting to देवर in Hindi. Of course, the व in

¹⁰ I have taken both these types from Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", § 41 and § 23. I have taken the छण्ड type with certain reservation ; for, so far as I can ascertain, the double ञ of Sanskrit is not seen to change into the cerebral ण either in Prakrit or *Apabhramśa* ; Hemachandra does not show it. But Sanskrit double ञ appears as ण (cerebral) in later Prākṛit, e.g., पण्ण (from प्रसज), *Prākṛita Paingala* (Calc. Edition), p. 355, l. 3, p. 380, l. 4 ; पण्ण (Sans. पण्ण), p. 35, l. 4 ; also अण्ण (अण्ण), धण्ण (धण्ण), and the like may be constructive instances in point, न्व first turning into ञ. Only in one case I find Hemachandra giving ण for a constructed ञ : उव्विण्णी (from उव्विमः)—see *Si-He*, VIII. ii. 79.

However, स्तनः-थणो, थणु-थान (Guj.), and वनचरक-वनवरद-वनेह (Guj.), तनवः-तणओ-तन (Guj.), मनः-मण-मन (Guj.), भगिनी-बहिणी-बहेन (Guj.), स्थान-थानु-थान (said specially of a horse's place in the stable), मोवन-मोवन (गु)-मोवन (Guj.), would be good instances of reversion.

these three instances is preceded by आ or ए and not by अ; none the less they instance reversion and *prati-samprasāraṇa* together.¹¹ The fact is that, as in the case of other changes,¹² this change of अ back to अव¹³ is found side by side with a different process undergone by the same double vowel. Thus, while कडण gave कवण on the one hand, it also gave कु on the other; गवख gave गवख (the parent of गीख) on the one hand, while it gave गकख (the parent of गीख) on the other, and so forth. How or why this double operation came into play will be explained further on below.

(3) To come to Dr. Tessitori's third and last ground. It is this—

- (a) ऐ and औ, derived from अइ and अउ, are found in all the earliest manuscripts of both Gujarātī and Māravādī;
- (b) When अइ-अउ began to be written as ऐ-औ, it was because they were pronounced as diphthongs, and only afterwards they were reduced to long wide vowels (i.e., ई and औ);
- (c) If अइ-अउ had really passed into अय-अव, manuscripts would have written them as अय-अव instead of writing them, as they do, as ऐ-औ, especially as they show a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ.

I should like to make my position clear before taking up each of these three sub-heads. But it will be convenient to touch one point under (a) just now, viz., the state of things in earliest Gujarātī Manuscripts. So far as I have been able to ascertain, ऐ-औ, as evolutes of अइ-अउ, are not seen in Gujarātī Manuscripts of any period. Dr. Tessitori puts the rise of Gujarātī as a separate offshoot of O. W. Rājasthānī somewhere about the beginning of the seventeenth century of the Christian era ¹⁴ (i.e. from V. S. 1656 downward). Manu-

¹¹ It may be contended that after all देवुल is from देवुल direct, and देवर a Sanskrit *tatsama*. But a careful consideration of the probabilities based on the place of these words in the language as words of such frequent currency as can only be acquired by *tadbhava* formations, will go against such contention. Besides, देवुल is only a potential step.

¹² In some cases the co-existence of apparently different stages of formation can be accounted for; e.g.,

अहोतरख डुखडी रावण तणइ कपालि ।
एकुबुद्धि न सांपडी लंका भंजन कालि ॥

(*Munja Rāśā*, quoted from in Sāstri Vrajālal's *Gujarātī Bhāṣhāno Itihāsa*, p. 44.) Here the अइ in तणइ is due to a final क termination, while the इ in कपालि and कालि is the result of the absence of that termination. Similarly लमनतणइ स्थानिकि in *Bhucanādīpa bhāṣhāntara* (*Gujarātī-Sāstī-Patra*, March, 1910, p. 112.)

This would be good in the case of nouns and adjectives. In the case of verbs the अइ and इ cannot be so explained, and must be regarded as forms different in nature.

¹³ I must note that *anti-samprasāraṇa* (or *प्रतिसंसारण*) does not mean that the इ-उ which undergo that process have in all cases been derived by *samprasāraṇa*. They may have been evolved differently as well; e.g.,

| | | | | |
|--------|---|----------|---|----------------------|
| मलिनक | — | मइलउं | — | (मयलउं—मयलउं)—मलं; |
| खदिर | — | खइर | — | (खयर)—खर; |
| वेर | — | वइर(रु) | — | वयर (वयर)—वर; |
| मुकुल | — | मउल (लु) | — | (मवर)—मोर; |
| गोरी | — | गउरी | — | गवरी (गवरी)—गरिय; |
| चतुष्क | — | चउक | — | चवक (चवक)—चाक; |

et cetera. All that is meant is a process which is the opposite of *samprasāraṇa*. (In fact, where अय is affected by *samprasāraṇa*, there is no *prati-samprasāraṇa*, the अइ remains in hiatus or contracts into a narrow ए, or forms the diphthong ऐ; e.g., सैकुं or सइकं, चांपानेर, अवेव (from अवयव).

¹⁴ Vide Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", p. 5 of the Introduction.

scripts subsequent to this date (V. S. 1656) showing ऐ-औ for अइ-अउ in Gujarāṭī will really come as a surprise to many. I may be wrong and my research is, no doubt, limited in extent in this respect. I should really be glad, therefore, to see such instances in Gujarāṭī manuscripts. May it be that Dr. Tessitori has come across such cases in Gujarāṭī manuscripts written by scribes who were under Māravāḍī influence? Again, Dr. Tessitori himself regards the contraction of अइ-अउ into ऐ-औ as one of the characteristics marking the existence of Gujarāṭī as independent from the O. W. Rājasthānī, and puts it at the head of the list.¹² If so, is it likely that any early Gujarāṭī manuscript will show ऐ-औ as the evolutes of अइ-अउ? However, we need not wander into the realm of conjecture as to probabilities, when it may be possible for Dr. Tessitori to show concrete instances. Till then I must regard ऐ-औ as evolutes of अइ-अउ to be foreign to Gujarāṭī in any of its stages development.

To come to the clearing up of my position now:—I do not mean to suggest that अय-अव (as developments of अइ-अउ) were actually written, except in rare cases like वयर, वयडड and the like; all I contend is that they were potential developments, as precedent conditions requisite for the production of the wide sound (अँ-अॉ) which comes on the final अ being lost through want of accent, thus giving अय-अव as the causative principle of the broad sound.¹³ Dr. Tessitori will not be averse to accepting this principle of potential development, for he has to take his अय through a potential अइ stage, though not found in actual writing. (See p. 77 of his article on "Bardic Survey", the article under notice.) There are several such potential intermediate changes, which I class under संक्रमणोत्सर्ग (i.e., transitional *utsargas*, or rules marking operations during transitional steps). I may cite only one instance: As a reverse process to the change of ञ् to न (Siddha. Hem, VIII. ii. 57), I find a change of न to ञ्, only as a possible middle step, in the formation of अवनवुं (Guj.) from अभिनवकं (Sanskrit), through अङ्गिनवडं-अङ्गनवडं.

Thus, this change of अइ-अउ to अय-अव (then अय-अव) is only a possible phonetic process as a transitional step, and when instances in actual writing, like, वयर, वयरागी, etc., do happen to come up, I take them as clear indications of the tendency in support of my theory. Even if there were no such actual instances in support, I should still adhere to the anti-*samprasāraṇa* theory, as I find in it a potential principle supplying a clear working hypothesis.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

9. Goods not up to sample.

30 August 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Nicks and Council at Consimers. The Long Cloth you last sent us proves soe very Courcee, ill washt, and packt, that tis unfit to be sent home. To Satisfy you therein we have sent for your review and Perusal Six bales by Sloop [lacuna] and expect your Merchants will make a proportionable abatement thereon, or we must returne the rest upon them. Our mony being much better then Such trash, and we doe much blame the dimoited [sic? a form of doited] = senseless or Corrupt Sorters and receivers

thereof. Certainly they had noe Reguard to their [Musters] or Masters and tho you and your Merchants may plead the troubles and impediments of the Country and Scarcity of goods which may serve for an excuse for their delays; yett it can be no excuse for the badness of the goods; nothing can necessitate that, for if they reach not muster [Sample], reject them, for 'tis much better to take nothing then that which is good for nothing. Pray, if you Vallue your reputations or employs, be guilty of no such faults for the future, and Remedy this as well as you can. Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George, 1689, p. 41.

R. C. T.

¹² Vide Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", p. 5. of the Introduction.

¹³ Vide my Note on Gujarāṭī Pronunciation, ante, Vol. XLIV, p. 18, footnote 3, and the portion to which it is a note.

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THE FOLKLORE OF GUJARAT

NATURE POWERS

CHAPTER I

BESIDES the higher-grade deities, whose worship is enjoined and treated of in the Shāstras and Purānas, numerous other minor deities, none of whom however find a place in the Scriptures, are worshipped by the lower classes. The principle underlying the whole fabric of the worship of these minor deities, who for the most part are the spirits of dead ancestors or heroes, has more in it of fear for their power of harming than of love for their divine nature. All untoward occurrences in domestic affairs, all bodily ailments and unusual natural phenomena, inexplicable to the simple mind of the villager are attributed to the malignant action of these nameless and numerous spirits, hovering over and haunting the habitations of men.¹ The latent dread of receiving injuries from these evil spirits results in the worship by the low-class people of a number of *devas* and *mātās*, as they are called. The poor villager, surrounded on all sides by hosts of hovering spirits, ready to take offence, or even to possess him, on the smallest pretext, requires some tangible protector to save him from such malign influences.² He sets up and enshrines the spirit that he believes to have been beneficent to him, and so deserving of worship, and makes vows in its honour, often becoming himself the officiating priest. Each such deity has its own particular *thānak* (*sthāna*) or locality. Thus there is hardly a village which has not a particular deity of its own. But in addition to this deity, others in far off villages are generally held in high esteem.³

There are a number of ways in which these lower-class deities can be installed. Their images are made either of wood, stone, or metal.⁴ No temples or shrines are erected in their honour.⁵ An ordinary way of representing them is by drawing a trident, (*trishūl*, a weapon peculiar to god Shiva) in red lead and oil on an upright slab of stone on a public road, on any dead wall, on the confines of a village, or a mountain side, or a hill top, in an underground cellar, or on the bank of a stream.⁶ Some people paint tridents in their own houses. The *trishūl*, or trident, may also be made of wood, in which case its three points are plastered with red-lead and oil and covered with a thin coating of tin.⁷ Sometimes carved wooden images in human shape, daubed over with red-lead and oil, are placed in a small wooden chariot or in a recess about a foot square. In some shrines two brooms or whisks of peacock's feathers are placed on either side of the image.⁸ A slight difficulty overcome or a disease remedied by a vow in honour of any of these deities offers the occasion for an installation, and in all future emergencies of the same kind similar vows are observed. A *mātā* installed to protect a fortress or a street is called a *Gadheri Mātā*, and the worshippers of a fortress, or street, mother are known as *Pothias*.⁹ At the time of installation flags are hoisted near the dedicated places. A troop of dancers with jingling anklets recite holy verses, while the *bhura*, exorcist-priest, performs the ceremonies. Generally installations are frequent during the

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⁵ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

⁶ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

⁷ Mr. M. D. Vyas, Shastri, Bhayavadur.

Navarātra* holidays when, if no human-shaped image is set up, a *trishūl* at least is drawn in red-lead and oil.¹ Some of these evil deities require, at the time of their installation, the *balidān* (sacrifice or oblation) of a goat or a he-buffalo. Also, when a spirit is to be exorcised, the symbol of the familiar spirit of the exorcist is set up and invoked by him.¹ After the installation, no systematic form of worship is followed in connection with them.² Regular forms are prescribed for the real gods of the Purāṇas. But upon these the low-caste people are not authorised to attend.

Still, in practice there are two forms of worship: ordinary or *sāmānya-pūjā* and special or *viśeṣha-pūjā*.³ Ordinary worship is performed by bathing the deity—which can be done by sprinkling a few drops of water over it—burning a ghi, or an oil, lamp before it, and by offering a cocoanut and a pice or a half-anna piece. The last is taken away by the *bhūva*, or priest, who returns generally half or three-quarters of the cocoanut as a *prasād* of the god.

There are no particular days prescribed for such worship, but Sundays and Tuesdays would seem to be the most favoured.⁴ On such days, offerings are made for the fulfilment of a vow recorded in order to avoid a *bādā*, or impending evil. In the observance of this vow the devotee abstains from certain things, such as ghi, butter, milk, rice, juvar, betelnut till the period of the vow expires. When a vow is thus discharged, the devotee offers flowers, garlands, incense, food or drink according to the terms of his vow.⁴ The *dhūpa*, i.e., burning incense of *gūgal* (balsamodendron) is one of the commonest methods of worship.

The days for special worship are the Navarātra holidays, the second day of the bright half of Āshādh, the ninth month of the Hindu Calendar,⁵ Divāsā⁶ or the fifteenth day of the dark half of Āshādh, and Kālī-chaudas⁷ or the fourteenth day of the dark half of Āshvin, the last month; besides other extraordinary occasions when a spirit has to be exorcised out of a sick person.

The Navarātra days are said to be the most auspicious days for devī-worship. People believing in the power of the *mātās* observe fast on these days. Most of them at least fast on the eighth day of the Navarātra known as *Mātā-ashtamī*, taking only a light meal which consists of roots, as a rule, especially the suran (*Amorphophallus campanulatus*), and of dates and milk.⁸ On the Navarātra days red-lead and oil are applied to the images of the devis, and a number of oblations, such as loaves, cooked rice, *lāpsi*†, *radān*‡ and *bāklā*§ are offered.⁹ The utmost ceremonial cleanliness is observed in the preparation of these viands. The corn is sifted, cleaned, ground or pounded, cooked, treated with frankincense, offered to the gods and lastly partaken of before sunset, and all these operations must be performed on the same day; for the offerings must not see lamp-light.¹⁰ Girls are not allowed to partake of these offerings. All ceremonies should be conducted with much earnestness and reverence; otherwise the offerings will fail to prove acceptable to the *mātās* or devis.¹⁰

On *Mātā-ashtamī* and *Kālī-chaudas* devotees sometimes offer rams, goats or buffaloes as victims to the devis or devas in addition to the usual offerings of *lāpsi*, *radān* and *bāklā*.¹⁰ The night of *Kālī-chaudas* is believed to be so favourable for the efficacious

* The first nine days of Āshvin, the last month of the Gujarat Hindu Calendar, known otherwise as *Mātānā dāhādā-mātā's* days. The influence of the *mātās* is very strong in these days.

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⁴ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

† *Lāpsi* is coarse wheat-flour fried in ghi and sweetened with molasses or sugar.

‡ *Radān*—bean flour—generally of gram or peas—is allowed to remain in water with spices until the paste acquires a sufficient degree of consistence, when it is rolled into small biscuit-sized balls and fried in oil.

§ *Bāklā* are small round flat cakes of dry boiled beans.

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recitation (*sādhana*) of certain *mantras*, mysterious incantations possessing sway over spirits, that *bhuvās* (exorcists) leave the village and sit up performing certain rites in cemeteries, on burning-ghats, and in other equally suitable places where spirits are supposed to congregate.¹

On Divāsā, the last day of Āshādh, the ninth month, low-caste people bathe their gods with water and milk, besmear them with red-lead and oil, and make offerings of cocoanuts, *lāpsi*, *bāklā* of *adād* (*Phan-solens radiatus*) or *kansār**. Particular offerings are believed to be favoured by particular deities: for instance, *khichdo* (rice and pulse boiled together) and oil, or *tavo* (flat unleavened loaves) are favoured by the goddess Meldi, boiled rice by Shikotar and *lāpsi* by the goddess Gātrād.²

On these holidays, as well as on the second day of the bright half of Āshādh the devotees hoist flags in honour of the spirits, and play on certain musical instruments producing discordant sounds. Meanwhile *bhuvās*, believed to be interpreters of the wills of evil spirits, undergo self-torture, with the firm conviction that the spirits have entered their persons. Sometimes they lash themselves with iron chains or cotton braided scourges.³ At times a *bhuva* places a pan-full of sweet oil over a fire till it boils. He then fries cakes in it, and takes them out with his unprotected hands, sprinkling the boiling oil over his hair. He further dips thick cotton wicks into the oil, lights them and puts them into his mouth and throws red-hot bullets into his mouth, seemingly without any injury.⁴ This process secures the confidence of the *sevaks* or followers, and is very often used by *bhuvās* when exorcising spirits from persons whose confidence the *bhuvās* wish

to gain. A bowl-full of water is then passed round the head of the ailing person (or animal) to be charmed, and the contents are swallowed by the exorcist to show that he has swallowed in the water all the ills the flesh of the patient is heir to.⁴

In the cure of certain diseases by exorcising the process known as *utār* is sometimes gone through. An *utār* is a sacrificial offering of the nature of a scapegoat, and consists of a black earthen vessel, open and broad at the top, and containing *lāpsi*, *vadān*, *bāklā*, a yard of *atlas* (dark-red silk fabric), one rupee and four annas in cash, pieces of charcoal, red-lead, *sorro* (or surmo-lead ore used as eye-powder), an iron-nail and three cocoanuts.⁴ Very often a trident is drawn in red-lead and oil on the outer sides of the black earthen vessel.⁵ The *bhuva* carries the *utār* in his hands with a drawn sword in a procession, to the noise of the jingling of the anklets of his companions, the beating of drums and the rattling of cymbals. After placing the *utār* in the cemetery the procession returns with tumultuous shouts of joy and much jingling of anklets.⁶

Sometimes *bhuvās* are summoned for two or three nights preceding the day of the *utār* ceremony, and a ceremony known as *Dānklān-beswān* or the installation of the *dānklā*⁷ is performed. (A *dānklā*† is a special spirit instrument in the shape of a small kettle-drum producing, when beaten by a stick, a most discordant, and, by long association, a melancholy, gruesome and ghastly sound—K. B. Fazlullah).

Many sects have special deities of their own, attended upon by a *bhuva* of the same order.⁸ The *bhuva* holds a high position in the society of his caste-fellows. He believes himself to be possessed by the devi or *mātā* whose attendant he is, and declares,

¹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sanka.

* *Kansār* is coarse wheat-flour cooked in three times as much water and sweetened with molasses or sugar and taken with ghi.—B. L. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

² The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

³ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

⁴ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

⁵ Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

⁶ Mr. Jagannath Hirji, Schoolmaster, Chok.

⁷ Mr. G. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sultanpore.

⁸ Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

† A *dānklā* is otherwise known by the name of *dūg-dūdūon*

while possessed by her, the will of the *mātā*, replying for her to such questions as may be put to him.¹ The devis are supposed to appear in specially favoured *bhuvās* and to endow them with prophetic powers.²

The following is a list of some of the inferior local deities of Gujarat and Kathiawar :—

(1) *Suro-pūro*.—This is generally the spirit of some brave ancestor who died a heroic death, and is worshipped by his descendants as a family-god at his birthplace as well as at the scene of his death, where a pillar (*pālio*) is erected to his memory.³

(2) *Vachhro*, otherwise known by the name of *Dādā* (sire).—This is said to have been a Rajput, killed in rescuing the cowherds of some *Chārāns*, who invoked his aid, from a party of free-booters.⁴ He is considered to be the family-god of the *Ahirs* of *Solanki* descent, and is the sole village-deity in *Okha* and *Baradi* Districts.⁵ Other places dedicated to this god are *Padānā*, *Aniālā*, *Taluka Mengani*,⁶ *Khajurdi*, *Khāsārā* and *Anida*.⁷ He is represented by a stone horse, and *Chārāns* perform priestly duties in front of him.⁸ Submission to, and vows in honour of, this god, are believed to cure rabid-dog-bites.⁹

(3) *Sarmālio* commands worship in *Gondal*, *Khokhāri* and many other places. Newly-married couples of many castes loosen the knots tied in their marriage-scarves as a mark of respect for him.¹⁰ Persons bitten by a snake wear round their necks a piece of thread dedicated to this god.⁶

(4) *Shitalā* is a goddess known for the cure of small-pox.—Persons attacked by this disease observe vows in her honour. *Kālāvād* and *Syādlā* are places dedicated to her.⁹

(5) *Ganāgor*—Virgins who are anxious to secure suitable husbands and comfortable

establishments worship this goddess and observe vows in her honour.⁹

(6) *Todālā*.—She has neither an idol nor a temple set up in her honour, but is represented by a heap of stones lying on the village boundary—*Pādal* or *Jāmpā*. All marriage processions, before entering the village (*Sānkā*) or passing by the heap, pay homage to this deity and offer a cocoanut, failure to do which is believed to arouse her wrath. She does not command daily adoration, but on occasions the attendant, who is a *Chumvālā Koli*, and who appropriates all the presents to this deity, burns frankincense of *gugal* (*balsamodendron*) and lights a lamp before her.¹⁰

(7) *Buttāya* also is represented by a heap of stones on a hillock in the vicinity of *Sānkā*. Her worshipper is a *Talabdia Koli*. A long season of drought leads to her propitiation by feasting *Brāhmans*, for which purpose four pounds of corn are taken in her name from each threshing floor in the village.¹⁰

(8) *Surdhan*.—This seems to have been some brave *Kshatriya* warrior who died on a battlefield. A temple is erected to his memory, containing an image of *Shiva*. The attending priest is an *Atit*.¹⁰

(9) *Ghogho*.—This is a cobra-god worshipped in the village of *Bikhijada* having a *Bajana* (tumbler) for his attending priest.¹⁰

(10) *Pir*.—This is a *Musalman* saint, in whose honour no tomb is erected, the special site alone being worshipped by a devotee.¹⁰

(11) *Raneki* is represented by a heap of stones, and is attended upon by *chamārs* (tanners). Her favourite resort is near the *Dhedvādā* (i.e., a quarter inhabited by sweepers). A childless *Girasia* is said to

¹ Mr. Jethabhai Mangaldas, Schoolmaster, Gondal.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

³ Mr. L. G. Travadi, Schoolmaster, Upleta.

⁴ Mr. H. R. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Khirasara.

⁵ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

⁶ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

⁷ Two pieces of cloth, a shawl and a scarf are cast over the bridegroom and the bride, and they are tied together by a knot. It is the unloosening of this tie which is here referred to.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁰ Mr. N. M. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sānkā.

⁸ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrasa.

⁹ Mr. H. R. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Khirasara.

¹⁰ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

¹¹ Mr. L. G. Travadi, Schoolmaster, Upleta.

have observed a vow in her honour for a son, and a son being born to him, he dedicated certain lands to her; but they are no longer in the possession of the attendants.¹

(12) Hanuman.—On a mound of earth there is an old worn-out image of this god. People sometimes light a lamp there, offer cocoanuts and plaster the image with red-lead and oil. A *sādhu* of the Mārāgi sect, a Koli by birth, acts as *pujari*.¹

(13) Shaktā (or shakti).—This is a Girasia goddess attended upon by a Chumvālī Koli. On the Navarātra days, as well as on the following day, Girasias worship this goddess, and if necessary observe vows in her name.¹

(14) Harsidh.—Gāndhavi in Bardā and Ujjain are the places dedicated to this goddess. There is a tradition connected with her that her image stood in a place of worship facing the sea on Mount Koyalo in Gandhavi. She was believed to sink or swallow all the vessels that sailed by. A Bania named Jagadusā, knowing this, propitiated her by the performance of religious austerities. On being asked what boon he wanted from her, he requested her to descend from her mountain-seat. She agreed on the Bania promising to offer a living victim for every footstep she took in descending. Thus he sacrificed one victim after another until the number of victims he had brought was exhausted. He then first offered his

four or five children, then his wife and lastly himself. In reward for his self-devotion the goddess faced towards Miani and no mishaps are believed to take place in the village.²

(15) Hinglaj.—This goddess has a place of worship a hundred and fifty miles from Karachi in Sind, to which her devotees and believers make pilgrimage.²

In the village of Jāsdān, in Kathiawar, there is an ancient shrine of Kālū-Pir in whose memory there are two sepulchres covered with costly fabrics, and a large flag floats over the building. Both Hindus and Musalmans believe* in this saint, and offer cocoanuts, sweatmeats and money to his soul. A part of the offering being passed through the smoke of frankincense, burning in a brazier near the saint's grave in the shrine, the rest is returned to the offerer. Every morning and evening a big kettle-drum is beaten in the Pir's honour.³

Other minor deities are Shikotār, believed by sailors to be able to protect them from the dangers of the deep;⁴ Charmathvati, the goddess of the Rabaris;⁵ Macho, the god of the shepherds;⁶ Meldi, in whom Vaghries (bird-catchers) believe;⁶ Pithād, the favourite god of Dheds;⁷ Dhavdi, who is worshipped by a *hajām* (barber);⁸ Khodiar;⁹ Gēla,⁹ Dādamo,⁹ Kshetrapāl,⁹ Chāvad,¹⁰ Mongal,¹⁰ Avad,¹⁰ Pālan,¹⁰ Vir

¹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sānkā.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

* The tendency to fraternise as much in belief as in nationality is a notable feature of Indian life. The saying goes:—Hindu Musalmān ek Rām bijo Rehman. The Hindu and Musalman are not far apart; one is the follower of Rām, the other of Rehman (the most compassionate—a Kurānic name of Allah). Again says another proverb: The Hindu and Musalmān are as closely connected as the breast and the skirt of a garment (Hindu nē Musalmān moli dāman jo vehevār). The Hindu pays homage to the Pir, the Muslim repays the compliment by holding some of his Hindu brother's lower class deities, such as Vaital and Kālī and Ambā, in awe. The Hindu worships and breaks cocoanuts before the Moharram *taazias*—the Musalman responds by showing a sneaking sort of a regard for the Holi, whom he believes to have been a daughter of the patriarch Abraham. This reciprocal good fellowship in time of political agitation, like those of the Indian Mutiny, results in the "chapati", or unleavened bread loaf, being considered a symbol to be honoured both by Muslim and Hindu; and in more recent times, as during the plague troubles in Allahabad and Cawnpore, shows itself in the Muslim garlanding the Hindu on a holiday, and the Hindus setting up sherbat-stalls for Musalmans on an Id day.—Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

³ Mr. J. N. Patel, Schoolmaster, Jāsdān.

⁴ Mr. Jaggannath Hirji, Schoolmaster, Chok.

⁵ Mr. O. A. Mehta, Schoolmaster, Lakhapadar.

⁶ Mr. J. D. Khandhar, Sayala.

¹⁰ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁸ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrasā.

⁷ Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Moti Marad.

⁹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

Vaital,¹ Jālio,¹ Gadio,¹ Paino,¹ Parolio,¹ Sevalio,¹ Andhario,¹ Fulio,¹ Bheravō,¹ Ragantio,¹ Chod,² Gātrad,² Mainmai and Verai.³ There are frequent additions to the number, as any new disease or unusual and untoward incident may bring a new spirit into existence. The installation of such deities is not a costly concern,⁴ and thus there is no serious check on their recognition.

The sun, the beneficent night-dispelling, light-bestowing great luminary, is believed to be the visible manifestation of the Almighty God,⁵ and inspires the human mind with a feeling of grateful reverence which finds expression in titles like *Sūritā*, Life-Producer, the nourisher and generator of all life and activity⁶.

He is the chief rain-sender⁷; there is a couplet used in Gujarat illustrative of this belief. It runs:—"Oblations are cast into the Fire: the smoke carries the prayers to the sun; the Divine Luminary, propitiated, responds in sending down gentle showers." "The sacred smoke, rising from the sacrificial offerings, ascends through the ethereal regions to the Sun. He transforms it into the rain-giving clouds, the rains produce food, and food produces the powers of generation and multiplication and plenty. Thus, the sun, as the propagator of animal life, is believed to be the highest deity."⁸

It is pretty generally believed that vows in honour of the sun are highly efficacious in curing eye-diseases and strengthening the eyesight. Mr. Damodar Karsonji Pandya quotes from the Bhagvadgītā the saying of Krishna:

यमादिम शशिसूर्ययोः

"I am the very light of the sun and the moon."⁹ Being the embodiment or the fountain of light, the sun imparts his lustre either to the bodies or to the eyes of his devotees. It is said that a Rajput woman of Gomātā in Gondal and a Brahman of Rajkot were cured of white leprosy by vows in honour of the sun.⁸ Similar vows are made to this day for the cure of the same disease. Persons in Kathiawar suffering from ophthalmic disorders, venereal affections, leucoderma and white leprosy are known to observe vows in honour of the sun.⁹

The Parmār Rajputs believe in the efficacy of vows in honour of the sun deity of Māndavrāj, in curing hydrophobia.¹⁰

Women believe that a vow or a *vrat* made to the sun is the sure means of attaining their desires. Chiefly their vows are made with the object of securing a son. On the fulfilment of this desire, in gratitude to the Great Luminary, the child is often called after him, and given such a name as Suraj-Rām, Bhānu-Shankar, Ravi-Shankar, Adit-Rām.¹¹

Many cradles are received as presents at the temple of Māndavrāj, indicating that the barren women who had made vows to the deity have been satisfied in their desire for a son, the vows being fulfilled by the present of such toy-cradles to the sun. In the case of rich donors, these cradles are made of precious metal.¹²

At Mandvara, in the Muli District of Kathiawar, the Parmār Rajputs, as well as the Kāthīs, bow to the image of the sun, on their marriage-day, in company with their newly-married brides.¹² After the birth of

¹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

² Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpore.

³ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ Cf. Allāho nūr-us-samāwātiwal ard, mathalo nurihi-ka miskatīn bihā nusbāh—Koran.

Allah! He is the light of the Heavens and the Earth. The likeness of His Light being similar to a lamp in a glass.—Fazlullah Latfullah.

⁵ Mr. Jethabai Mangaldas, Schoolmaster, Gondal; and Damodar Karsonji, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.

⁶ Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

⁷ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁸ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

⁹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁰ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

¹¹ Mr. M. D. Vyas, Schoolmaster, Bhayavador.

¹² Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

¹³ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

a son to a Rajputani, the hair on the boy's head is shaved for the first time in the presence of the Māndavrāj deity,* and a suit of rich clothes is presented to the image by the maternal uncle of the child.¹

The sun is सर्वज्ञ the observer of all things and nothing can escape his notice.² His eye is believed to possess the lustre of the three Vedic lores, viz., Rigveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, and is therefore known by the name of वेदवर्ण. The attestation of a document in his name as Sūrya-Nārāyana-Sākshi is believed to be ample security for the sincerity and good faith of the parties.³ Oaths in the name of the sun are considered so binding that persons swearing in his name are held to be pledged to the strictest truth.⁴

Virgin girls observe a *vrat*, or vow, called the 'tili-*vrat*' in the sun's honour, for attaining अखंड सौभाग्य—eternal exemption from widowhood. In making this *vrat*, or vow, the votary, having bathed and worshipped the sun, sprinkles wet red-lac drops before him.⁵

According to Forbes's Rāsmālā, the sun revealed to the Kāthis the plan of regaining their lost kingdom, and thus commanded their devout worship and reverence. The temple named Suraj-deval, near Thān, was set up by the Kāthis in recognition of this favour. In it both the visible resplendent disc of the sun and his image are adored.⁶

People whose horoscopes declare them to have been born under the *Sūrya-dashā*, or solar influence, have from time to time to observe vows prescribed by Hindu astrology.⁷

Cultivators are said to observe vows in honour of the sun for the safety of their cattle.⁸

The following are some of the standard books on sun-worship:—

(1) Aditya-hridaya—literally, the Heart of the Sun. It treats of the glory of the sun and the mode of worshipping him.

(2) Brihadāranyakopanishad and Mandukya-Brahmans—portions of Yajur-veda recited by Vedic Brahmans with a view to tender symbolic as well as mental prayers to the sun.

(3) Bibhrād—the fourth chapter of the Rudri.

(4) A passage in Brāhman—a portion of the Vedas, beginning with the words स्वयंभूरसि Thou art self-existent—is entirely devoted to Sun-worship.⁹

(5) Sūrya-Purāna—A treatise relating a number of stories in glorification of the sun.

(6) Sūrya-kavacha.¹⁰

(7) Sūrya-gīta.

(8) Sūrya-Sahasranama—a list of one thousand names of Sūrya.¹¹

It is customary among Hindus to cleanse their teeth every morning with a wooden stick, known as *dātān†* and then to offer salutations to the sun in the form of a verse which means: "Oh God, the *dātans* are torn asunder and the sins disappear. Oh the penetrator of the innermost parts, forgive us our sins. Do good unto the benevolent and unto our neighbours." This prayer is common in the mouths of the vulgar laity.¹²

Better educated people recite a shloka, which runs: "Bow unto Savitri, the sun, the observer of this world and its quarters, the eye of the universe, the inspirer of all energy, the holder of a three-fold person-

* A similar custom is observed in Gujarat. Unfortunate parents, who have lost many children, vow to grow the hair of their little children, if such are preserved to them, observing all the time a votive abstinence from a particular dish or betelnut or the like. When the children are 3 or 5 or 7 years old, the vow is fulfilled by taking them to a sacred place, like the temple of Ranchhodji at Dakor, to have their hair cut for the first time. This vow is known as *bābari* in Southern Gujarat.—K. D. Desai.

¹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

² Mr. Jethabhai Mangaldas, Gondal.

³ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

⁶ Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

⁷ Mr. G. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sultanpore.

⁸ Mrs. Raju Ramjee Kanjee, 2nd Assistant, Girls' School, Gondal.

⁹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

¹⁰ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

¹¹ Mr. Girijashankar Karmeshankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

¹² The Hindus use the tender sprigs of the Nim or Babul trees for tooth-brushes. After they have done duty as brushes they are cloven into two and the tenderest part is used as a tongue-scraper.—Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

¹³ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

ality (being an embodiment of the forms of the three gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshvar)—the embodiment of the three Vedas, the giver of happiness and the abode of God.¹

After his toilet a high-caste Hindu should take a bath and offer morning prayers and *arghyas* to the sun.² The *Trikāla-Sandhyā* is enjoined by the *Shāstras* on every Brahman, i.e., every Brahman should perform the *Sandhyā* thrice during the day: in the morning, at mid-day and in the evening. The *Sandhyā* is the prayer a Brahman offers, sitting in divine meditation, when he offers three *arghyas* to the sun and recites the *Gāyatrī* mantra 108 times.³

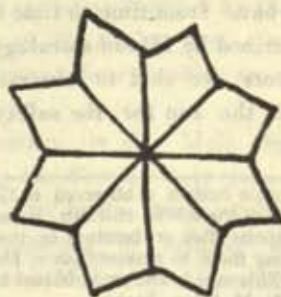
The *arghya* is an offering of water in a spoon half filled with barley seeds, sesamum seeds, sandal ointment, rice, and white flowers. In offering the *arghya* the right foot is folded below the left, the spoon is lifted to the forehead and is emptied towards the sun after reciting the *Gāyatrī* mantra.⁴ If water is not available for offering the *arghyas*, sand may serve the purpose. But the sun must not be deprived of his *arghyas*.⁵

The *Gāyatrī* is the most sacred mantra in honour of the sun, containing, as it does, the highest laudations of him.⁶ A Brahman ought to recite this mantra 324 times every day. Otherwise he incurs a sin as great as the slaughter of a cow.⁷ Accordingly, a *Rudrākshmālā*, or a rosary of 108 *Rudrāksh* beads, is used in connecting the number of *Gāyatrīs* recited.⁸ It is exclusively the right of the twice-born to recite the *Gāyatrī*. None else is authorised to recite or even to hear a word of it. Neither females nor *Shūdras* ought to catch an echo of even a single syllable of the *Gāyatrī* mantra.⁹

A ceremony, called *Sūryopasthān*, in which a man has to stand facing the sun with his hands stretched upwards at an angle towards

the sun, is performed as a part of the *sandhyā*.⁹

Of the days of the week, *Ravivar*, or Sunday is the most suitable for Sun worship.¹⁰ Persons wishing to secure wealth, good-health and a happy progeny, especially people suffering from disorders caused by heat and from diseases of the eyes, barren women, and men anxious for victory on the battlefield, weekly observe vows in honour of the sun, and the day on which the vow is to be kept is Sunday.¹¹ It is left to the devotee to fix the number of Sundays on which he will observe the *vrāt*, and he may choose to observe all the Sundays of the year.¹² On such days the devotees undergo ceremonial purifications by means of baths and the putting on of clean garments, occupy a reserved clean seat, light a ghi-lamp and recite the *Aditya-hridaya-pātha*, which is the prescribed mantra for Sun worship.¹³ Then follows the *Nyāsa*, (न्यास) in the recitation of which the devotee has to make certain gestures (or to perform physical ceremonies). First the tips of all the four fingers are made to touch the thumb as is done in counting. Then the tips of the fingers are made to touch the palm of the other hand. Then one hand is laid over the other. Then the fingers are made to touch the heart, the head, the eyes, and the hair in regular order. The right hand is then put round the head and made to smite the left.¹³ An *ashtadala* or eight-cornered figure is drawn in *gulal*,



¹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

⁴ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁵ Mr. M. D. Vyas, Shastri, Bhayavadur. ¹⁰ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi, and L. D. Mehta, Mota Devalia.

¹¹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara, and Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani. ¹² Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

¹³ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrasā.

⁹ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

⁶ Mr. Jethalal Anūpram, Schoolmaster, Aman.

⁷ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

(red powder) and frankincense, red ointment and red flowers are offered to the sun.¹ Durvā grass is also commonly used in the process of Sun worship.²

Sometimes a hexangular figure is drawn



instead of the *ashtadal*, a copper disc is placed over it and the sun is worshipped by Panchopachar or the five-fold ceremonials.³ Of all ceremonials a namaskār is especially dear to the sun.⁴ It is said :—

नमस्कारप्रियो भानुर्जलधाराप्रियः शिवः ।

परोपकारप्रियो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मणो भोजनप्रियः ॥

A namaskār or bow is dear to the sun; a stream of water (pouring water in a small stream over Shiva's idol) is dear to Shiva; benevolence to Vishnu and a good dinner to a Brahman.⁴

In observing vows in the sun's honour on Sundays, the following special foods are prescribed in particular months :—

(1) In Kārtika, the first month, the devotee is to take only three leaves of the Tulsi or the holy basil plant.

(2) In Mārgashīrsha, the devotee may only lick a few pieces of candied sugar.

(3) In Pausa, the devotee may chew three stalks of green darbha grass.

(4) In Māgha, a few seeds of sesamum and sugar mixed together may be swallowed.

(5) In Phālguna, a consecrated draught of curds and sugar may be drunk.

(6) In Chaitra, people should break their fasts with a little ghi and molasses.

(7) In Vaishākha, the only satisfaction allowed to those observing the *vrat* is to lick their own palms three times.

(8) In Jyeshtha, the fast is observed simply on three *anjalis* or palmfuls of pure water.

(9) In Ashādhā, three chillies may be eaten.

(10) In Shrāvana, only cow-urine and molasses are tasted.

(11) In Bhādrapada, cow-dung and sugar are partaken of.

(12) In Āshvina, the application of chandan (sandal wood) either in the form of an ointment or of powder.

Only a few very pious and enthusiastic devotees observe all Sundays in the above manner. In average cases, the devotee allows himself rice, ghi, sugar, milk, i. e. white food, the restriction being only as to colour.⁵

People observing vows in honour of the sun take food only once during the day, and that too in *bājas* or dishes made of *khākhara* (or *palāsh*) leaves. This is considered one of the conditions of worship, there being some mysterious relation between Sūrya and the *khākhara*.⁶

If the Pushya Nakshatra happens to fall on a Sunday, the worship of the sun on that day is believed to be most efficacious in fulfilling the desires of the devotees.⁷

Of the days of the month, the seventh day of both the bright and the dark halves of each month⁸ and the Amāvāsya day, i. e., the last day of a Hindu calendar month,⁹ are set apart for Sun-worship. The ceremonies of the worship are the same as those on Sundays. In fact, in almost all the observances in connection with the sun the same ceremonials are to be gone through. Very often a Brahman recites the *pātha* direct-

¹ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbdi.

² Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

³ Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

⁴ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrasa.

⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gobelwad.

⁶ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

⁷ Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

⁸ Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadavah.

⁹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

ing his hosts or hostesses to perform certain ceremonial gestures. On the last of the number of days which the devotee has decided to observe, the *vrat* is celebrated and Brahmans are feasted. This celebration of the *vrat* is known as *vratajavavun*.¹

The special occasions for Sun-worship are the Sankrānti days and the solar eclipses.

In each year there are twelve Sankrānti days on which the sun moves from one sign of the zodiac to another. Sun-worship is performed on all these Sankrāntis, but Makara-Sankrānti, which falls on the 12th or 13th of January, is considered the most important.² The *uttarāyana-parvan* falls on this day, i. e., the sun now crosses to his northern course from his southern, and the time of that Parvan is considered so holy that a person dying then directly attains salvation.³ On this day, many Hindus go on a pilgrimage to holy places, offer prayers and sacrifices to the sun, and give alms to Brahmans in the shape of sesamum seeds, gold, garments and cows.⁴ Much secret, as well as open, charity is dispensed.⁵ Grass and cotton-seeds are given to cows, and *lāpsi** and loaves to dogs.⁶ Sweet balls of sesamum seeds and molasses are eaten as a *prasād* and given to Brahmans, and dainties such as *lāpsi* are partaken of by Hindu households, in company with a Brahman or two, who are given *dakṣhinā* after the meals.⁶

On solar eclipse days, most of the Hindu sects bathe and offer prayers to God. During the eclipse the sun is believed to be combating with the demon Rāhu, prayers being offered for the sun's success. When the sun has freed himself from the grasp of the demon and sheds his full lustre on the earth, the people take ceremonial baths, offer prayers to God with a concentrated

mind, and well-to-do people give in alms as much as they can afford of all kinds of grain.⁷

The Chāturmās-*vrat*, very common in Kathiawar, is a favourite one with Hindus. The devotee, in performing this *vrat*, abstains from food on those days during the monsoons on which, owing to cloudy weather, the sun is not visible. Even if the sun is concealed by the clouds for days together, the devout votary keeps fasting till he sees the deity again.⁸

Barren women, women whose children die, and especially those who lose their male children, women whose husbands suffer from diseases caused by heat, lepers, and persons suffering from ophthalmic ailments observe the vow of the sun in the following manner.⁹ The vows are kept on Sundays and *Amāvāsyā* days, and the number of such days is determined by the devotee in accordance with the behests of a learned Brahman. The woman observes a fast on such days, bathes herself at noon when the sun reaches the zenith, and dresses herself in clean garments. Facing the sun, she dips twelve red *karan* flowers in red or white sandal ointment and recites the twelve names of *Sūrya* as she presents one flower after another to the sun with a bow.† On each day of the *vrat*, she takes food only once, in the shape of *lāpsi*, in *bajas* of *khākhārā* or *palāsh* leaves; white food in the form of rice, or rice cooked in milk is sometimes allowed. She keeps a ghi-lamp burning day and night, offers frankincense, and sleeps at night on a bed made on the floor.¹⁰

People who are declared by the Brahmans to be under the evil influence (*dashā*) of *Sūrya*, observe vows in the sun's honour and go through the prescribed rites on Sundays. Such persons take special kinds of food and engage the services of priests to recite

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai. ² Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Songadh. ³ Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Moti-Murad.

⁴ Mr. Ranchhodji Becher Pandya, Shastri, Jelpur, Sanskrit Pāthashālā. ⁵ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

⁶ Wheat flour fried in ghi with molasses. ⁷ Mr. K. D. Desai.

Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

† The names are: 1 *Āditya*, 2 *Divākar*, 3 *Bhāskar*, 4 *Prabhākar*, 5 *Sahasrānshu*, 6 *Trilochan*, 7 *Hari-tāshva*, 8 *Vibhāvasu*, 9 *Divākrit*, 10 *Divādarshātmaka*, 11 *Trimūrti*, 12 *Sūrya*.

Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

holy texts in honour of the sun. If all goes well on Sunday, Brahmans, Sādhus and other pious persons are entertained at a feast. This feast is known as *erat-ujavavun*. Some persons have the sun's image (an ashtadal) engraved on a copper or a golden plate for daily or weekly worship.¹

On the twelfth day after the delivery of a child, the sun is worshipped and the *homa* sacrifice is performed.²

If at a wedding the sun happens to be in an unfavourable position according to the bridegroom's horoscope, an image of the sun is drawn on gold-leaf and given away in charity. Charity in any other form is also common on such an occasion.³

A Nāgar bride performs sun-worship for the seven days preceding her wedding.⁴

In Hindu funeral ceremonies three *arghyas* are offered to the sun, and the following mantra is chanted⁵ :—

आदित्यो भास्करो भानू रविः सूर्यो दिवाकरः ।
पञ्चम स्मरन्निन्द्य महापातकनाशनम् ॥

It means—one should ever recite the six names of the Sun, Aditya, Bhāskar, Bhānu, Ravi, Surya, Divākar, which destroy sin.

The sun is also worshipped on the thirteenth day after the death of a person, when *arghyas* are offered, and two earthen pots, containing a handful of raw *khichedi*—rice and pulse—and covered with yellow pieces of cotton are placed outside the house. This ceremony is called *gadāso bhareo*.⁶

Rajahs of the solar race always worship the rising sun. They also keep a golden image of the sun in their palaces, and engage learned Brahmans to recite verses in his honour. On Sundays they take only one meal and that of simple rice (for white food is most acceptable to the sun).⁷

Circumambulations round images and other holy objects are considered meritorious and

to cause the destruction of sin.⁸ The subject has been dwelt on at length in the *Dharma-sindhu-grantha*, *Vratarāja*, and *Shodashopachāra* among the *Dharma-Shāstras* of the Hindus.⁹

The object round which turns are taken is either the image of a god, such as of Ganpati, Mahādev or Vishnu¹⁰ or the portrait of a *guru*, or his footmarks engraved or impressed upon some substance, or the *agni-kunda* (the fire-pit),¹¹ or the holy cow¹², or some sacred tree or plant, such as the *Vad* (banyan tree), the *Pipal* (*ficus religiosa*),¹³ the *Shami* (*prosopis spicigera*), the *Amba* (mango tree), the *Asopalava* tree (*Polyalthea longi folia*),¹⁴ or the *Tulsi* (sweet basil) plant.

It is said to have been a custom of the Brahmans in ancient times to complete their daily rites before sunrise every morning, and then to take turns round temples and holy objects. The practice is much less common now than formerly.¹⁵ Still, visitors to a temple or an idol, usually are careful to go round it a few times at least (generally five or seven). The usual procedure at such a time is to strike gongs or ring bells after the turns, to cast a glance at the *shikhar* or the pinnacle of the temple, and then to return.¹⁶

Women observing the *chāturmās-vrat*, or the monsoon vow, lasting from the eleventh day of the bright half of *Ashādh* (the ninth month) to the eleventh day of the bright half of *Kārtik* (the first month) first worship the object, round which they wish to take turns, with *panchāmrit* (a mixture of milk, curds, sugar, ghi and honey). The number of turns may be either 5, 7, 21 or 108. At each turn they keep entwining a fine cotton thread and place a *pendā*¹⁷ or a *bantāsā*¹⁸ or a betel-leaf or an almond, a cocoanut, a fig or some

¹ Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpur.

² Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

³ Mr. Chhaganlal Motiram, Wala Taluka.

⁴ Mrs. Raju Ramjee Kanjee, Girls' School, Ganod.

⁵ Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.

⁶ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁷ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhbank.

⁸ Milk and sugar ball.

⁹ Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Ganod.

¹⁰ Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Ganod.

¹¹ Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur, Sanskrit School.

¹² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhbank.

¹³ Mr. J. D. Khandhar, Sayala.

¹⁴ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

¹⁵ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

¹⁶ A sugar cake.

other fruit before the image or the object walked round. These offerings are claimed by the priest who superintends the ceremony.¹ When a sacred tree is circumambulated, water is poured out at the foot of the tree at each turn.²

During the month of Śrāvan (the tenth month) and during the Puruṣhottama (or the intercalatory) month, men and women observe a number of vows, in respect of which, every morning and evening, they take turns round holy images and objects.³

People observing the *chāturmās-vrat* (or monsoon vow), called *Tulsi-vivāha* (marriage of Tulsi), worship that plant and take turns round it on every eleventh day of both the bright and the dark halves of each of the monsoon months.⁴ The *gauṛat-vrat* (gau = cow) necessitates perambulations round a cow, and the *Vat-Sāvitrī-vrat* round the *Vad* or banyan tree. The banyan tree is also circumambulated on the *Kapilashashthī* day (the sixth day of the bright half of *Mārgaśīrṣha*, the second month) and on the *Amāvāsyā* or the last day of *Bhādrapada* (the eleventh month).⁵

Women who are anxious to prolong the lives of their husbands take turns round the *Tulsi* plant or the banyan tree. At each turn they wind a fine cotton thread. At the end of the last turn, they throw red lac and rice over the tree and place a betelnut and a piece or a half-anna piece before it.⁶

The *Śāstras* authorise four *pradakṣhinās* (or perambulations) for *Vishnu*, three for the goddesses, and a half (or one and a half)⁷ for *Shiva*.⁸ But the usual number of *pradakṣhinās* is either 5, 7, 21 or 108. In taking turns round the image of *Vishnu*, one must take care to keep one's right side towards the image, while in the

case of *Shiva*, one must not cross the *jalādhari*⁹ or the small passage for conducting water poured over the *Shiva-linga*.⁷

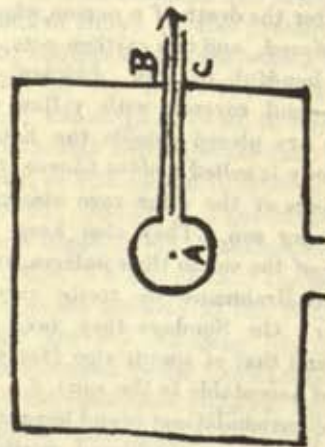
Sometimes in *pradakṣhinās* the votary repeats the name of the deity round which the turns are taken while the priest recites the names of the gods in *Shlokas*.⁸ Sometimes the following verse is repeated.⁹

पापोऽहं पापकर्ताऽहं पापात्मा पापसंभवः ।
बाहि मां पुण्डरीकाक्ष सर्वपापहरो भव ॥
यानि कानि च पापानि जन्मान्तरकृतानि च ।
तानि तानि विनश्यन्तु प्रशमिष्यस्यसे ॥

'I am sinful, the doer of sin, a sinful soul and am born of sin. O lotus-eyed One! protect me and take away all sins from me. Whatever sins I may have committed now as well as in my former births, may every one of them perish at each footstep of my *pradakṣhinā*.'

The recitation and the turns are supposed to free the soul from the *pherā* of *lakṣhchoryasi*. Alms are given many times to the poor after *pradakṣhinās*.¹⁰

The reason why *pradakṣhinās* are taken during the day is that they have to be taken in the presence of the sun, the great everlasting witness of all human actions.¹¹



¹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

³ Mr. Jeram Vasaram, Schoolmaster, Jodia.

⁴ Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

⁵ See figure above. A shows Shiva's image; the arrow-head, the *jalādhari* which a person is not to cross.

He is to return from the point B in his first round and from the point C in his half turn. Thus B C remains uncrossed. The circle round A shows the *Khāl*, place wherein god *Shiva* is installed.—K. D. Desai.

⁶ Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpore.

⁷ Hindus believe that a soul has to go through a lac and eighty-four thousand transmigrations before it attains final emancipation. The cycle of 1,84,000 births is called the *pherā* of *lakṣhchoryasi*.—K. D. Desai.

⁸ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sankh.

⁹ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

¹⁰ Mr. P. L. Mehta, Schoolmaster, Luvaria.

¹¹ Mr. M. H. Raval, Ganod.

¹² The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

¹³ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

As all seeds and vegetation receive their nourishment from solar and lunar rays, the latter are believed in the same way to help embryonic development.¹

The heat of the sun causes the trees and plants to give forth new sprouts, and therefore he is called 'Savita' or Producer.² Solar and lunar rays are also believed to facilitate and expedite delivery.³ The medical science of the Hindus declares the Amāvāsya (new-moon day) and Pūrṇima (full-moon day) days—on both of which days the influence of the sun and the moon is most powerful—to be so critical for child-bearing women as to cause, at times, premature delivery.⁴ Hence, before delivery, women are made to take turns in the sunlight and also in moonlight, in order to invigorate the foetus, thus securing that their delivery may be easy. [The assistance rendered by solar rays in facilitating the delivery is said to impart a hot temperament to the child so born, and that by the lunar rays a cool one.]⁵ After delivery, a woman should glance at the sun with her hands clasped, and should offer rice and red flowers to him.⁶ Sitting in the sun after delivery is considered beneficial to women enfeebled by the effort.⁷ It is a cure for the paleness due to exhaustion⁸, and infuses new vigour.⁹

The Bhils believe that the exposure of a new-born child to the sun confers upon the child immunity from injury by cold and heat.¹⁰

The practice of making recently delivered women sit in the sun does not seem to be

widespread, nor does it prevail in Kāthiawar. In Kathiawar, on the contrary, women are kept secluded from sunlight in a dark room at the time of child-birth, and are warmed by artificial means.¹¹ On the other hand, it is customary in many places to bring a woman into the sunlight after a certain period has elapsed since her delivery. The duration of this period varies from four days to a month and a quarter. Sometimes a woman is not allowed to see sunlight after child-birth until she presents the child to the sun with certain ceremonies, either on the fourth or the sixth day from the date of her delivery.¹²

A ceremony called the Shashthi-Karma is performed on the sixth day after the birth of a child, and the Nāmkaran ceremony—the ceremony of giving a name—on the twelfth day. The mother of the child is sometimes not allowed to see the sun before the completion of these ceremonies.¹³ Occasionally, on the eleventh day after child-birth, the mother is made to take a bath in the sun.¹⁴

Exactly a month and a quarter from the date of delivery a woman is taken to a neighbouring stream to offer prayers to the sun and to fetch water thence in an earthen vessel. This ceremony is known as Zarmā-zaryan.¹⁵ Seven small betel-nuts are used in the ceremony. They are carried by the mother, and distributed by her to barren women, who believe that, by eating the nuts from her hand, they are likely to conceive.¹⁶

¹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

² Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

³ Mr. Jethalal Anupram, Schoolmaster, Ainan.

⁴ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhbank.

⁵ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁶ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbd.

⁷ Mr. Chhaganlal Motiram, Schoolmaster, Wala Talu.

⁸ Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani, and the Schoolmaster, Movaiyam.

⁹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁰ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

¹¹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhbank.

¹² Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.

¹³ Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Moti-Murād.

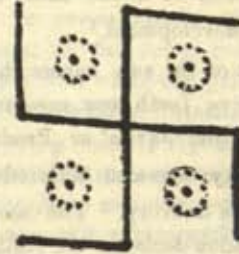
¹⁴ Mr. D. K. Shah, Schoolmaster, Charadwa.

¹⁵ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrasa.

¹⁶ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

In difficult labour cases, *chakrāvā* water is sometimes given to women. The *chakrāvā* is a figure of seven cross lines drawn on a bell-metal dish, over which the finest white dust has been spread. This figure is shown to the woman in labour: water is then poured into the dish and offered her to drink.¹ The figure is said to be a representation of *chitrangad*.² It is also believed to be connected with a story in the *Mahābhārata*.³ Subhadrā, the sister of god Krishna and the wife of Arjuna, one of the five Pāndavas, conceived a demon, an enemy of Krishna. The demon would not leave the womb of Subhadrā even twelve months after the date of her conception, and began to harass the mother. Krishna, the incarnation of god, knowing of the demon's presence and the cause of his delay, took pity on the afflicted condition of his sister and read *chakrāvā*, (*Chakravayūha*) a book consisting of seven chapters and explaining the method of conquering a labyrinthine fort with seven cross-lined forts. Krishna completed six chapters, and promised to teach the demon the seventh, provided he came out. The demon ceased troubling Subhadrā and emerged from the womb. He was called Abhimanyu. Krishna never read the seventh chapter for then Abhimanyu would have been invincible and able to take his life. This ignorance of the seventh chapter cost Abhimanyu his life on the field of Kuru-kshetra in conquering the seven cross-lined labyrinthine forts. As the art of conquering a labyrinthine fort when taught to a demon in the womb facilitated the delivery of Subhadrā, a belief spread that drinking in the figure of the seven cross-lined labyrinthine fort would facilitate the delivery of all women who had difficulties in child-birth.³

The figure *Swastika* (literally auspicious), drawn as shown below, is an auspicious



sign, and is believed to be a mark of good luck and a source of blessings. It is one of the sixteen line-marks on the sole of the lotus-like feet of the god Ishwar, the Creator of the Universe.⁴ The fame of the good effects of the *Swastika* figure is said to have been first diffused throughout society by Nārada-Muni, as instructed by the god Brahma.⁵

Various conjectures have been made concerning the origin of this figure. The following explanation is found in a work named *Siddhāntsar*. The Eternal *Sat* or Essence, that has neither beginning nor end nor any maker, exhibits all the religious principles in a *chakra* or a wheel-form. This round shape has no circumference; but any point in it is a centre; which being specified, the explanation of the whole universe in a circle is easy. Thus the figure ⊙ indicates the creation of the universe from *Sat* or Essence. The centre with the circumference is the womb, the place of creation of the universe. The centre then expanding into a line, the diameter thus formed represents the male principle, *linga-rūp*, that is the producer, through the medium of activity in the great womb or *mahā-yoni*. When the line assumes the form of a cross, it explains the creation of the universe by an unprecedented combination of the two distinct natures, animate and inanimate. The circumference being

¹ Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

⁴ Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwa.

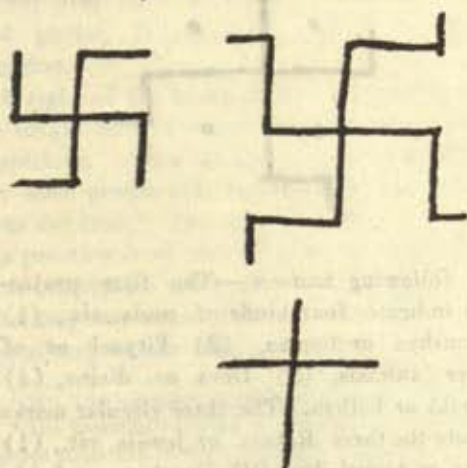
⁵ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

removed, the remaining cross represents the creation of the world. The Swastika, or Sathia, as it is sometimes called, in its winged form (卐) suggests the possession of creative powers by the opposite natures, animate and inanimate.¹

Another theory is that an image of the eight-leaved lotus, springing from the navel of Vishnu, one of the Hindu Trinity, was formerly drawn on auspicious occasions as a sign of good luck. The exact imitation of the original being difficult, the latter assumed a variety of forms, one of which is the Swastika.²

Some people see an image of the god Ganpati in the figure. That god being the master and protector of all auspicious ceremonies has to be invoked on all such occasions. The incapacity of the devotees to draw a faithful picture of Ganpati gave rise to a number of forms which came to be known by the name of Swastika.³

There are more ways than one of drawing the Swastika, as shown below, but the



original form was of the shape of a cross. The first consonant of the Gujarati alphabet, *ka*, now drawn thus ક, was also

originally drawn in the form of a cross (+). Some persons therefore suppose that the Swastika may be nothing more than the letter ક (*ka*), written in the old style and standing for the word *kalyān* or welfare.⁴

Though the Swastika is widely regarded as the symbol of the sun, some people ascribe the figure to different deities, viz., to Agni,⁵ to Ganpati,⁶ to Laxmi,⁷ to Shiva,⁸ besides the sun. It is also said to represent Swasti, the daughter of Brahma, who received the boon from her father of being worshipped on all auspicious occasions.⁹ Most persons, however, regard the Swastika as the symbol of the sun. It is said that particular figures are prescribed as suitable for the installation of particular deities: a triangle for one, a square for another, a pentagon for a third, and the Swastika for the sun.¹⁰ The Swastika is worshipped in the Ratnagiri district, and regarded as the symbol as well as the seat of the Sun-god.¹¹ The people of the Thana district believe the Swastika to be the central point of the helmet of the sun; and a vow, called the *Swastika-vrat*, is observed by women in its honour. The woman draws a figure of the Swastika and worships it daily during the Chaturmās (the four months of the rainy season), at the expiration of which she presents a Brahman with a golden or silver plate with the Swastika drawn upon it.¹²

A number of other ideas are prevalent about the significance of the Swastika. Some persons believe that it indicates the four directions;¹³ some think that it represents the four *mārgas*—courses or objects of human desires—viz., (1) Dharma, religion; (2) Artha, wealth; (3) Kām, love; (4) Moksha, salvation.¹⁴ Some again take it to be an image of the ladder

¹ Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Moti-Murād.

² Mr. H. R. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Khirasarā.

³ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

⁴ Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwa.

⁵ Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwa.

⁶ The Schoolmaster, Pendhur, Ratnagiri.

⁷ Mr. Jethabhai Mangaldas, Schoolmaster, Gondal.

⁸ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbdi.

⁹ Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

¹⁰ Mr. H. R. Pandya, Khirasarā.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster, Chank, Kolaba.

¹² Mr. N. M. Dave, Sankā.

¹³ The Schoolmaster, Anjār.

¹⁴ Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

leading to the heavens¹. Others suppose it to be a representation of the terrestrial globe, and the four piles of corn placed in the figure, as shown below (p. 16) represent the four mountains, Udayāchala, Astāchal, Meru and Mandārāchala.² The Swastika is also believed to be the foundation-stone of the universe.³

The Swastika is much in favour with the gods as a seat or couch, and as soon as it is drawn it is immediately occupied by some deity.⁴ It is customary therefore to draw the Swastika on most auspicious and festive occasions, such as marriage and thread ceremonies, the first pregnancy ceremonies and the Divali holidays.⁵ In the Konkan the Swastika is always drawn on the *Antar-pāt*, or the piece of cloth which is held between the bride and the bridegroom at the time of a Hindu wedding.⁶ And at the time of the *Punyāha-wāchan*, a ceremony which precedes a Hindu wedding, the figure is drawn in rice and is worshipped.⁶ Throughout the *Chāturmās* some persons paint the auspicious Swastikas, either on their thresholds or at their doors, every morning.⁷

On the sixth day from the date of a child's birth, a piece of cloth is marked with a Swastika in red lac, the cloth is stretched on a bedstead and the child is placed upon it.⁸ An account of this ceremony is to be found in the treatises *Jayantishāstra*, *Jātakarīma*, and *Janakālaya*.⁹

Before joining the village-school, little boys are made to worship *Saraswati*, the goddess of learning, after having installed her on a Swastika, in order that the acquisition of learning may be facilitated.⁹

A Brahman host, inviting a party of brother-Brahmans to dinner, marks the figure one (१) against the names of those who are eligible for *dakshinā*, and a Swastika against

the names of those who are not eligible. These latter are the *gajamāns* or patrons of the inviting Brahman, who is himself their *pūjya*, i. e., deserving to be worshipped by them. A *bindu* or dot, in place of the Swastika, is considered inauspicious.¹⁰

The Swastika is used in calculating the number of days taken in pilgrimage by one's relations, one figure being painted on the wall each day from the date of separation.¹⁰

It is said that the Swastika when drawn on a wall is the representation of *Jogmāya*. *Jogmāya* is a Natural Power, bringing about the union of two separated beings.¹¹

The Jains paint the Swastika in the way noted below and explain the figure in



the following manner:—The four projectors indicate four kinds of souls; viz., (1) *Manushya* or human, (2) *Tiryach* or of lower animals, (3) *Deva* or divine, (4) *Naraki* or hellish. The three circular marks denote the three *Ratnas* or jewels, viz., (1) *Jnān* or knowledge, (2) *Darshana* or faith, (3) *Charita* or good conduct; and the semi-circular curve, at the top of the three circles, indicates salvation.¹²

¹ Mr. L. D. Mehta, *Motā Devāliā*.

² The Schoolmaster, *Agashi* and *Arnāli*.

³ Mr. *Girijashankar Karunashankar*, *Songadh*.

⁴ Mr. D. K. Paudya, Schoolmaster, *Dhbank*.

⁵ Mr. M. H. Raval, *Vanod*.

⁶ Mr. *Girijashankar Karunashankar*, *Songadh*.

⁷ The Schoolmaster, *Ganod*.

⁸ Mr. T. D. *Khāndhār*, Schoolmaster, *Sayala*.

⁹ The Schoolmaster, *Mith-bāo*, *Ratnagiri*.

¹⁰ Mr. *Jethalal Anupram*, Schoolmaster, *Aman*.

¹¹ Mr. D. K. Paudya, *Dhbank*.

¹² Mr. K. D. *Desai*.

Every Jain devotee, while visiting the images of his gods, draws a Sathia (Swastika)¹ before them and places a valuable object over it. The sign is held so sacred that a Jain woman has it embroidered on the reticule or *kothali* in which she carries rice to holy places.*

'I am the very light of the sun and the moon,' observes Lord Krishna in his dialogue with Arjuna², and the moon also receives divine honours like the sun. Moon-worship secures wealth, augments progeny, and betters the condition of milch-cattle.³ The suitable days for such worship are the second and the fourth days of the bright half of every month (Dwitiya or Bij and Chaturthi or Choth, respectively) and every full-moon day (Purnima or Punema). On either of these days the devotees of Chandra (the moon) fast for the whole of the day and take their food only after the moon has risen and after they have seen and worshipped her.⁴ Some dainty dish such as *kansārī*, or plantains and puris†, is specially cooked for the occasion.

A sight of the moon on the second day of the bright half of every month is considered auspicious. After seeing the moon on this day some people also look at silver and gold coins for luck.⁵ The belief in the value of this practice is so strong that, immediately after seeing the moon, people refrain from beholding any other object. Their idea is that silver, which looks as bright as the

moon, will be obtained in abundance if they look at a silver piece immediately after seeing the moon.⁶ Moon worship on this day is also supposed to guarantee the safety of persons at sea.⁷ In the south, milk and sugar is offered to the moon after the usual worship, and learned Brahmans are invited to partake of it. What remains after satisfying the Brahmans is divided among the community.⁸ On this day, those who keep cattle do not churn whey nor curd milk nor sell it, but consume the whole supply in feasts to friends and neighbours.⁹ The Ahirs and Rabaris especially are very particular about the use of milk in feasts only: for they believe that their cattle are thereby preserved in good condition.¹⁰

The fourth day of the dark half of every month is the day for the observance of the *chaturthi-vrat* (or *choth-vrat*). This *vrat* is observed in honour of the god Ganpati and by men only. The devotees fast on this day, bathe at night after seeing the moon, light a ghi lamp, and offer prayers to the moon. They also recite a *pāth* containing verses in honour of Ganpati, and, after worshipping that god, take their food consisting of some specially prepared dish. This *vrat* is said to fulfil the dreams of the devotees.¹¹

The day for the *chaturthi-vrat* in the month of Bhādrapad (the 11th month of the Gujarati Hindus) is the fourth day of the bright half instead of the fourth day of the dark half¹², and on this day (Ganesh

¹ Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Songadh.

*The Swastika is found at Pompeii and in the Greek 'key' pattern. It is also found on Persian and Assyrian coins and in the Catacombs at Rome. It is to be seen on the tomb of the Duke of Clarence, who was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, at Tewkesbury, and occurs in Winchester Cathedral, where it is described as the fyle-foot.—R. E. E.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhbank. Compare a similar idea in the Kurān in the chapter An Nur (the Lights): "Allah is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. The semblance of his light is the nyche wherein there is a light."—K. B. Fazlullah.

³ Mr. J. A. Jani, Schoolmaster, Aman.

⁴ Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara; and Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

† Kansār is coarse wheat flour sweetened with molasses and cooked in water until the whole quantity of water is absorbed and taken with ghi.

‡ Puris are cakes of fine wheat flour, fried in ghi.

⁵ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁶ The Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

¹⁰ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi, and B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

⁹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁷ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁸ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

¹¹ Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

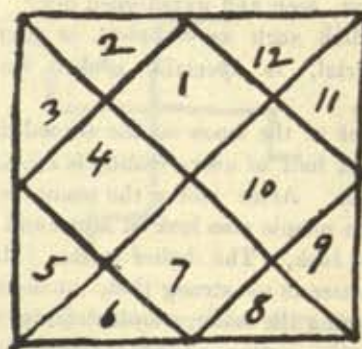
Chaturthi*) the moon is not worshipped. The very sight of her is regarded as ominous, and is purposely avoided.¹ The story is that once upon a time the gods went out for a ride in their respective conveyances. It so happened that the god Ganpati fell off his usual charger, the rat, and this awkward mishap drew a smile from Chandra (the moon). Ganpati, not relishing the joke, became angry and cursed Chandra saying that no mortal would care to see his face on that day (which happened to be the fourth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad). If any one happens to see the moon even unwittingly on this day, he may expect trouble very soon.² There is one way, however, out of the difficulty, and that is to throw stones on the houses of neighbours. When the neighbours utter abuse in return, the abuse atones for the sin of having looked at the moon on the forbidden night. The day is therefore called (in Gujarat) *Dagad-choth*, i. e., the Choth of stones.³

On the fourth day of the dark half of Phālgun (the 5th month of Gujarati Hindus) some villagers fast for the whole of the day and remain standing from sunset till the moon rises. They break their fast after seeing the moon. The day is, therefore, called *ubhi* (i. e., standing) *choth*.⁴

Virgins sometimes observe a vow on Poshi-Punema or the full-moon day of Pausha (the 3rd month of the Gujarati Hindus). On this day a virgin prepares her evening meal with her own hands on the upper terrace of her house. She then bores a hole through the centre of a loaf, and observes

the moon through it, repeating while doing so a verse† which means: O Poshi-Punemadi, *khichadi* (rice and pulse mixed together) is cooked on the terrace, and the sister of the brother takes her meal.⁵ The meal usually consists either of rice and milk or of rice cooked in milk and sweetened with sugar, or of *kansār*. She has to ask the permission of her brother or brothers before she may take her food; and if the brother refuses his permission, she has to fast for the whole of the day.⁶ The whole ceremony is believed to prolong the lives of her brothers and her future husband. The moon is also worshipped at the time of *griha-shānti*, i. e., the ceremonies performed before inhabiting a newly-built house.⁷

If the moon is unfavourable to a man born under a particular constellation, on account of his occupying either the 6th, the 8th or the 12th square in a *kundali*‡ (see below)



prayers are offered to the moon; and if the occasion is a marriage, a bell-metal dish, full of rice, is presented to Brahmans.⁸

* All observers of the *Chaturthi-vrat* worship the god Ganpati on this day, and offer him one thousand trifoliate sprouts of *dūrva* (*cynodon dactylon*). The dish specially prepared for the occasion is *Golana-lādu*—sweet-balls of wheat flour fried in ghi and mixed with molasses.—Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

† Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

‡ Mr. K. D. Desai.

† The original is—

Poshi Poshi Punemadi,
Agāshe rāndhi khichadi,
jame bhāini benādi.

§ The Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani and The Schoolmaster, Jodia.

¶ Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.

‡ Mr. L. D. Mehta, Schoolmaster, Mota Devalia.

‡ A *Kundali* is an astrological diagram of the position of planets at any particular time. The numbers in the diagram change their positions according to the position of planets at any given time.—Mr. D. Desai.

§ Mr. Chhaganlal Motira, Wala Taluka.

The appearance of the moon and the position of the horns of her crescent at particular times are carefully watched as omens of future events. Cultivators believe that if the moon is visible on the second day of the bright half of Ashādh (the 9th month of Gujarati Hindus), the sesamum crops of that season will be abundant; but if the moon be hidden from sight on that day, the weather will be cloudy during the whole of Ashādh, and will prove unfavourable to vegetable growth.¹ If the moon appears reddish on a Bij day (or the second day of the bright half of a month), and if the northern horn of the crescent be high up, prices in the market are believed to rise; if, on the other hand, it is low, it prognosticates a fall in prices. If the two horns are on a level, current prices will continue.¹

Similarly, the northern horn of the crescent, if it is high up on the Bij day of Ashādh, augurs abundant rainfall; if it is low, it foreshadows a season of drought.²

If the moon presents a greenish aspect on the full-moon day of Ashādh, excessive rains may be expected in a few days; if on that day she rises quite clear and reddish, there is very little hope of good rains; if she is partly covered by clouds when she rises and then gets clear of the clouds, and then again disappears in the clouds in three *ghadis*,³ three *poḥors*,⁴ or three days, rain is sure to fall.⁵

If on the 5th day of the bright half of Chaitra, the moon appears to the west of the Rohini constellation, the prices of cotton are believed to rise; if to the east, they are said to fall; and if in the same line, the current rates are believed to be likely to continue.⁴

The Bij (2nd day) and the ninth day of Ashādh (the 9th month of the Gujaratis and the 4th month of the Hindus of the Deccan) falling on a Sunday is a combination that foretells excessive heat. If they

fall on Wednesday, intense cold is said to be the result. Their occurring on a Tuesday, threatens absence of rains, and on a Monday, a Thursday or a Friday, foreshadows excessive rainfall.⁵

Thunder on Jeth-Sud-Bij, or the second day of the bright half of Jyeshtha, is a bad omen and threatens famine.⁶

The spots on the moon have given rise to numerous beliefs, mythological as well as fanciful. One of them is that they are the result of a curse, pronounced by the sage Gautama on Chandra. Indra, the god of rain, was infatuated with the charms of Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama, and with the help of Chandra laid a cunning plot to gain his ignoble object. Accordingly, one night, Chandra set earlier than usual and Indra assumed the form of a cock and crowed at midnight in order to deceive Gautama into the belief that it was dawn, and therefore his time for going to the Ganges to perform his religious services. The trick was successful, and the holy sage being thus got rid of, Indra assumed the form of Gautama himself and approached Ahalyā, who was surprised to see her husband (as she thought) so quickly returned. The wily god allayed her suspicions by explaining that it was not yet time for the morning ceremonies, and thus enjoyed the favours due to her husband. Gautama, in the meanwhile, finding the water of the Ganges cool and placid, and discovering that it was not yet dawn, returned to his hermitage. On reaching home he detected the treachery of Indra, who tried to escape in the disguise of a tom-cat. The exasperated sage then cursed Indra, Chandra and his wife: Indra to have a thousand sores on his person, Ahalyā to turn into a stone, and Chandra to have a stain on his fair face.⁷

Another mythological story is that Daksha Prajāpati, the son of Brahmā, gave all his

¹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

² One *ghaṭī* is equal to 24 minutes and one *poḥor* (prahara) lasts for three hours.

³ Mr. M. P. Shah, Schoolmaster, Zinzuwāḍa.

⁴ Mr. M. P. Shah, Schoolmaster, Zinzuwāḍa.

⁵ The Schoolmasters of Dhank, Rajpara and Limbdi.

⁶ The Schoolmaster, Khāndhār.

⁷ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

⁸ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

twenty-seven daughters in marriage to Chandra, who was inspired with love for one of them only named Rohini, the most beautiful of them all. The slighted twenty-six sisters complained to their father, Daksha, of Chandra's preference for Rohini. Daksha in anger cursed Chandra to be attacked by consumption (which is supposed to be the reason of the waning of the moon) and his face to be marred by a stain.¹

The curse of Gautama and the curse of Daksha are also supposed to be reasons of the waxing and the waning of the moon.

Another belief regarding the moon-spots is that when the head of Ganapati was severed by Shiva's trident, it flew off and fell into the chariot of the moon. The spots are either the head itself² or are due to drops of blood fallen from the flying severed head.³

The spots are also said to be explained by the fact of the image of god Krishna or Vishnu* residing in the heart of the moon who, as a devotee of Vishnu, holds his image dear to his heart.⁴

The moon is often called *mrigāṅka* (lit. deer-marked) and *mriga-lāṅchhana* (lit. deer-stained); and a further explanation of the spots in this connection is that the moon-god took into his lap a strayed deer, out of compassion, and thus his lap became stained.⁵ Jains believe that in the nether parts of the moon's *vimān* or vehicle, there is an image of a deer whose shadow is seen in the spots.⁶

Some persons declare the spots to be a *shami* tree (*prosopis spicigera*).⁷ The belief of the masses in Gujarat is said to be that the spot on the moon's disc is the seat of an old woman, who sits spinning her wheel

with a goat tethered near her.⁸ If the droppings of the goat were to fall on earth, departed souls would return to the earth.⁹

It is said that a child and a tree are never seen to grow except during the night. Such growth is therefore held to be due to lunar rays.¹⁰ As all trees, plants, etc., thrive owing to the influence of the moon, the moon-god is called the lord of herbs. The moon is also a reservoir of nectar and is called *Sudhākar*, i. e., one having nectarine rays.¹¹ As the lord of herbs, the moon-god is supposed to have the power of removing all diseases that are curable by drugs, and of restoring men to health.¹²

Persons suffering from white leprosy, black leprosy, consumption and diseases of the eyes are believed to be cured by the observance of the *Bij* and *Punema* vows.¹³ Consumption in its incipient and latter stages is also said to be cured by exposure to the rays of the moon.¹⁴ Constant glimpses of the moon add to the lustre of the eyes.¹⁵ On the *Sharad-Punema*, or the 15th day of the bright half of Ashvin (the last month of the Gujaratis and the 7th month of the Deccani Hindus), tailors pass a thread through their needles in the belief that they will thereby gain keener eyesight.¹⁶

A cotton-wick is exposed to the moon on Sharad-Punema, and is afterwards lighted in oil poured over the image of Hanūmān. The soot, which is thus produced, if used on the Kali-chaudas day—the fourteenth day of the dark half of Ashvin—is said to possess much efficacy in strengthening the eyesight and also in preserving the eyes from any disease during the ensuing year.¹⁷

Sweetened milk or water is exposed to moonlight during the whole of the night of

¹ The Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

² The Schoolmaster, Dadvi.

³ The Schoolmaster, Lilapur.

* Throughout the Hindu Scriptures, Vishnu and his incarnations are described as being of *Shyamavarna* or dark complexion.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ The Schoolmaster, Dadvi.

⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Halar.

⁶ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

⁷ The Schoolmaster, Lilapur.

⁸ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.

⁹ Mr. M. P. Shah, Zinzuwada.

¹⁰ The Mistress of Rajkot Civil Station Girls' School.

¹¹ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.

¹² Rao Saheb Shelke and the Shastri of Bhayavapur.

¹³ The Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

¹⁴ The Schoolmaster, Dhank. He refers to the books *Vratarāj* and *Pathyapathya* on this point.

¹⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Halar; and the Schoolmaster of Chauk, Kolaba.

¹⁶ The Schoolmaster, Jodia.

¹⁷ The Schoolmaster, Kolki.

Sharad-purnima (the full-moon day of Ashvin) in order to absorb the nectarine rays of the moon, and is drunk next morning. Drinking in the rays of the moon in this manner is believed to cure diseases caused by heat as well as eye-diseases, and it similarly strengthens the eyesight and improves the complexion.¹ Sugar-candy thus exposed and preserved in an air-tight jar is partaken of in small quantities every morning to gain strength and to improve the complexion.² The absorption of the lunar rays through the open mouth or eyes is also believed to be of great effect in achieving these objects.³

Once upon a time the gods and demons, by their united efforts, churned the ocean and obtained therefrom fourteen *ratnas* or precious things.* These were distributed among them. Lakshmi, the *kaustubha* jewel, the Shārnga bow and the conch-shell fell to the share of Vishnu, and the poison, *Halāhal visha*, was disposed of to Shiva. Only two things remained, *sudhā*, or nectar, and *surā* or liquor. To both gods and demons the nectar was the most important of all the prizes. A hard contest ensuing between them for the possession of it, the demons, by force, snatched the bowl of nectar from the gods. In this disaster to the gods, Vishnu came to their help in the form of Mohini—a most fascinating woman—and proposed to the demons that the distribution of the immortalising fluid should be entrusted to her. On their consent, Vishnu or Mohini, made the gods and the demons sit in opposite rows and began first to serve the nectar to the gods. The demon Rāhu,

the son of Sinhikā, fearing lest the whole of the nectar might be exhausted before the turn of the demons came, took the shape of a god and placed himself amongst them between Chandra (the moon) and Sūrya (the sun). The nectar was served to him in turn, but on Chandra and Sūrya detecting the trick, the demon's head was cut off by Vishnu's discus, the *sudarshana-chakra*. Rāhu however did not die: for he had tasted the nectar, which had reached his throat. The head and trunk lived and became immortal, the former being named Rāhu, and the latter Ketu. Both swore revenge on Chandra and Sūrya. At times, therefore, they pounce upon Chandra and Sūrya with the intention of devouring them. In the fight that ensues, Chandra and Sūrya are successful only after a long contest, with the assistance of the gods, and by the merit of the prayers that men offer⁴.

The reason of the eclipse is either that Chandra and Sūrya bleed in the fight with Rāhu and their forms get blackened⁵; or that the demon Rāhu comes between the two luminaries and this earth, and thus causes an eclipse⁶; or because Rāhu obstructs the sun and the moon in their daily course, and this intervention causes an eclipse⁷; or because Rāhu swallows the sun and the moon, but his throat being open, they escape, their short disappearance causing an eclipse.⁸

Besides the mythological story, there is a belief in Gujarat that a *bhāngī* (scavenger or sweeper), creditor of the sun and the moon, goes to recover his debts due from them, and that his shadow falling against either of them causes an eclipse.⁹

¹ The Schoolmasters of Rajpara, Limbdi, and Ibhrampur.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

* The following Sanskrit verse mentions all of them:—

लक्ष्मीः कौस्तुभपारिजातकसुरा धन्वंतरिचन्द्रमा ।
मावः कामदुहः सुरेश्वरगजो रत्नादिदेशङ्गनाः ॥
अश्वः सप्तमुखो विषं हरिधनुः शंखोऽमृतं चांबुधेः ।
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्वन्तु वा मंगलम् ॥ १ ॥

Rao Saheb P. B. Joshi,

⁴ The Schoolmasters of Jodia, Dhank, Songadh, Rajpara, and Limbdi.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Khirāsara.

⁶ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁷ Mr. Laxmichand Hemji, Vasāwad.

⁸ Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

⁹ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

A third explanation of the eclipse is that the sun and the moon revolve round the Meru mountain, and the shadow of the mountain falling upon either of them causes an eclipse.¹

It is believed amongst Hindus that eclipses occur when too much sin accumulates in this world.² Most Hindus regard an eclipse as ominous, and consider the eclipse period to be unholy and inauspicious. The contact of the demon Rāhu with the rays of the sun and the moon pollutes everything on earth. Great precautions therefore become necessary to avoid pollution.³ A period of three *pohors** (*prahars*) in the case of the moon, and of four in the case of the sun, before the actual commencement of an eclipse, is known as *vedha*, i. e., the time when the luminaries are already under the influence of the demon. During this period and during the time of an eclipse people observe a strict fast. Anyone taking food within the prohibited period is considered *sutaki* or ceremonially impure, as if a death had happened in his family.⁴ An exception is, however, made in the case of children, pregnant women and suckling mothers who cannot bear the privation of a strict fast. From the beginning of an eclipse to its end, everything in the house is believed to be polluted, if touched.⁴

As the sun and the moon are believed to be in trouble during an eclipse, people offer prayers to God from the beginning of the *vedha* for their release. It is the custom to visit some holy place on an eclipse-day, to take a bath there, and to read holy passages from the Shastras. Some people, especially Brāhmins, sit devoutly on river-banks and offer prayers to the sun.⁴ Much secret as well as open charity is given at the time of an eclipse. But the receivers

of charity during the actual period of an eclipse are the lowest classes only, such as *bhangis*, *mahārs* and *māngs*. When an eclipse is at its full, these people go about the streets giving vent to such cries as *āpō dān chhutē chānd* (give alms for the relief of the moon!).⁵

Among the gifts such people receive are cotton clothes, cash, grain such as sesamum seeds, *udad*, pulses, and salt.⁶ The gift of a pair of shoes is much recommended.⁷ Sometimes a figure of the eclipsed sun or moon is drawn in *juari* seeds and given away to a *bhangi*.⁸

Although the period of an eclipse is considered inauspicious, it is valued by those who profess the black art. All *mantras*, incantations, and *prayogas*, applications or experiments, which ordinarily require a long time to take effect, produce the wished for result without delay if performed during the process of an eclipse.⁹

If a man's wife is pregnant, he may not smoke during the period of an eclipse lest his child become deformed.¹⁰ Ploughing a farm on a lunar-eclipse day is supposed to cause the birth of *chāndrā*-children, i. e., children afflicted by the moon.¹⁰

After an eclipse Hindus bathe, perform ablution ceremonies and dress themselves in clean garments. The houses are cleansed by cowdunging the floors, vessels are rubbed and cleansed, and clothes are washed, in order to get rid of the pollution caused by the eclipse.¹¹ Unwashed clothes of cotton, wool, silk or jute, according to popular belief, do not become polluted.¹¹ The placing of *darbha* grass on things which are otherwise liable to pollution is also sufficient to keep them unpolluted.¹²

Brahmins cannot accept anything during the impious time of an eclipse, but after it

¹ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

² Mr. Laxmichand Hemji, Vasāwad.

³ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁴ The Schoolmasters of Jodia and Songadh.

⁵ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁶ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁷ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ A *pohor* or *prahar* is equal to three hours.

¹⁰ Mr. Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

¹¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹² Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

¹³ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

is over, alms are freely given to them in the shape of such costly articles as fine clothes, gold, cattle and the like.¹

After an eclipse Hindus may not break their fast till they have again seen the full disc of the released sun or the moon. It sometimes happens that the sun or the moon sets *gherāyalā* (while still eclipsed), and people have then to fast for the whole of the night or the day after, until the sun or the moon is again fully visible.²

There is a *śhloka* in the *Jyotish Shāstra* to the effect that Rāhu would surely devour Chandra if the *nakshatra*, or constellation of the second day of the dark half of a preceding month, were to recur on the Purnima (full-moon day) of the succeeding month. Similarly, in solar eclipses, a similar catastrophe would occur if the constellation of the second day of the bright half of a month were to recur on the Amāvāsya (the last day) of that month.³ The year in which many eclipses occur is believed to prove a bad year for epidemic diseases.⁴

The Jains do not believe in the Hindu theory of *grahana* (or the eclipse).⁵ Musalmans do not perform the special ceremonies beyond the recital of special prayers; and even these are held to be supererogatory.⁶

With the exception that some people believe that the stars are the abodes of the gods,⁷ the popular belief about the heavenly

bodies seems to be that they are the souls of virtuous and saintly persons, translated to the heavens for their good deeds and endowed with a lustre proportionate to their merits.⁸ And this idea is illustrated in the traditions that are current about some of the stars. The seven bright stars of the constellation *Saptarshi* (or the Great Bear) are said to be the seven sages, Kashyapa, Atri, Bhāradwāj, Vishwāmitra, Gautama, Jāmadagni and Vasishtha, who had mastered several parts of the *Vedas*, and were considered specialists in the branches studied by each, and were invested with divine honours in reward for their proficiency.⁹ Another story relates how a certain hunter and his family, who had unconsciously achieved great religious merit, were installed as the constellation *Saptarshi** (or the Great Bear). A hunter, it is narrated in the *Shivārātri-māhātmya*, was arrested for debt on a *Shivārātri*† day, and while in jail heard by chance the words 'Shiva, Shiva' repeated by some devotees. Without understanding their meaning, he also began to repeat the same words, even after he was released in the evening. He had received no food during the day, and had thus observed a compulsory fast. In order to obtain food for himself and his family, he stationed himself behind a *Bel*‡ tree, hoping to shoot a deer or some other animal that might come to quench its thirst at a neighbouring tank. While adjusting an arrow to his bowstring,

¹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhanak.

² Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwah.

³ The Schoolmaster, Jodia.

⁴ Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

⁵ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa, and Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

⁶ Mr. Motichand Vasanji Doshi, Kāluwad.

⁷ I believe the name of the constellation is wrongly given: it ought to be *Mriga*. One of the stars in this group, known as 'Sirius', in Western astronomy, is often called *Vyādha* (i.e., the hunter).—Mr. K. T. Gupte.

The *Mrig* constellation is also said to represent the goddess *Saraswati*, who had assumed the form of a gazelle in order to escape the amorous grasp of *Brahmā*, her father. While the deer in the *Mrig* constellation is *Saraswati*, the *Ardra* constellation is *Mahādev* who had followed to chastise *Brahmā*, who also is seen as the *Brahma* constellation.—Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

† The thirteenth day of both the bright and dark halves of a month, sacred to the worship of god *Shiva*.

‡ The three-leaf-clusters of this tree are loved by the god *Shiva* if put upon his image.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ Mr. T. D. Khandhar, Sayala.

⁶ Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

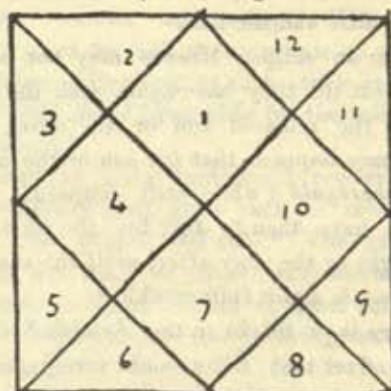
he plucked some leaves out of the thick foliage of the tree and threw them down. The leaves, however, chanced to fall on a *Shivalinga* which happened to stand below, and secured for him the merit of having worshipped god Shiva with Bel-leaves on a *Shivrātri* day. He was also all the while repeating the god's name and had undergone a fast. The result was that not only were his past sins forgiven, but he was placed with his family in heaven.¹

Similarly, Dhruva, the son of king Uttānapād, attained divine favour by unflagging devotion, and was given a constant place in the heavens as the immovable pole-star.²

According to Hindu astrology, there are nine *grahas** or planets, twelve *rāshis*† or the signs of the zodiac and twenty-seven *nakshatras*‡ or constellations. Books on astrology explain the distinct forms of the *nakshatras*. For instance, the Ashvini constellation consists of two stars and presents the appearance of a horse. It ascends the zenith at midnight on the *purnima* (the 15th day of the bright half) of Ashvin (the first month of the Gujarati Hindus). The constellation of Mrig consists of seven stars, four like the legs of a sofa and three others under them in a line. All these twenty-seven groups of stars reach the zenith at midnight on particular days in particular months; and the months of the Hindu calendar are named after them.³

All planets influence the life of a person, one way or the other, according to their

position in the heavens at the time of his birth. A *kundali*, i. e., a figure like the one



shown here, is drawn by astrologers to illustrate the respective positions of the planets. The twelve squares of the diagram represent the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the positions of the planets in different squares influence persons in different ways. Ravi (the Sun), Budha (Mercury) and Shukra (Venus) occupy one *rāshi* for one month; Chandra (the Moon) occupies a *rāshi* for 135 *ghadis*, i. e., two days and a quarter; Mangal (Mars) for one month and a half; Guru (Jupiter) for thirteen months; Shani (Saturn) for two years and a half, and Rāhu for a year and a half. This is their normal and ordinary motion. But if they take an abnormal course and move either too fast or too slow, they finish their revolution through a *rāshi* within a shorter or a longer period.⁴

If the planet Guru (Jupiter) occupies either the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th, or 12th, square of a *kundali*, it is said to bring about rupture with friends, pecuniary wants, and an increase in the number of enemies.⁵

¹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

² Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

* The nine *grahas* are, Ravi (the Sun), Chandra (the Moon), Mangal (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Guru (Jupiter), Shukra (Venus), Shani (Saturn), and Rāhu and Ketu.

† The names of the twelve *rāshis* are:—1 Mesha (Aries), 2 Vrishabha (Taurus), 3 Mithun (Gemini), 4 Karka (Cancer), 5 Sinha (Leo), 6 Kanyā (Virgo), 7 Tulā (Libra), 8 Vrishchika (Scorpio), 9 Dhanu (Sagittarius), 10 Makara (Capricornus), 11 Kumbha (Aquarius), 12 Mina (Pisces).

‡ The following are the twenty-seven *nakshatras*:—1 Ashvini, 2 Bharani, 3 Kritikā, 4 Rohini, 5 Mrig, 6 Ardra, 7 Punarvasu, 8 Pushya, 9 Āshlesha, 10 Magha, 11 Pūrvā-phālguni, 12 Uttara-phālguni, 13 Hasta, 14 Chitrā, 15 Swāti, 16 Vishākha, 17 Anurādhā, 18 Jyeshthā, 19 Mūl, 20 Pūrvāshādhā, 21 Uttaraśādhā, 22 Shravana, 23 Dhanishtha, 24 Shatātārakā, 25 Pūrvābhādrapada, 26 Uttaraśādhā, and 27 Revati.

³ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁴ Mr. Motechand Vasanji Doshi, Kālāwad.

⁵ One *ghadi*=24 minutes.

⁶ The Schoolmaster, Dadvi.

If Shani (Saturn) occupies the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, or the 12th square in a man's *kundali*, it causes despondency of mind, family quarrels, imminent injuries from foes, and pecuniary wants.¹

The presence of Mangal (Mars) in the 3rd, the 6th, or the 11th square is auspicious.¹

Of the nine planets, Budha, Guru, and Chandra are benevolent, Mangal and Ravi are neither benevolent nor baneful; and Shani, Rāhu, and Ketu are downright malevolent.² Each planet has a story connected with it concerning its benevolence or malevolence, and showing also the way to secure its propitiation. For instance, the malevolence of Shani drove King Vikrama to unknown countries, and subjected him to grave calamities. On the advice of a wise man, however, he observed the Saturday-vows and thus overcame his difficulties.³

When a planet is unfavourable to a person, it has to be propitiated by vows, and the person who is under its evil influence often lays upon himself the obligation of abstaining from particular articles of food or from wearing certain articles of clothing for a certain number of days.⁴ Particular days of the week are set apart as appropriate for the worship of particular planets, and, on such days, the person keeping the vow observes a fast and worships the planet through the medium of a Brāhman.⁵ For instance, *vrats* or vows are observed on Tuesdays in honour of Mangal (Mars), when an image of the planet, engraved on a golden dish, is worshipped, and the person observing the vow takes food consisting of wheat only, and that too, only once during the day. This mode of fasting is followed for a number of consecutive Tuesdays prescribed by an astro-

loger; and on the last Tuesday, when *pūrṇahuti** is offered, Brāhmins are feasted and *dakshinā* is given to them. A piece of red cloth and some corn are used in the installation of the planet; these and the golden engraving are carried away by the priest.³

Similarly, in propitiating Rāhu and Ketu the same ceremonies are gone through: only, instead of wheat, *mag* (*Phasolens mungo*) is eaten by the devotee. In the same way Shani (Saturn) is said to favour the diet of *adād* (or lentils): Guru (Jupiter) inclines to *chanā* (or gram), while Shukra (Venus) favours *cholā* (*dolichos sinensis*).²

Certain forms or figures, called *mandals*, are favoured by particular *grahās*, and are drawn in their honour in worshipping them. Different things, too, are given in charity in honour of different planets.⁶

All the nine *grahas* and the twenty-seven *nakshatras* are worshipped on the occasion of the *Griha-Shanti* ceremony, which is performed before occupying a newly erected building.²

It is considered inauspicious to hold a marriage ceremony while Shukra (Venus) is invisible. In such a case, however, the ceremony may be performed after setting up and worshipping a small golden image of the planet.²

Of the stars, the constellation of *saptarshi* is perhaps the one most often worshipped. Its worship forms a part of the ceremonies performed on the occasion of investing boys with the sacred thread⁷ and also of the ceremonies of marriage. The worship of the *saptarshi* on marriage occasions is believed to be an attestation of the marriage, and to secure the benign care of the *saptarshi* for the couple. The form of worship is sometimes as follows: a red and white piece of

¹ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

² M. H. Raval, Vanod.

³ N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁴ D. K. Pandya, Dhhānk.

⁵ I. e., a handful of rice, ghi, cocoanuts, and some other objects are cast into the fire as an offering.

⁶ N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

⁷ Hirji Monji, Ganod.

⁸ Gangaram Tribhovanadas, Lilapur.

cloth is stretched on the ground, bearing an image of the *saptarshi* over it; wheat and rice are scattered over the cloth, a ghi-lamp is lighted, and red lac and flowers are offered to the image.¹ Another form of worship is to mark seven red-lac-dots on a *pātlā* or a wooden stool, and to place seven pice and seven betel-nuts thereon. After worshipping the seven pice, the bridal pair are made to take four turns round the stool, touching the stool with their great toes at every turn. A proverb runs to the effect that, whatever may happen to the couple, still the seven pice of *satpati* (i. e., the ceremony described) are secure.² A third process is to form seven small piles of *kamod*,* on each of which, successively, the bride places her right foot while the bridegroom removes each pile one by one.³

The fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad (the eleventh month of the Gujarati Hindus) is observed as a day of worship in honour of the *saptarshi* group. People observe a fast on that day. Brāhman set up seven *chāts*† in honour of the seven sages, adding an eighth in honour of Arundhatī, the wife of Vasishtha, and worship them by *shodashopachār* (i. e. sixteen-fold ceremonial). The worship is said to secure felicity for departed souls.⁴

The *saptarshi* are also annually worshipped by Brāhman on cocoanut-day (the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan) on the occasion of changing their sacred threads. Hindu seamen also worship the constellation on the same day.⁵

In the performance of the *Nil-parvān* ceremony, which is held to propitiate the spirits of departed ancestors, and which requires a

calf and a heifer to be married, an entertainment being simultaneously given to one hundred and eight Brāhman, and on the occasion of Vastu or the ceremonies performed before or at the time of occupying a newly-built house, burnt offerings and worship are offered to the *saptarshi*.⁶

Every Brāhman must offer *arghya*‡ to, and worship, the *agastya* constellation, in a hut of *darbha*§ and *kāsada*§ within seven days from the date of its appearance. Failure to make this offering brings pollution on him for seven months, and disqualifies him from performing any of the rites or ceremonies prescribed by the Shastras.⁷

Married couples are made to look at the Pole star immediately after the Hymenal knot is tied by the priest, in the hope that they may be as long-lived or as inflexible or unmoved by the ups and downs of life.⁸

The twelfth day after the death of a person, known as *Tārā-bāras* (or the star-twelfth) is kept as the day of star-worship by the relatives of the deceased, when one member of the family observes a fast on that day in honour of the deceased, and takes food only after worshipping the stars at night. It is customary on this day to give up the use of bronze vessels and to give them away in charity.⁹

Just as persons carrying or accompanying a corpse to the cemetery are considered *sutaki* (under ceremonial impurity), so those who witness this rite are also considered unclean : but they are purified by a sight of the stars.¹⁰

Young girls watching the starry sky at night recite a verse which means, "I worshipped the star-spangled firmament first and

¹ K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

² The Schoolmaster of Khirasarā.

³ B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

⁴ Kalyanji Bhaishankar, Kolki, and R. B. Pandya, Jetpur. ⁵ G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

⁶ A superior kind of rice.

† Twisted braids of *darbha* grass.

‡ *Arghya* is an offering of water in a spoon filled with barley seeds, sesamum seeds, sandal ointment, rice, and flowers.

§ Two varieties of sacred grass, used in thatching roofs.

then my lover Ābhlā dābhlā Kankunā dābhlā* — “Ye stars ! blind the prowling thief and seize him if he tries to steal away, and your blessings on my lord confer !”¹

The *Rohini* and *Kṛitika* constellations, popularly known as *Gadli*, are supposed to indicate the rise and fall in the cotton-market.²

The dimmest star of the *saptarshi* group foretells the death of a person within six months from the date on which it becomes invisible to him.³ Again, if a man cannot perceive the *saptarshi* or the galaxy in the sky, it is considered such a bad omen that his end is believed to be near at hand.⁴

The rainbow is believed to be the bow of Indra†, the god of rains, and is therefore called ‘*Indra-dhanushya*.’ We see it when Indra draws his bow to release the rains from the *rākshasas* (demons);⁵ or, when successful in bringing down rain, Indra manifests his glory by drawing a bow;⁶ or when in the struggle for supremacy between Summer and the rainy season, Indra draws his bow to defeat Summer.⁷

It is also believed that when Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*, adjusted an arrow to the bow of Shiva, to compete for the hand of Sitā in the *swayamvara* (or maiden’s-choice marriage) celebrated by her, the bow was split into three pieces, which ever since present themselves as rainbows in the sky.⁸

The rainbow is popularly regarded as an indication of good or bad rainfall according

as it appears at particular hours and in particular directions. If a rainbow appears in the east a speedy rainfall is expected; if on the other hand it is seen in the west, rainfall is apprehended to be distant.⁹ Some people, however, believe the contrary, i.e., they regard the appearance of a rainbow in the west as an indication of good rains, and in the east as a sign of scarce rainfall.¹⁰ Perhaps both ideas are reconciled by a third belief according to which the appearance of a rainbow in a direction facing the sun, indicates the proximity of rain.¹¹

If a rainbow is seen at sunset or sunrise just before the commencement of rain the fall of rain will be excessive; but if it appears after rainfall, the rain will probably cease.¹² According to some persons the appearance of a rainbow in the morning portends a drought.¹³ There is, however, a popular saying to the effect that were the *kachbi*, i. e., the rainbow, to be seen at sunrise in the west, it foretells great floods before nightfall.⁷

The sight of a rainbow is sometimes regarded as a bad omen. Some believe that it shortens a man’s life and brings misfortunes to him.⁴ Others believe that it is calamitous to a man’s relations by marriage, especially to the mother-in-law, who is sure to lose her power of hearing.¹⁴ People sometimes clash earthen vessels against one another to avert the evils which are to be feared from a rainbow.¹⁵ It is also said that the sight of the whole of the rainbow is a good omen :

¹ Odhowji Avichal, Lākhāpadar.

² The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.

³ L. D. Mehta, Mota Devalia.

⁴ N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

⁵ D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Luvaria.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Khandhar.

⁸ Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

* Meaningless terms.

† Indra has full sway over the twelve *meghas* (or clouds), of which *Shāmaghana* is the greatest. Indra directs them to pour down waters in whatever regions he likes. At the time of the deluge he lets loose all the twelve *meghas* under the lead of *Shāmaghana* and thus brings about the destruction of this world.—N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁹ Talakshi Dharamsi, Khandhar.

¹⁰ Hirji Monji, Ganod.

¹¹ Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasā.

¹² The Schoolmaster of Pālānvār.

¹³ K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

¹⁴ Mr. Kalyanji Bhaishankar, Kolki.

¹⁵ Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur.

but the sight of a part, however large, is inauspicious.¹

According to the *Puranas*, the milky way or *ākāsh-gangā* is the celestial river *Gangā* which was brought down by Bhagirath to the earth.² King Sagar once performed an *ashwa-medha*³ sacrifice, when, according to custom, he let loose a horse, and sent his sixty thousand sons with it. Indra, jealous of the growing power of Sagar, stole the horse and concealed it in the hermitage of Kapila, when the sage was deeply absorbed in religious meditation. The sixty thousand sons of Sagar followed it to this asylum, where they taunted and insulted the sage, believing him to be the thief. Kapila, who was ignorant of the theft, opened his long-closed eyes in anger, emitting sparks of flame from them, and destroyed the sons of Sagar together with the whole of their army. Bhagirath, the grandson of Sagar, propitiated the sage, and on his advice practised religious austerities in honour of Shiva for the purpose of bringing down the River *Gangā* from heaven. Through the kindness of God Shiva, Bhagirath was at last successful in bringing the celestial river down to this world; and with the water of the river he revived the sons of Sagar. The River *Gangā* (i. e., the Ganges) in this world is therefore also known by the name of *Bhāgirathi*. It is this heavenly river which we see as the milky way.⁴ Like the sacred Ganges on the earth, the river *Gangā* in the

celestial regions is held in great respect by the gods⁵ and purifies the heavenly bodies, just as the earthly Ganges washes away the worst sins of mortals.¹

Some people, however, believe the milky way to be the track by which the holy Ganges descended from heaven to earth.⁶

Another belief is that the God Vishnu, at the time of his *Vāman* (or Dwarf) incarnation, touched the *ina* (i. e., the Egg) in his third footstep and thus caused a flow of waters, which is known as *ākāsh-gangā*.⁶ Some suppose the milky way to be a ladder leading to the heavens.⁷ Astrologers call it *Vatsā*, a fictitious creature with numerous horns, mouths, and tails.⁸ According to another belief, the milky way consists of two *rekhas*—lines—one of sin and the other of good and meritorious actions. The length of one line compared to the other betokens the predominance of good or evil as the case may be.⁹ The milky way is also supposed to be the track left by the *rath* or car of *Rāmachandra*.¹⁰

Ākāsh-ganga or the milky way is said to consist of one crore and eighty lacs of stars.¹¹ If a man cannot perceive the milky way in the sky, his end is believed to be near at hand.¹²

The Mussalmāns declare the milky way to be the track formed by the footstep of the horse of the Prophet Muhammad, on the occasion of his night-journey to Heaven.⁷

¹ Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwah.

² Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia, and B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

³ Mr. Vallabh Ramji, Mendardā.

⁴ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.

⁵ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

⁶ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

⁷ Mr. G. K. Bhall, Songadh.

⁸ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁹ Mr. Jethalal Anupram, Aman.

¹⁰ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

¹¹ Mr. K. B. Fazlulab.

¹² Mr. Hirji Monji, Ganod.

* When a king desired to be *Chakravarti*—Sovereign of all India—he used to perform a horse-sacrifice, and a horse was let loose with a copper-plate fastened to its head with the name of the king engraved upon the plate. The horse moved in front followed by the king's army. Those who were not willing to acknowledge the suzerainty of the king challenged his army by seizing the horse. Such a horse-sacrifice, if successfully completed, threatens the power of Indra, who is therefore said to be very jealous and to create obstacles to the performance of such sacrifices—K. D. Desai.

The occasion for earth-worship most frequently arises when anything is to be built upon its surface. At the time of setting the *manek-stambha*, or the first pillar of a marriage-bower or a bower for a thread-ceremony,¹ before commencing the construction of wells, reservoirs, and tanks² and in laying the foundation-stone of a house, a temple, or a sacrificial pit,³ or of a street, a fortress, a city, or a village,³ or of any constructive work raised upon or made under the ground, certain ceremonies, called *khat-muhurt* or *khat-puja*, are performed. The earth-mother is then worshipped in the manner prescribed in the *Shastras*, to propitiate her against interruptions in the completion of the work undertaken. The owner or the person interested in the new construction pours a little water on the earth where the foundation-pit is to be dug, sprinkles red lac and *gulal* (red powder), places a betel-nut and a few precious coins, and digs out the first clod of earth himself.⁴ Some of the things offered to the earth at the time of *khat-puja* are *panchamrit*,⁵ betel-nuts, betel-leaves, *pancharatna* (or the five kinds of precious things, namely, gold, silver, copper, coral, and pearls), a bowl and green garments.² Under the influence of particular *rashis* (signs of the zodiac), particular corners of the building under construction are required to be dug in the *khat-muhurt* ceremonies.³ For instance, a little digging in the north-west corner is believed to be favourable to the

constructor who happens to be under the influence of *Sinha* (Leo), *Kanyā* (Virgo) and *Tulā* (Libra): in the north-east corner, if under the influence of *Vrishchika* (Scorpio), *Dhanu* (Sagittarius) and *Makar* (Capricornus): in the south-east corner if under the sway of *Kumbha* (Aquarius), *Mīn* (Pisces) and *Mesha* (Aries): in the south-west corner in the case of *Urishabh* (Taurus), *Mithun* (Gemini) and *Kark* (Cancer).³ After the worship of the earth-mother, sugar or molasses is distributed among neighbours, bystanders and relatives, in token of the auspiciousness of the occasion.⁵ An image of Ganpati is worshipped in a copper-dish, this is buried underground, and a brick is laid on it when starting the work of construction.³ In setting up the *manek-stambha* on marriage occasions, a small earthen bowl is filled with milk, curds, turmeric, *dūrvā-sprouts*[†] and *mag* seeds (*phasoleus mungo*), and buried in the ground after being sprinkled over with red lac and rice.⁶

The ceremonies appertaining to *khat-muhurt* are treated of at length in a book called *Dharma-sindhu*.⁷ They are believed to secure durability of construction.⁴

On the *Dasarā*[‡] day or the 10th day of the bright half of *Āshvin* (the last month), *Rājās* go out in state with their ministers and subjects to worship the earth-mother and the holy *shami* tree (*prosopis spicigera*). A wetted plot of ground is first dug over with pikes, *javālā* (tender wheat plants) and

¹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

² Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

³ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka.

⁵ A mixture of milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar.

[†] *Durvā* is a kind of sacred grass.

[‡] On the *Dasarā* holiday, which is also known as *Vijayādashmi*, Hindus take special dishes, dress themselves in their best garments and go out of towns and villages to worship the earth-mother and the holy *shami*, with *javālā* stalks, a few of which are inserted in the folds of their head-dress as auspicious tokens. In towns and big cities a procession is formed, conducted by some city magnate or a native chief riding an elephant. They go in stateto the place of worship, and after the completion of the worship a goat or a he buffalo preferably the latter, is killed, and a salvo of three to seven or more cannon is fired. People then return home and prostrate themselves before their elders, and receive from them a handful of candied sugar, a betel-nut and leaf, with blessings for long-life and prosperity. Such blessings are considered likely to prove effective.—K. D. Desai.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁴ Mr. Talakshi Dharashi, Sayala.

⁶ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

shami leaves are then mixed with the muddy earth, and small balls of the mixture are made. A pice and betel-nut are placed in each ball, and they are presented to the worshipper as a mark of good luck. Travellers carry such balls with them on their journeys for luck. Kings carry the same to obtain success on the battle-field. The Pāndavas had such balls with them on the field of Kurukshetra when they obtained a victory over the Kauravas.¹ The balls are also used as *pastānā*.² The *javālā* in the balls are taken out and allowed to grow in an earthen vessel filled with clay and manure till they reach a span in height, when they are taken up and used.³

Earth-worship is performed before burying treasure underground, and also when a marriage-procession, at the time of returning, reaches the limits of the bridegroom's village.⁴

In some places, virgins worship the plot of ground on which the *Holi* is lighted, for about ten or twelve days after the *Holi* holiday.⁵

Another occasion for earth-worship is the third day of the bright half of Chaitra (the sixth month), on which day Vishnu saved the earth in his Varāha (or Boar) incarnation, when it was being carried to the nether regions by the demon Shankhāsura.⁶

On the eighth day of the bright half of Māgh and also of Āshvin (the fourth and the last month respectively), *naivedya* (an oblation of food) is offered to the earth-mother, and is then used as her *prasād* (gift). No

cooked food is allowed to fall on the ground on this day: even the leavings after meals are given away to cows.⁷

When any ceremony is to be performed on the earth's surface, as much of the spot as is required for the ceremony is cleansed by watering it and plastering it with cow-dung. A betel-nut and a pice are then placed on it as the *Chādū* or rent of the spot.⁸

On those occasions when *dakshinā* is given to Brāhmans outside the village limits, worship of the earth-mother is performed by pouring milk on the ground, and by placing seven betel-nuts and seven single copper-pieces thereon.⁹

Some ambitious Brāhmans dig earth from near the roots of a banyan tree after offering prayer to the earth, and out of it, make an image of *Parthishwar*—Lord of the Earth—hoping thereby to obtain wealth. The same ceremony, if observed near the roots of a pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*), is believed to confer wealth and male issue.¹⁰

When Vishnu killed the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, the earth was strewn with their flesh and marrow (*mēda*). Therefore the earth is called *medeni*, and for the same reason is unclean, and no holy objects are allowed to touch it.¹¹ Another explanation is that the earth was rendered unclean because blood was shed on its surface in the combat of the demon Vritrasura with the god Indra.¹²

The things polluted by a contact with the earth are either objects which are to be

¹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

² Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

³ Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

⁴ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasā, and the Schoolmaster of Jāsdān.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Pātanvāv.

⁶ Mr. Laxmichand Hemji, Vasāvad.

⁷ Some Hindus, when intending to go on a journey, consult an astrologer as to the *muhurt* or auspicious hour for setting out. If they do not happen to leave their place at the prescribed moment, they put a *pastūnā*—some of the articles to be carried by them in their journey—such as a suit of clothes or a box, in a neighbour's house as a token of their having set out at the stated time.—K. D. Desai.

⁸ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

⁹ Mr. Talakshi Dharashi, Sayala.

¹⁰ The Schoolmaster of Sultanpur.

¹¹ Mr. Madhaji Tulsiram, Movaiya.

dedicated to gods, such as sandal-wood ointment, *panchamrit*,* the leaves of the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*), *tulsi* leaves (leaves of the holy or sweet basil plant), betel-leaves and flowers;¹ or objects which are sacred because of their having been dedicated to the gods, including *tirtha*² or water used in bathing the images of gods†; or things which are by nature so holy that it is improper to place them on the bare earth; for instance, images of deities, water of the sacred Ganges or the Jumna,³ any holy writ,⁴ a conch-shell and even gold.⁵ Cooked food also deserves respect, as it supports the lives of men, and it is sinful in a Hindu to let it lie on the bare ground. Any irregular conduct in this respect arouses the wrath of the Annadeva (or the food, deity).⁶

It is, however, maintained by some that the reason why certain things, such as materials of worship, are not allowed to touch the earth, is that the earth itself being a deity, such things would be dedicated to this deity by a contact with the earth and would thus become incapable of any further use, as things that are dedicated to one deity cannot again be offered to another.⁷

During the course of the recitation of mantras (holy hymns) in honour of Vishnu and Mahadeva; on the occasion of offering prayers to the *grahas* (planets) for their propitiation; and on occasions like *Vishnu-yāga*,† *Mahārudra*,‡ *Shatachandi*, *Gayatri-purushavachana*§ and *Brāhmana-varuna*|| the devotee or the sacrificer and the priest

sleep on *darbha* grass or on clean woollen blankets, spread on the bare ground.¹

Other occasions for sleeping on the floor are the days of the observance of certain *vrats* or vows; such as, the *Divāsā* or the 15th day of the dark half of *Ashādh* (the ninth month), the *Jamnāshtami* or the 8th day of the dark half of *Shrāvana* (the tenth month), the days of *Goatrad*, a *vrat* lasting from the 11th day to the 15th day of the bright half of *Bhādrapad*, *Mahashivaratri* or the 14th day of the dark half of *Māgh*, the *Ekādashi* day or the 11th day of both the bright and dark halves of a month,⁴ the *Navarātra* days or the first nine days *Āshvin*, eclipse days, and the day of *Jāgran* or the 15th day of the bright half of *Āshādh*,⁶ besides, sometimes, the whole of the months of *Shrāvana* and the *Purushottam* or intercalary month; and the *chaturmas*, i. e., the four months of the rainy season.⁸

A *Brāhman* in his *brāhmacharya* (or the period of his life which, according to the *shastras*, should be devoted to the acquirement of learning, and which commences from the date of his being invested with the sacred thread and terminates at the age of twenty-three) and a widow are not allowed by the *shastras* to sleep elsewhere than on beds made on the ground.⁴

Women, while in menstruation, sleep on the floor for four days.² Some women, when they are separated from their husbands, also sleep in this fashion.⁸

A dying person, two or three minutes before his death, is placed on the ground, which

¹ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

² Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

³ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka.

⁵ Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

* A mixture of milk, curds, ghi, honey, and sugar.

† Such objects are taken in a plate and thrown over a *tulsi* (or sweet basil) plant.—K. D. Desai.

‡ Sacrifices in honour of Vishnu, Mahādev and the goddess Chandi, respectively.—K. D. Desai.

§ A form of devotion requiring the recitation of the *Gayatri-mantra* a hundred thousand times with certain symbolic ceremonies.—K. D. Desai.

|| The appointment of duly authorised *Brāhman*s to perform religious ceremonies.—K. D. Desai.

² The Schoolmaster of Lilapar.

⁴ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

is first purified with cow-dung-plaster.¹ For ten days after a death, the members of the deceased's household and his relatives sleep on beds spread on the bare ground.² If the demise be very affecting, the nearest relatives sleep on the floor for periods which may extend to three months, six months, or even for a year, and sometimes the penance lasts for their whole lives.¹

It is customary, among some sects, not to allow the *sātharā*—i. e., the spot lately occupied by a corpse in the house—to be *sunā* or unoccupied for a single night. Someone must sleep on the spot for twelve consecutive days from the date of demise.³

Pilgrims,* after pilgrimage, abandon sensual pleasures, take their meals only once every day, and sleep on the floor.¹ It is customary to sleep always on the ground while in holy places. Devotees, ascetics, *sadhus*, and their disciples sleep on the ground.²

The God Indra has twelve *meghas* or clouds under his control, and he directs each of them to pour out their waters wherever he likes. When in the least irritated in the execution of his orders, Indra's voice is heard in this world in thunder-claps which rise to a terrible pitch if the deity becomes downright angry.¹ Thunder is also said to be the loud laughter of Indra when in a happy mood.⁴

Another belief is that during the rainy season, Indra plays *gedi-dāndā†*, and the strokes given to the *gedi* in the course of the game, produce what we call thunder;⁵ or, that the clouds are god's footballs, and thunder is produced by his foot striking them, while at play during the rainy season.² Some believe thunder to be due to the loud sounds produced by various musical instruments which are played upon on the occasion of the marriage-ceremony of Indra.⁶ According to others, thunder is produced by the caanon of Indra;⁷ or, as some again say, by the trumpeting of *Airāvat*, the elephant of Indra⁸; or, we hear thunder when Indra draws his bow and adjusts an arrow to the bow-string, in order to bring about the fall of rain.⁹

A further belief attributes thunder to the very rapid pace of the chariot of Bhagwān.¹⁰ Some people, however, say that it is produced when Bhīma (one of the five Pāndavas) wields his prodigious club or bludgeon.¹¹ In the opinion of others, Vidyut or Tanyatun, the offspring of Lambā, the daughter of Daksha, and the wife of Dharmarāj thunders in the rainy season.¹² It is also suggested that the god of rains shakes the heavens and thus produces thunder.³ The *shastras*, it is said, declare that thunder is caused by the sounds of the *dundubhi*—or

¹ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

² Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

³ Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

⁴ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara, or of Bhagwan, according to Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

⁵ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

⁶ The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

⁷ Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpur.

⁸ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁹ Mr. L. I. Joshi, Surela.

¹⁰ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster of Pāolāuvav.

¹² The Schoolmaster of Rajkot Girls' School.

* Intending pilgrims sometimes impose such self-denials upon themselves, vowing abnegation from particular articles of food or wear till they have performed their pilgrimage. Some renounce the use of ghi, some of milk, others of betel-leaf or nut, others swear not to wear a turban or a dupatta—till they are given the merit of a pilgrimage.—Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

† This game, much resembling the English boys' game of Tip cat, is also known as *gilli-dāndā*. The *gedi* or *gilli* is a small piece of wood, two or three inches in length, an inch or less in diameter and sometimes tapering at both ends. The *dāndā* is a small round stick, of the same thickness and a foot or more in length, by which the *gedi* is played. There are two sides to the game as in cricket, though not composed of a definite number of players. There are a number of ways in which the game can be played.—K. D. Desai.

kettledrums—beaten by the gods in delight at the sight of rain.¹ There is also a popular belief in the Surat district that an old hag causes thunder either when she grinds corn or when she rolls stones in the clouds.²

The prevalent belief about lightning seems to be that it is the girl whom Kansa tried to dash against a stone, but who escaped and went up to the sky. Kansa, the tyrant king of Mathurā, was informed by a heavenly voice, by way of prophecy, that a son would be born to his sister who would cause his destruction. Kansa thereupon confined his sister Devaki and her husband Vasudeva in prison, loaded them with fetters, and kept the strictest watch over them. He took from Devaki, and slew, every child of hers as soon as it was born. In this way he disposed of her first six children. On the seventh occasion, however, on which Devaki gave birth to a son named Krishna, a girl was born at the same hour to Nanda in Mathurā; and Vasudeva secretly interchanged the two children in spite of the vigilance of Kansa. When Kansa knew of his sister having been delivered, he seized the infant girl and tried to dash her against a stone. The little one immediately flew away to the skies, where she still dwells in the form of *Vijli* or lightning.³

The *shastras* describe *Vijli* as the distinctive weapon of Indra, just as *pashupalākā* is peculiar to Shiva and the *Gāndīva* bow to Arjuna.⁴

Other beliefs about lightning are that *Vijli* is the sister of Megharājā, the god of rains, and appears to announce his approach.⁵

that *Vijli* is a goddess who rests upon winds, fire, and rains :⁶ that *Vijli* is but the thunderbolt of Indra :⁷ that lightnings are the flashes of the bright weapon of Indra :⁸ that lightning is the lustre of the fireworks and the lamps lighted by the gods in honour of the nuptials of Indra :⁹ that lightning is produced by the sparks caused by the friction of the *gedi* and the *dāndā* of Indra when the god plays the game.¹⁰ *Vijli* is also known as Saudamini, i. e., one residing on Mount Sudāmā.¹¹

The occurrence of thunder and the appearance of lightning on particular days and in particular directions are regarded as signs of the abundance or scarcity of rain during the season.

Thunder during the Rohini *nakshatra** is a bad omen : it foreshadows either a famine,¹² or a *Boterun*, i. e., complete cessation of rains for seventy-two days after the thunder-claps are heard.⁸ According to another view, if the Rohini *nakshatra* lasts for a fortnight and if the sky is clear during the period and yet lightning and thunder occur, a *Boterun* will be the consequence; but if lightning and thunder were to accompany the clouds in the same *nakshatra*, heavy and plentiful rains may be confidently expected.¹³ Lightning without clouds in the same *nakshatra* is believed to be the cause of what is popularly called Rohini-dazi, i. e., the burning heat of Rohini.¹⁴

Some persons expect a *Boterun* after *kadakas* or crashing thunder. Others apprehend a famine if they hear thunder on the second day of the bright half of Jyeshtha (the eighth month).⁸

¹ Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

² The Schoolmasters of Dhank, Sanka, Limbdi, and Sultanpur.

³ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

⁵ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁷ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

⁹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁰ The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster of Surela.

¹² Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

¹³ The Schoolmaster of Gondal.

¹⁴ Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

* i. e., the period for which the Rohini *nakshatra* lasts.

Thunder or lightning in the Hasta* *nakshatra* foretells good harvests and a prosperous year.¹ Thunder in the same *nakshatra* is believed to muzzle the jaws of serpents and other noxious creatures, and to achieve this object, also, a *samēla* (or a log of wood) is struck against a *mohārā* (or a hollow stone used for threshing corn).² If thunder is not heard during this *nakshatra*, mosquitoes and other insects and vermin are believed to be likely to multiply.³

If thunder is heard during the Ārdra *nakshatra*, the rainfall will be delayed for a month.⁴

Lightning is commonly seen on the second and the fifth day of the bright half of Āshādh, and is considered a sign of good rainfall, while its absence indicates a probable scarcity of rain.⁵ Its appearance on the fifth day of Āshādh is believed by some to foretell an early fall of rain.⁶ Since the rainfall, and therefore the state of the crops during the ensuing year, are suggested by lightning on this day, corn-dealers settle a rise or fall in the price of corn according as lightning is or is not seen on that occasion.⁶

Thunder in the east predicts a speedy fall of rain.¹ If flashes of lightning are seen in the north-east or the north, rain will fall within three days. Lightning in the south-east or the south foretells extreme heat.⁷

Long-continued thunder shows that the rainfall is distant. Similarly, continued flashes of lightning intimate danger to the lives and property of people.⁷ Sudden thunder portends an immediate cessation of rain.¹ Thunder or lightning out of season threatens calamity to the country.⁸

Vijli or lightning is said to be fettered on the fifth day of the bright half of Āshādh—(or, as some say, on the second day of Shrāvan)²—after which date no apprehensions of its destructive powers need be entertained.⁹ Till then, however, it is free and is likely to injure those persons† who have not cut or shaved their hair from their birth.¹⁰

The occurrence of lightning is believed to cause the delivery and sometimes even the death of pregnant women.¹¹

Any period marked by the occurrence of lightning is considered inauspicious.¹²

The Puranas speak of fourteen worlds—the seven *swargas* (celestial regions) and the seven *pātāls* (nether regions)†. Underneath the seventh *pātāl*§ lies Shesha (the divine cobra) who supports all the fourteen worlds on one of his one thousand hoods. On account of the heavy burden, the serpent-god sometimes gets tired, and tries to change his position. The result of the movement is an earth-quake.⁹ According to another version, an earthquake occurs when Shesha changes

* Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

† Mr. B. K. Dave, K. da-Sangani.

‡ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

§ Talakshi, Libarai, Sayala.

¶ Mr. M. M. Ran, Rajkot.

|| The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

¶ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sankā.

¶ The Schoolmaster of Luvaria.

¶ The Schoolmaster of Songadh.

¶ Mr. L. H. Jadov, Vasawad.

¶ Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpur.

¶ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

* The Hasta *nakshatra* generally commences at the end of Bhādrapad or the beginning of Ashvin and lasts for a fortnight. The rains during this period, which are required for the rabi crops, are so much esteemed that each drop of them is said to be worth a drop of ghee. People store the *huthio-varshād* or the rain water of Hasta in reservoirs for drinking purposes, believing it to be very pure and digestive.—K. D. Desai.

† Among the Hindus it is customary for those whose children do not live to keep their children unshaved for a certain number of years, after which the children are taken to a holy place and shaved there for the first time. The temple of Ranchbodji at Dākor is a favourite place for such ceremonies.—K. D. Desai.

‡ The seven nether worlds are Atāl, Vital, Satal, Talāt, Mabātāl, Rasātāl, and Pātāl.

§ In an occasion, as some say—D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

his posture in sleep,¹ or is the result of a hair falling from the body of Shesha.² Some people say that ordinarily Shesha does not feel the weight of the fourteen worlds on his head; he bears the load as if it were only a single sesamum seed. But when too much sin accumulates in any of the regions, the burden becomes unbearable for him; he begins to shake under it, and an earthquake occurs.³

Some believe that there is a tortoise under the divine cobra who supports the world;⁴ others go further, and add a frog below the tortoise;⁵ and it is said that the slightest motion on the part of either the tortoise or the cobra is the cause of an earthquake.

Another belief is that earthquakes occur whenever there is tyranny or injustice on the part of a king, or whenever immorality spreads in society, because the earth is unable to bear the sin, and trembles at the sight of it.⁶

According to a different opinion, the earth is supported by the *Pothia* or the favourite bull of Shiva on one of his horns. An earthquake is caused whenever he transfers the earth from one horn to another, in order to relieve the former from the constant pressure of the burden.⁷

There is also a belief that deities of some strange species reside in the nether regions, and the earth is shaken whenever these beings fight among themselves.⁸

According to the *Varāca-sanhita*, an earthquake is always the precursor of some unprecedented calamity.⁹ The prevalent belief in the popular mind seems to be that an earthquake is the result of immorality and sin, and further that it forebodes some dire calamity, such as famine, pestilence, an

outbreak of fire, a revolution, or a great war.¹⁰ The phenomenon is, therefore, regarded with great fear; and when it occurs, people endeavour to avoid the contingent evils by such meritorious acts as the giving of alms, and generally by leading a virtuous life.¹¹

The most popular of the holy rivers are the Ganges, the Jumna (or Jaumnā), the Narmadā, the Saraswati (near Sidhpur), the Kaveri, the Godāvari, the Gandaki, the Sarayu, the Damodarā, the Sindhu (or Indus), the Mahanad, the Gomati (near Dwārka), the Brahmaputra, the Sābarmati, the Ghels (near Gaddheda), the Tungabhadra, the Suvarnabhadra, the Bhadrashitā, the Jambuvati, the Phalaku (or Phalgu), the Kanshiki, the Tamraparnī, the Sita and the Alakanandā. Any point where three rivers meet is also a sacred place. Most of the holy rivers are the subject of many traditions, and books have been written to celebrate their merits.

The Ganges, the Jumna, and the Godāvari are said to be the holiest of all rivers.⁹ There are a number of beliefs about the origin of the Ganges. One of them is that the Ganges is the stream caused by King Bali washing the feet of Vāman (the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu).¹¹ Another story relates that the god Brahmā was exhausted by overwork at the time of the marriage of Shiva and Pārvati. The gods, therefore, created water from their own lustres, and gave it to Brahmā in a gourd, to be used in a similar contingency. When Vishnu in his *Vāman avatār* (or Dwarf incarnation) bestrode the heavens with a single step, Brahmā washed his toe in the water from this gourd. A stream was thus created called *Swarga-gangā*

¹ Mr. Jethalal Devji, Bantwā.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank, and Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

³ The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gobelwad.

⁴ Mr. K. P. Josi, Limbdi, and Mr. Reju Ramjee Kaurjee Pathak Girls' School, Gondal.

⁵ Mr. J. K. Upadhyaya, Pātanvāo.

⁶ Mr. Raju Ramjee Kanjee Pathak, Gondal.

⁷ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁸ Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

⁹ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

¹⁰ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

¹¹ Mr. M. M. Rana Rajkot.

and brought down to the earth by Bhagirath, the grandson of Sagar. When the Ganges fell from the heavens, it was supported and held fast by God Shiva in his *jatā* or matted hair. It was released by his loosening the hair, and in its course, inundated the sacrificial ground of King Jahnu. The latter, being angry, drank up its waters. On the entreaties of Bhagirath, he released the stream by tearing off his thigh.* The river then flowed to the spot where the sixty thousand sons of Sagar were burnt to ashes; and it is said by some that one of the sixty thousand was saved at the end of each year up to the year 1955 of the Samvat era (corresponding to A. D. 1899), by the end of which period all the sixty thousand had attained salvation. From the earth the Ganges went to the nether regions. Thus flowing in the heavens, on the earth and in the *Pātāl*, the Ganges is called *Tripathagā* (i. e., flowing in three courses). In its divine form, the Ganges is the wife of Shiva. Owing to the course of *Brahmā*, she was born in human form in this world and was married to Shantanu, by whom she became the mother of Bhishma, the heroic uncle of the Kauravas and the *Pāndavas*.¹

It is customary among Hindu pilgrims, when they visit *Kāshi* (Benares) to take with them copper-vessels filled with *Gangajal*, (water of the Ganges) and to worship the *Gangā* when they reach their homes after the pilgrimage. A figure is drawn in seven different kinds of corn: the bowl is placed on it: *ābil gutāl* (red powder), frankincense, and *naivedya* (an oblation of food) are offered: a ghi lamp is lighted: a *Brāhman*

woman is dressed as *Una*, the wife of Shiva, and *Brahmans* are entertained at a feast, *dakshina* being given to them.²

The water of the Ganges, as well as that of the *Jumnā*, is believed to be so pure that it cannot be affected by microbes, even if kept for years in the house. This quality is believed to be a manifestation of its divine nature. It is further called *patit-pāvan* (lit. purifier of the fallen), and exculpates the sinful from their sins, either by a single draught or by bathing in it.³ *Gangājal* is kept in most Hindu families, a draught of it taken by a dying person being believed to secure *moksha* or eternal salvation for the soul.⁴

A vow is observed by women, in honour of the Ganges, for the first ten days of the month of *Dyeshtha*. On these days they rise early in the morning and bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges.⁵

Sometimes ghi lamps are placed upon the waters of the Ganges or the *Jumnā*, and vessels of metal, piece, and cocoanuts are cast into the stream. At such a time, when many people are standing on the banks offering prayers with folded hands; or engaged in the *arati*,† the river presents a very picturesque scene, the numerous lights being reflected in the water.⁶

The *Jamunā* or *Yamunā* is the daughter of the Sun, and the sister of *Yama*, the god of Death. The banks of the *Jumnā* are well known as the scene of the amorous sports of God *Krishna*.⁷ The story of the defeat of the demon *Kāhya Nagā* who was ejected from the *Jumnā* by *Krishna* is well-known.

¹ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

³ The Schoolmaster of Upleta.

⁴ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

⁵ The river is, therefore, regarded as his daughter, and is called *Jahnvi*.

† The waving of lights to and fro before an object of worship.

² The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

³ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Kolki and the Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.

It is said that those who have bathed in the Jumna or have once tasted its water, need not be afraid of Yama, the god of Death.¹ It is considered meritorious among the Hindus to bathe the image of God Shiva in water from the holy Jumna or the Ganges or the Godāvari.² There is a popular *shloka* in honour of the Jumna which runs:—"Victory to thee! Oh Yamuna, flowing through the Madhu-vana (the Madhu woods), the bearer of shining waters, the companion of Jāhnavi, the daughter of Sindhu, the ornament of the enemy of Madhu (*viz.*, Krishna), the appeaser of Mādhava, the dispeller of the danger of Gokul, the destroyer of the sins of the world, the giver of intellect, the scene of the amorous sports of Keshava, Victory to thee! O remover of difficulties, purify me."³

The banks of the Godāvari are known as the site of the hermitage of Gautama. When the planet Brihaspati (Jupiter) enters the Sinha-rāshi (the constellation Leo)* the holy Ganges goes to the Godāvari, and remains there for one year. During that year, all the gods are believed to bathe in this river. Thousands of pilgrims visit Nasik to offer prayers to the Godāvari, and after bathing in the river, give alms to Brahmans. Similarly, on the Kapilāshashti day, on which six *jogs* or conjunctive incidents occur simultaneously, the virtue of all *tirthas* or holy places is believed to be concentrated in the Godāvari at Nasik.³

The mere sight of the Narbada has the same effect as a bath in the Ganges or the Jumna.⁴ It is said that the Narbada is the

image of Shiva, and that fragments of the stony bow of Shiva are to be found in its bed.⁵ The stones in the bed of this river have the same sanctity as the images of god Shiva.⁶ *Shāligrām* stones, which are worshipped as the images of Vishnu, are found in this river.⁶ It is an act of high merit among Hindus to take a *pradakshina* round the Narbada, i. e., to travel along the banks of the river, inhabited as the region is by many *Sādhus* and other holy persons.⁷ Ashvatthāmā, the immortal son of Drona, is believed to reside on the banks of this river and to pay occasional visits to the Bhils in the neighbourhood.⁷ The *Shukla-tirtha*, situated on the Narbada, is visited by numerous pilgrims, and a fair is held there on every sixtieth year.⁷

The sage Kapila instructed his mother Devahūti with divine knowledge on the banks of the Saraswati. Since then, the river is held sacred and funeral ceremonies—*Shrāddhas*—are performed on its banks in honour of departed female ancestors.⁵ Similarly *Shrāddhas* in honour of male ancestors are performed at the confluence of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati at Allahabad†⁸

Of the Gandaki it is said that it contains as many *shankars* (images of Shiva) as there are *sankars* (stones). The *shāligrām* stone is found in this river also. The Sarayu is sacred as the scene of the childish sports of Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*. On the banks of the Phalaku or Phalgu, Rāmachandra performed *Shrāddha* ceremonies in honour of his father Dasharath.⁵

¹ Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster Kotda-Sangani.

² Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster Dhhank.

³ The Schoolmaster of Luvania.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

* This happens every twelfth year. The year of *Sinhastha* i. e. the year when Brihaspati stands in the Sinha-rāshi, is the only one in which marriages among the Kadva Kunbis take place; and for this reason the smallest children in the community, sometimes even those who are in the womb, are married in this year.—Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

† The Saraswati is believed to be present, but invisible at this spot.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Upleta.

⁷ Mr. L. D. Mehta, Mota Devalia.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

A bath in the waters of a holy river washes off the sins of the bather.¹ It is also meritorious to repeat the names of the several holy rivers.² The performance of *Shrāddha* ceremonies on the banks of a holy river secures the felicity of deceased ancestors in heaven.¹ At the time of performing *Shrāddhas* at a holy place, Hindus shave their moustaches, bathe in the sacred waters, and then go through the necessary ceremonies, in the course of which *pindās* are offered to the *Pitars* (spirits of dead ancestors). Brahmans are feasted after the ceremonies, and *dakshina* is given to them.³ Tarpan or an offering of water with flowers, ointment, red lac, cocoanuts, and betel, is frequently made to the river on the banks of which the ceremonies are performed.⁴ The bones of a deceased person, left unburnt after cremation of the body, are gathered together and thrown into holy rivers such as the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Godāyari, for the purification of his soul.⁵

When heavy floods threaten a village or a city with serious injury, the king or the headman should go in procession to propitiate the river with flowers, cocoanuts, and other offerings in order that the floods may subside.⁶ A story is related of the occurrence of heavy floods in a village in the Jatalpur Taluka, when a certain lady placed an earthen vessel (ordinarily used for curdling milk), containing a ghi lamp, afloat on the floods, whereupon the waters were at once seen to recede.⁷

Besides the holy rivers, there are numerous *kunds* or sacred pools which are regarded with equal reverence, and in which a bath has the same efficacy for destroying sin. Similarly, they are equally suitable places for the performance of *Shrāddha* ceremonies.

These *kunds* are the subject of numerous beliefs, and each of them has a certain *māhātmya* or peculiar merit of its own. Six miles to the east of Dwārka, near the sea-coast, there is a *kund* called Pind-tārak, where many persons go to perform the *Shrāddha* and the Nārāyan-bali ceremonies. They first bathe in the *kund*: then, with its water, they prepare *pindās*, and place them in a metal dish: red lac is applied to the *pindās*, and a piece of cotton thread wound round them; the metal dish being then dipped in the *kund*, when the *pindās*, instead of sinking, are said to remain floating on the water. The process is believed to earn a good status for the spirits of departed ancestors in heaven.¹ It is further said that physical ailments brought on by the *avagati*—degradation or fallen condition—of ancestors in the other world, are remedied by the performance of *Shrāddha* on this *kund*.⁸

The Dāmodar *kund* is situated near Junāgadh. It is said that if the bones of a deceased person which remain unburnt after his cremation are dipped in this *kund*, the soul of that person obtains *moksha* (or final emancipation).¹

There is a *vāv* or reservoir on Mount Girnār, known as Rasakūpikā-vāv. It is believed that the body of a person bathing in it becomes as hard as marble, and that if a piece of stone or iron is dipped in the *vāv*, it is instantly transformed into gold. But the *vāv* is only visible to saints and sages who are gifted with a supernatural vision.⁹

Kāshīpuri (Benares) contains a *vāv* called Gyān-vāv, in which there is an image of Vishweshwar (the Lord of the universe, i.e., Shiva). A bath in the water from this *vāv* is believed to confer upon a person the gift of divine knowledge.¹

¹ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

² The Schoolmasters of Dhbank, Vanod, and Kolki.

³ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhbank, and the Headmistress of Gondal Girls' School.

⁶ Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwāh.

⁷ Mr. M. R. Raval.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.

⁹ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

In the village of Chunval, a few miles to the north of Viramgām, there is a *kund* known as Loteswar, near which stands a pipal tree. Persons possessed by ghosts or devils, are freed from possession by pouring water at the foot of the tree and taking turns round it, remaining silent the while.¹

A bath in the Mān-sarovar near Bahucharaji is said to cause the wishes of the bather to be fulfilled. There is a local tradition* that a Rajput woman was turned into a male Rajput of the Solanki class by a bath in its waters.¹

There is a *kund* called Zilāka near Zinzuwādā with a temple of Naleswar Mahādev near it. The *kund* is said to have been built at the time of King Nala. It is believed locally that every year, on the 15th day of the bright half of *Bhādrapad*, the holy Ganges visits the *kund* by an underground route. A great fair is held there on that day, when people bathe in the *kund* and give alms to the poor.² There is also another *kund* close by, known as Bholava, where the river Saraswati is believed to have halted and manifested herself on her way to the sea.³

There is a *kund* in Baladāna near Vadhwān, dedicated to Hol, the favourite *mātā* of the *Chārāns*. In this *kund*, black or red *gagar bediuns*—pieces of cotton thread—are sometimes seen floating in the water. They appear only for a moment, and sink if any one endeavours to seize them. The appearance of black pieces forebodes famine; but the red ones foretell prosperity.⁴

In Bhadakon near Chuda there is a *kund* called Garigavo. The place is celebrated as the spot of the hermitage of the sage Bhṛigu and a fair is held there annually on the last day of *Bhādrapad*.⁴

Persons anxious to attain heaven, bathe in the Mṛigi *kund* on Mount Gīrnār; and a bath in the Revati *kund*, which is in the same place, confers male issue on the bather.⁵ There is also a *kund* of the shape of an elephant's footprint *Pagahein* on Mount Gīrnār. It never empties and is held most sacred by pilgrims.⁶ People bathe in the Gomati *kund* near Dwārka and take a little of the earth from its bed, for the purification of their souls.⁷ In the village of Bābarā, Babhruvāhan, the son of Arjun, is said to have constructed several *kunds*, all of which are believed to be holy.⁶

The Lāsundra *kund* near Lāsundra in the Kaira District⁸ and the Tulsi-shyāma *kund* on Mount Gīrnār⁹ contain hot waters. There is also a hot *kund* called *Devki-unai*, about thirty miles to the south of Surat.⁸ There the waters remain hot throughout the whole of the year, except on the fifteenth day of the bright half of *Chaitra*. On this day, the waters cool, and people can bathe in the *kund*. Many pilgrims visit the place on this occasion, to offer money, coconuts, and red lac to the *unai mātā*, whose temple stands near the *kund*. It is said that King Rāma built this *kund* while performing a local sacrifice, and brought water up from the *pātāl* (nether regions) by shooting an arrow into the earth.¹⁰

Other holy *kunds* are: the Bhīm *kund*, the Gomukhi-gangā, and the Kamandalu *kund* on Mount Gīrnār near the temple of Bhīm-nāth Mahādeo; the Rādhā *kund*, the Lalita *kund*, and the Krishna-sarovar in Dwārka; the Rāma sarovar, the Sitā *kund* and the Devki-unai *kund* in Ayodhya (Oudh);¹¹ and the Suraj *kund*¹² and the Hanumāndhāra¹³ *kund* on Mount Gīrnār.

¹ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

² Mr. M. S. Shah, Zinzuwādā.

³ The Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Khirasarā.

⁵ Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodā.

⁶ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka.

⁸ Mr. M. H. Raval, Vanod.

⁹ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

¹⁰ Mr. L. D. Metha, Mota Devalia.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster of Lewaria.

¹² Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹³ The Schoolmaster of Moti Murad.

* See P. 42.

Waterfalls are not very familiar to the people of Gujarāt. There is a belief, however, that barren couples obtain issue if they bathe in a waterfall, and offer a cocoanut.¹

If a river source issues from an opening, in the shape of a *go-mukh* (cow's-mouth), the stream is called *dhodh*, and is considered as sacred as the holy Ganges. A bath in such a *dhodh* has the same efficacy for absolving persons from their sins.²

When a person dies an accidental death and before the fulfilment of his worldly desires, his soul receives *avagati* (i.e., passes into a degraded or fallen condition), and it is not released from this state till *Shrāddhas* have been duly performed in its name, and the objects of its desire dedicated to it with proper ritual. The same fate befalls those souls which do not receive the funeral *pindas* with the proper obsequies. Such fallen souls become ghosts and goblins,³ and are to be found where water is, i. e., near a well, a tank, or a river.³

Those who meet death by drowning become goblins, residing near the scene of their death, and are a source of danger to all who approach the water; for instance, in Monāpuri and Sāsai, there are two *ghunas* (mysterious watery pits) haunted by *bhuts* (ghosts) which take the lives of one or two buffaloes every year.⁴ *Mātāsī* and *Shankhinis* also haunt wells, springs, and tanks and either drown, or enter the persons of, those who go near their resorts.

Persons who are possessed in this manner, can be freed by *bhuvās*,⁵ who give them a magic thread to wear.⁵

There is a *vāv* called *Nīlkanth vāv* near Movaiya, in which a pinjari (a female cotton-carder) is said to have been drowned, and to have been turned into a ghost, in which form she occasionally presents herself to the people.⁶

Another ghost haunts an old *vāv*, called *Madhā*, in *Vadhvān* and drowns one human being every third year as a victim. But a male spirit named *Kshetrapāl* resides in the *kotha* (or entrance) of the *vāv*, and saves those who fall near the entrance. A person is, however, sure to be drowned if he falls in any other part of the *vāv*.⁷ A ghost also resides in the *vāv* at *Hampar* near *Dhrāngadhra* and terrifies the people at times.⁷

The goddess *Rainadevi* resides in water, and is worshipped by virgins on the fifteenth day of the bright half of *Ashādh*, when they grow *javālās* (tender wheat-plants) in an earthen vessel and present them to her, remaining awake for the whole of the night to sing songs in her honour.²

Daryā-Pir, the patron of *Luvānās* (merchants) and *Khārvās* (sailors), resides in the sea; and vows are observed in his honour by these people on the second day of the bright half of every month, when they pass a little water through his sieve.⁸

¹ The Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ D. K. Pandya, Dhhank; the Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala and the Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.

⁴ Mr. L. D. Mehta, Devalia.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka and the Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Movaiya.

⁷ N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

* There are several species of *bhuts* and *prets*—ghosts and goblins—thus, for instance, *Jalachar*, i. e., those who live in water; *Agnichar*, i. e., those found in fire; *Bhuchar*, i. e., those hovering on the earth; *Gaganachar*, i. e., those moving in ethereal regions, *Manushyachar*, i. e., those moving among men; *Khagachar* or those moving among birds, and *Pashuchar*, i. e., those living among beasts. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

† Vide page 1.

It is well known that a drowning person clings fast to anyone who tries to save him, and endangers the lives of both himself and his saviour.¹ It is also believed by some people that the messengers of Varuna (the lord of all waters) seize those persons who bathe in a river earlier than the usual hour in the morning; and the act of saving a drowning person thus deprives Varuna of his victim, and brings down the wrath of that deity.²

Sometimes, for the sake of *moksha*, a person takes *samādhi* (i. e., drowns himself with a religious motive) in a holy river, such as the Ganges or the Jumna. In such a case the relatives and other persons refrain from interference and do not try to rescue the person.³

When a well is to be dug, an expert is first called to select a likely spot on which to dig. A Brahman is then consulted as to the auspicious hour on which the work of digging should be commenced.⁴ For this purpose, Tuesdays and those days on which the earth sleeps are to be avoided. The earth is supposed to be asleep on the following six days in every month, namely: the 1st, the 7th, the 9th, the 10th, the 14th and the 24th days following a *sankrānti* (i. e., the day on which the sun crosses from one constellation to another). Excluding these days, a date is generally fixed on which the *Chandra-graha* (or the planet moon) is favourable to the constructor of the well.⁵

On the appointed day, the expert, the constructor of the well, the Brahman priest, and the labourers go to the place where the well is to be dug, and an image of the god Ganpati—the protector of all auspicious ceremonies—is first installed on the spot and worshipped with *pañchāmrit*.⁶ A green coloured piece of *atlas* (silk cloth), about

two feet long, is then spread on the spot, and a pound and a quarter of wheat, a cocoanut, betels, dates and copper coin are placed on it. A copper bowl containing some silver or gold coins and filled with water, is also placed there; the mouth of the bowl is covered with the leaves of the Ashoka tree (*Jonesia Asoka*) and a cocoanut is placed over the leaves. After this, the priest recites sacred hymns and asks his host to perform the *khātī* ceremonies.⁷ Among favourite offerings to Ganpati and the earth in the course of worship and in the performance of the *khātī* ceremonies are: curds, milk, honey, molasses, cocoanuts, *dhanā* (a kind of spices), leaves of *nāgarvel* (a kind of creeper) and red lac.⁸ The expert who is called to choose a proper site for the well offers frankincense and a cocoanut to the spot, and lights a lamp thereon. After the *khātī* ceremonies are over, the host distributes sugar or molasses among the by-standers, and offers a sum of money to the expert, who usually refuses it, asking the host to spend it in charity. Those who accept money give away a part of it in alms to the poor.⁹

Sometimes, to secure the unobstructed completion of the work, the god Ganpati and the goddess Jaladevi are installed and worshipped daily, till water appears in the well.¹⁰ Some people, however, install the goddess Jaladevi after the appearance of water, when a stone is taken out from the bottom of the well and is plastered with red lead to represent the goddess and is ceremoniously worshipped. When the construction of the well is complete, *vāstu*, i. e., the ceremony in vogue after the completion of a new building or *jalotsava* (the water-festival) is celebrated, Brahmans being entertained at a feast, with *dakshina* given.¹¹

¹ N. D. Vera, Rajpara.

² D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

³ The Schoolmasters of Dhbank and Pātanvā.

⁴ The Schoolmasters of Ganod and Dadvi.

⁵ A mixture of milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar.

⁶ Rich persons use silver or golden spades and hoes when turning up the first clod of earth.

⁷ The Schoolmasters of Vanod and Kolki.

⁸ H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

⁹ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

¹⁰ Vide page 29.

The water of the Krukālas well in the island of Shankhodwar is believed to cure fever and diseases caused by morbid heat. A draught of the water of the Gomukhigangā near Gīrnar, makes one proof against an attack of cholera.¹

The water of a *gozarā* well (i. e., a well which is polluted on account of a person being drowned in it) cures children of bronchitis and cough.^{2*}

There is a well near Ramdorana, of which the water is effective against cough,³ and the water of the Bhamario well near Vasāwad possesses the same virtue.⁴

The water of the Mrigi kund near Junagadh remedies leprosy.⁵

The Pipli well near Zālāwad and the Detroja-vāv near Kolki are well-known for the stimulative effect of their waters on the digestion.⁶

If a dark stone is found in the course of digging a well, the water of that well is believed to have medicinal properties.⁶

The birth of a child under the *mul nak-shatra* endangers the life of its father: but the misfortune is averted if the child and its parents bathe in water drawn from one hundred and eight wells.¹ Such water, if swallowed, is said to cure *sanipāt* or delirium.⁷

In the island of Shial there is a vāv called Thān-vāv, where mothers, who cannot suckle their children for want of milk, wash their bodices. When they afterwards wear these bodices, these are believed to be able to cause the due secretion of milk.⁸

The most famous of the sacred lakes are Pampa†, Bindu†, Pushkar and Sāmbhar near Ajmere, Mān-sarovar near Bahucharāji,

Nārāyan-sarovar in Cutch, Rāvanrhad in the Himālayas, and Rāmarhad. The following popular myth is related about Mān-sarovar.

Two kings once agreed that the two children that should first be born to them should marry each other. But it happened that both the kings had daughters. One of them, however, concealed the fact, and gave out that the child born to him was a son. So that when the children attained a marriagable age, they were married to each other according to the agreement.

But the wife found out the secret when she went to stay with her supposed husband, and disclosed it to her parents, who invited the counterfeit son-in-law to their house with the object of ascertaining the truth. The alleged son, however, suspected the design and fled, with a mare and a bitch. On arriving near Mān-sarovar, the animals went into the lake in order to refresh themselves, when there was an immediate transformation; and the bitch and the mare came out a dog and a horse. On observing this miracle, their mistress followed their example and was also turned into a male. The story is still sung by girls in a *garabi* (song) during the *Navarātra* holidays.⁹

There is a belief that the ancient golden city of Dwārka, the capital of god Krishna, still exists in the sea, although it is invisible to the eyes of mortals.¹⁰ A story is told of a man named Pipo Bhagat who, once perceiving a golden bowl floating in the sea, plunged into the water and saw the golden palaces of Dwārka and god Krishna resting therein. It is said that he returned with the tide and related his experience to several people.¹⁰

¹ B. K. Dave, Kotda, Sangani.

² The Schoolmaster of Upleta.

³ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Pātānvāv.

⁵ Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

⁶ It is a common practice to bring a small circular piece of an earthen vessel from the neighbourhood of such a well and to hang it by a piece of string round the neck of a child to cure it of *hadakhi-udharas* or strong cough.—K. D. Desai.

† Pampa is described in the *Rāmāyana* as being situated in the Dandaka forest, i. e., in the Deccan, and seems to be the modern Hampi in Bellary district.

‡ Perha ps the one in Sidrapur—K. T. G.

⁷ The schoolmasters of Limbdi and Chhatrasa.

⁸ The schoolmaster of Mota Devalia.

⁹ D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

¹⁰ G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

¹⁰ The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

Similarly, the golden Lanka of Rāvan is still believed to exist under the sea, ruled over by Bibhishan, the brother of Rāvan, and visible only to the eyes of saints and holy persons.¹ It is a common belief that the nether regions are inhabited by a species of semi-divine beings, half men and half serpents, called Nāgs, who possess magnificent palaces under the water.² The story of Kāliya Nāg, who resided at the bottom of the Jumna and was driven from that place by Krishna, is well known.³ There are a number of mythological traditions in the *Purānas* of kings and princes having visited these palaces in watery regions, and of their having brought back beautiful *Nāgakanyās* (daughters of Nāgs) therefrom.⁴ For instance, Arjuna married a *Nāgakanyā* named Ulupi when he was living in exile with his brothers. He also stayed for some time with the Nāgs.

Ghosts and demons sometimes inhabit palaces under the water. Deep waters, unfrequented by men, are the favourite resorts of such beings.⁵

The god Varuna resides in the waters, and is said to have once carried off Nand (the adoptive father of Krishna) to his watery abode, for having bathed in the Jumna before dawn.⁶

Kālindi, the daughter of the king of the Kalingas, practised religious austerities in a palace under the waters of the Jumna with the object of securing a suitable husband. Krishna, on being informed of this by Arjuna, went to the place and married her.⁷

There is a story in the *Purānas* that a king, named Nandrāj, used to bury his treasures in the sea with the assistance of a *mani* (jewel) which furnished a safe passage through the water. The *mani* was in the

end burnt by the queen of Nandrāj and the treasure still lies hidden in the waters of the sea.⁸

It is narrated in the fourth chapter of *Bhāgvat-parān* that the ten thousand sons of Prachetas used to reside in palaces built under water.⁹

Mountains are held to be sacred in a variety of circumstances; thus some are valued for possessing medicinal drugs: some are revered as the birthplaces of the gods, or as the residences of saints: some for possessing many *tīrthas* (holy spots): some because they were visited by Rāma or the Pāndavas: some serve as guardians of the four quarters: and some contain the sources of holy rivers.

Both the important ranges of the Presidency, the Sahyādri and the Sātpuda, are subjects of veneration in the popular mind. The Himālayas, the Vindhya Mountains, and the Nilgiris command special respect. Other sacred mountains are Girnār and Shetrunja in Kāthiawār, Mount Abu, Pāvāgad, near Baroda, Brahmagiri Arāsur, Tryambak near Nasik, Koyalo, Govardhan near Matnūrā, Revatāchal near Dwārka, and Hinglaj in Sind.

It is said that in ancient times there were deep miry ditches where Girnār and Abu stand at present. One day a cow belonging to the sage Vasishtha fell into one of them and was found by Kacha, the son of Brihaspati, after a long search. When the incident was brought to the notice of Vasishtha, he requested Meru (a mythical mountain) to send his two sons Girnār and Abu to occupy and fill the ditches. Girnār required sixty-eight *tīrthas* to accompany him; and the boon was granted by the gods.¹⁰

¹ The Schoolmasters of Dadvi and Kolki.

² H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

³ Jaiaram Vasaram, Jodia.

⁴ N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

⁵ The Schoolmasters of Dhank, Moti Parabadi, and Luvāria.

⁶ D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Khirasara.

⁹ The Deputy Educational Inspector of Halar.

Girnār is one of the seven great mountains which once possessed wings.^{1*} It is also known as the place where the sage Dattātraya performed religious austerities.² The place is so holy that any person dying within a radius of twelve *gaus*† from it is believed to attain *moksha*.³ A visit to the temples on Girnār absolves one from all sins; and taking a turn round Girnār and Shetrunja is said to bring good fortune.⁴ Bhagwān manifests himself to those who ascend the Bhairavajaya summit on Girnār. There is a rock on this mountain of which it is said that those who cast themselves from it directly attain heaven.⁵

Pāvāgad is known for the temple of Mahākālī Mātā. It is said that King Patai once propitiated her by austerities, and on being desired to demand a boon, asked the goddess to accompany him to his palace. The goddess was highly incensed at this request, and promptly destroyed him.⁶

Hanūmān, the monkey-god, once promised to take the Mountain Govardhan to meet Rāma. It is well known how the monkey allies of Rāma constructed a bridge of rocks across the sea to Lanka, and how Hanūmān supplied the requisite material by fetching huge mountains. Whilst engaged on this work, he was one day carrying the Govardhan mountain to the site of the bridge, when Rāma issued an order that all monkeys who were fetching mountains should deposit their burdens at the spot where they stood at the moment of the order. Hanūmān

could not disobey the order of his lord, and he had accordingly to drop the Govardhan mountain near Mathurā. In order to fulfil Hanūmān's promise, however, Vishnu held the mountain over his head for seven days, at the time of his Krishna incarnation.⁷

It is said that the inhabitants of the districts round Govardhan formerly revered and adored Indra. But Krishna condemned this custom, and introduced the worship of Govardhan. Indra was exasperated at this conduct, and poured tremendous rains on Gokul in order to drown Krishna and his followers. But Krishna held up the Govardhan mountain on his little finger and sheltered all his people under its cover. The mountain was supported in this manner for seven days, by the end of which the rains subsided and Indra confessed himself vanquished. Even now Vaishnavas form an image of Govardhan out of mud and worship it on the *Janmāshṭamī* day (i.e., the eighth day of the dark half of Shrāvan).⁸

The Oshama Hill near Pātanvār (in the jurisdiction of Gondal) is noted for the beautiful temples of Tapakeshwar, Mahādev and Mātari Mātā. It is said that Bhīma‡ the second of the five Pāndavas, first met the giantess Hidimbā, on this hill.⁷ The charcoal-like stones which are dug out in numbers from this hill are believed by the people to have been blackened by the blood of the giant Hidimb, the brother of Hidimbā who was killed by Bhīma.⁸

¹ The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.

² The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

³ The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

⁴ The Schoolmasters of Kotda-Sangani, Vanod, and Luvaria.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

² The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Patanvār.

* All mountains once possessed wings and caused much havoc when they flew about. So Indra clipped their wings with his thunderbolt and they are lying motionless since.—K. D. Desai.

† Three-fourths of a *gau*—one mile.

‡ After the conflagration of Lakshabhuvan, the Pāndavas escaped to the Hidimba Forest. There one day, in his excursions, Bhīma came across the giantess Hidimbā sitting on a see-saw. On her offering to marry him if he succeeded in swinging her see-saw, he is said to have swung it so high in the skies that one could even see the stars during daytime.—K. D. Desai.

Mount Shetrunja (or Shatrunjaya) possesses numerous Jain shrines and attracts thousands of pilgrims every year. The hearts of all pilgrims are believed to be purified from the moment they come within six miles of the mountain.¹

Mount Abu possesses the temple of Ambā Mātā where Krishna's hair was clipped for the first time.² Tryambak is known for the temple of Tryambakeshwar and the source of the holy Godāvari.³ About Revatāchal, it is said that the mountain was golden in ancient times.⁴ In the Vindhya Mountains is situated the famous temple of Omkār Mandhātā.⁵ The hermitage of Kākbhushundi in the Nilgiris was visited by Rāma when he listened to the religious stories read out by that sage. The sage Agastya also is said to have resided in these mountains.⁶

The temple of Hinglaj stands on a hill which is situated at a distance of eighteen days' journey by road from Karachi. The Mātā is ministered to by a Musalman and the place is mostly visited by *Atits*, *Bāvās*, *Khatri*, *Chhipas*, *Mochis*, and other low-caste Hindus. On occasions the doors of the temple spontaneously open, and after the devotees have visited the Mātā, they again shut in the same mysterious manner.⁷

As the abode of Shiva and as containing the sources of the holiest of rivers, the Himālayas are the most sacred of all mountains, and possess many holy places of pilgrimage, such as Badrinārāyan, Kedārnāth, Hardwār, etc. Badrinārāyan is the favourite resort of those who have relinquished the world and who only wish to meditate on the Divine Being. The sages Nara and Nārāyan are said to have performed religious austerities in this place, and eighty-eight thousand *rishis* (sages) are believed to be similarly occupied

there to-day. Owing to the excessive cold, the place is extremely difficult to reach. Pilgrims carry burning hearths with them to protect themselves against cold. Besides, it is necessary to cross the Pathar-nadi (or stony river), of which the water, if touched, turns one into stone. The method of crossing this river is to suspend *sikāns* or slings above its water and to swing from one sling to another.⁷

A hill called Swargārohan is believed to be twenty miles to the north of Badrikedārnāth and is said to lead to heaven. In ancient times the Pāndavas had repaired to this place in order to do penance for the sin of having killed their kinsmen in the Great War. But when they tried to ascend to heaven by the Swargārohan Hill, only Yudhishthir and his faithful dog were able to reach their goal; the rest were frozen in the snow.⁷

Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Shiva, is supposed to be situated in the northern part of the Himālayas. The mountain is described as always covered with verdure and full of beautiful gardens and of palaces made of jewels, with roads paved with golden dust and *sphatika-mani* (crystal stone).⁷ It is said that Rāvan, the king of Lankā, once uprooted this mountain and held it on the palm of his hand, in order to display his prowess. The demon Bhasmāsūr, who was enamoured of the goddess Pārvati, is said to have performed the same feat in order to frighten Shiva.³

Another mythical mountain is Meru, which is supposed to occupy the centre of the earth.* The sun, the moon, and all the planets revolve round this mountain, and it therefore plays an important part in the causation of day and night. For night falls on one side of the earth when the sun goes

¹ The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

² The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

³ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

⁴ M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

* The earth is believed to be flat like a dish and to consist of seven large islands, which are compared to the seven petals of a lotus.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

⁶ R. B. Dave.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Luvania.

to the other side of Meru; and the day begins when the sun emerges from that side of the mountain. Meru is sixty-eight thousand *yojans** in height and penetrates the earth to the depth of sixteen thousand *yojans*. Its eastern side appears white, the southern is yellow, the western is black, and the northern red. The mountain is also believed to consist of gold and gems. The Ganges, in her fall from the heavens, is said to have descended first on the top of this mountain and then to have flowed in four streams in four directions. The southern stream is known as the Ganges; the northern, in Tartary, is called Bhadrāsoma; the eastern is the same as the Sitā; and the western is named Chax or the Oxus. The top of this mountain is believed to be inhabited by gods, *gandharvas* (celestial musicians) and *rishis* (sages).¹ According to the *Yoga-vāsishtha*, there is a *kalpa-vriksha*† on the Lalmani summit of Meru, where a *rishi* named Bhu-shundkāk is engaged in devotional prayers since time immemorial.² The Purānas declare that Vaivasvat Manu, the first man, resided near Meru, and that his descendants migrated to Ayodhyā to found there a kingdom which was afterwards ruled over by Rāma.³

It is believed by some people that mountain-tops are inhabited by a class of recluses, called Aghori-bavas, who devour human beings.⁴ The Kālikā hill near Girnār is believed to be frequented by *Joganis* (female harpies) who take the lives of visitors to the hill, and it is said that none who visits the place is ever known to return.⁵ Persons who visit the temple of Kalikāmātā on Mount Girnār always lose one of their party, who falls a victim to the goddess.⁶

The changes in the seasons are attributed by some to Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesha (Shiva), the gods of the Hindu Trinity. Brahma sends down the rains and produces corn, grass, etc., Vishnu protects and nourishes the harvests in winter, and Shiva causes the heat of the summer.⁷ There is also a belief that these three gods go down in turns to the *pātāl* (nether regions) and stay there for four months. Vishnu descends on the eleventh day of the bright half of Āshādh, and on that day the rainy season begins. When Vishnu comes up and Shiva takes his place, people experience the cold of winter: but as this god always keeps a *dhuni*‡ burning near him, the waters under the surface of the earth, such as those in the wells, remain hot during this period. Such waters are cooled when Shiva returns and Brahma goes down to the *pātāl*: but the return of Shiva causes summer on the earth.⁸

According to another belief, the sequence of the seasons is controlled by the sun-god.⁹ There are six *ritus* or seasons; and the changes in the *ritus* depend upon the position of the sun in the twelve *rāshis* or signs of the Zodiac.¹⁰ Each *ritu* lasts for a period of two months, during which time the sun travels through two *rāshis*. *Vasant-ritu* is the period which the sun takes to pass through the *Min* (Pisces) and *Mesha* (Aries) *rāshis*. *Grishma-ritu* corresponds to the time during which the sun passes through *Vrishabha* (Taurus) and *Mithun* (Gemini). During *Varshā-ritu* the sun moves through the signs *Karka* (Cancer) and *Sinha* (Leo), and during *Sharad-ritu* through *Kanyā* (Virgo) and *Tulā* (Libra). *Hemant-ritu* is the time which the sun takes to travel through

¹ M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

² The Schoolmaster of Limbdi.

³ The Schoolmasters of Dhbank and Sānkā.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Mendardā.

⁵ The Shastri of Jetpur, Pāthāshalā.

† A magic tree, supposed to grant all desires.

⁷ D. K. Pandya, Dhbank.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Upleta.

⁹ The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwādī.

¹⁰ The Schoolmasters of Dhbank and Gondal Taluka.

* One *yojan*=eight miles.

‡ Fire used for the purposes of smoking.

Vrishchika (Scorpio) and *Dhanu* (Sagittarius). *Shishir-ritu* occurs when the sun stands in the *Makar* (Capricornus) and *Kumbha* (Aquarius) *rāshis*.¹

Indra (the god of rain), Varuna (the lord of all waters), Vāyu (the god of wind), Agni (the god of fire), and the moon-god are also believed by some to have power over the seasons.²

The belief is as old as the *Vedas* that demons sometimes obstruct the fall of rain, and confine the waters of the clouds. It is Indra who fights with them and breaks through their castles by means of his thunderbolt, sending down showers of rain for the benefit of his worshippers. So, whenever there is an unusual drought, people still invoke the aid of this god, and celebrate a festival in his honour, called *Ujjani* or *Indramahotsava*. *Homas** are performed to propitiate the god, and Brahmins are entertained at a feast. Sometimes the festival is celebrated outside the village, where people go in large parties to dine together. The usual dish on such an occasion is *Meghladu* or sweet balls of wheat-flour fried in *ghi*.

Another favourite ceremony supposed to cause rain to fall is the submersion of the image of Shiva in water, by blocking up the *khāl* or passage in the *Shiva-linga* by which water poured over the image usually runs off.² This ceremony is known as *Jala-jatra*, *Rudrābhishheka*, or the ceremony of pouring water in a constant stream over the image of Shiva for eleven consecutive days and nights, is sometimes performed with the same object.³

Sometimes the assistance of Shringhi *rishi* is invoked to bring about a fall of rain. The *rishi* is installed in water, mantras are

recited, and prayers are offered before a sacrificial fire. This ceremony, called *Parjanya-shānti*, is said to have been performed within recent years in Bombay, and to have been successful in bringing rain.⁴

It is also said that rainfall can be caused by singing a song or a sacred hymn to the *malār* tune. There is a tradition that the well-known saint Narsinha Mehta once sang this tune on the occasion of the celebration of the first pregnancy of his daughter, and the performance was immediately followed by a shower of rain. Rain, which is brought down in this manner, can be put a stop to by singing to a different tune.⁵

Low-caste women have recourse to the following expedient to bring rain. Five or six of them place a quantity of muddy earth on a wooden stool, which is carried by one of them. The lump of mud is covered with leaves of the *Gidotān* or *Tindotān* creeper, and is called *mehulo* or *meghalo*. The whole party then sing songs, and visit every house in the village. A bowl of water is poured over the *mehulo* and the women receive some corn for their trouble.⁶

Some believe that when the worship of the village-gods is neglected and when the people grow corrupt, ill-treat the saints and are given to the killing of cows and Brahmins, Yama, the God of Death, directs his colleagues, Indra and Varuna, to threaten the world with a drought. The rainfall returns only when the people revert to righteous ways, and after Indra and Varuna have been conciliated by offerings.

The lower classes of the people believe a prolonged cessation of rain to be due to the wrath of local minor deities, aroused by the neglect of their worship. In such a contingency, therefore, they prepare *bāklant* of

¹ K. D. Desai.

² D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

³ The Schoolmaster of Upleta.

⁴ The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad and K. D. Desai.

⁵ Offering oblations to gods by throwing *ghi* into the consecrated fire.

⁶ A flat round loaf, about two to four inches in diameter, prepared from the flour of *adāḍ*.

⁵ N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

adād (lentils), *lapsi*,* *vadānt* and other dishes, and offer them to the local gods for their propitiation.¹

To stop an incessant fall of rain, people often observe the *Aladrā* vow. The *patel* or headman issues a proclamation that on a particular day none should cook, or churn whey, or fetch water, or wash clothes, or attend to any of the multifarious household duties: but that all should pass the day in prayer. A complete cessation from toil in favour of earnest devotion to divine powers are the peculiar features of this vow. People do not abstain from food: but food must be prepared on the previous day. If the rains do not cease in spite of this vow, but threaten the village with inundation, the headman leads a procession to the confines of the village and makes an offering to the waters.²

In some places a spinning wheel, sometimes specially constructed of human bones,³ is turned by a naked person in the reverse direction to the usual one, with the object of causing the cessation of immoderate rainfall.⁴

A cessation of rains is also believed to be brought about by offering an oblation to the god *Kasatia*, and by the observance of the vow called *Kasatia gānth* (or tying the knot of *Kasatia*). The vow lasts for three weeks, and those who observe it do not partake of anything except rice⁵ (or, according to others, *jirān*, a kind of spice⁶).

Some persons attribute a heavy fall of rain to the wrath of *Indra*, and offer ceremonious prayers to appease that god.⁷ In

some places people engage the services of magicians to restrain the fall of rain.⁸ Farmers sometimes brand the rain by casting burning sparks upon it in order to stop an incessant fall.⁹ Vows in honour of *samudra* (the ocean) are also observed with the same object.³

In the changing circumstances of life, women more readily have recourse to religious vows for the fulfilment of their wishes than men. This fondness of women for vows has brought into vogue a number of *vrats* or religious observances which are practised by women only. *Gangigor* or *Ganāgor*, *Vat-Sāvitri*, *Molākat*, *Goutrāt*, *Alavana* or *Alunda*, *Eva-vrat*, *Tulsi-vrat*, *Umā mhasheshwar-vrat*, and *Surya-vrat* are instances of such vows.¹ The *Molākat-vrat* is observed by virgins from the eleventh to the fifteenth day of the bright half of *Ashādh*.¹⁰ The *Goutrāt-vrat* is believed to secure male progeny, as well as long life to the husband. It is observed on the fourth day of the dark half of *Shrāvana* on which day women fast till the evening, and then take food after worshipping a cow.¹¹ The object of the *Eva-vrat* (or *Jiva vrat*) is to secure eternal exemption from widowhood, the day for this vow being the last day of *Āshādh*. It is then necessary to observe a fast till the evening; and the only food allowed is a preparation of wheat, taken at nightfall.¹²

On the fourth day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*, women observe a *vrat* called *Bolchoth*. In the morning the woman worships

¹ K. D. Desai.

² The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.

³ The Shastri of Jetpur, Pāthashālā and the Schoolmaster of Vanod.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Mota Dewalis. According to him, the same vow is also observed to bring about a rainfall.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁶ The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

⁸ Coarse wheat-flour fried in *ghī* and sweetened with sugar or molasses.

⁹ Bean-flour, generally of gram or peas, is allowed to remain in water with spices, until the paste acquires a sufficient degree of consistency, when it is rolled into small biscuit-sized balls and fried in sweet oil.

¹⁰ M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

¹¹ D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

¹² The Schoolmaster of Vanod.

¹⁰ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

¹² The Schoolmaster of Mendarda.

a cow and her calf (which must both be of the same colour), applies a little cotton to the horns of the cow, and makes an auspicious mark on the foreheads of both with red lac. She then places an offering of betel and rice before the cow, takes four turns round the pair, and whispers in the ears of the cow the words *tārun satya mārūn vṛitya* (your truth and my devotion). A Brāhman then recites the legend of the *vrat*.^{*}

After narrating this story, the Brahman takes the betel and other things placed before the cow. The woman then returns home and takes food for the first time during that day, the meal consisting of loaves of *bājṛā*-flour and some preparation of *mag* (*phaselus mungo*). Some women take *ghi* and *khir*: but any preparation of cow's milk is strictly forbidden. Similarly, there is a prohibition against using things which have been cut by a knife or scissors.¹

The worship of the goddess Rāṇḍal is a favourite *vrat* with Gujarati women. A bower is erected for the installation of the goddess, and a *bājat* or a wooden stool is placed therein. A piece of fine cloth is spread on the *bājat*, and a figure is drawn in seeds of corn. A *kalasio* or bowl, with a cocoanut on it, is placed over the figure. The cocoanut has two eyes painted on it in black collyrium and a nose in red lac, and is decorated with rich clothes and ornaments to represent the goddess Rāṇḍal. Ghi lamps are kept constantly burning before the goddess for three consecutive days and nights. An invitation is sent to the neighbouring

women, who bring offerings of ghi to the goddess, and dance in a group at night to the accompaniment of melodious *garabis* (songs).² Sometimes, if a child is ill, or some misfortune is apprehended, *gorānis*, i.e., a certain number of unmarried girls and unwidowed women, are invited to a feast in honour of Rāṇḍal.

On the *Nāgapanchami* day, i.e., the 5th day of the bright half of *Shrāvan*,† women draw an image of a *nāg* (cobra), and worship it with sprouts of *bājṛā*. In some places it is the custom to avoid all food but *khichedī*‡ on this day.

The *wad* (the banyan tree) is worshipped on the first day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*. On that day the woman wears a necklace of fifteen leaves of this tree and prepares a dish called *navamuthium*.§ A *dorā* or piece of string is also worn on the person toward off evil.²

Rishi-panchami, *Gauri-pujan*, *Shitalāi-pujan*, *Shilī-sātem* are holidays observed only by women. On the *Rishi-panchami* day only *niar*¶ rice is allowed to those who observe the *vrat*.⁴

Besides the observance of *vrats*, there are other ceremonies, auspicious as well as inauspicious, in which women alone can take part. Only women are concerned with all those ceremonies which are gone through on the birth of a child. On the twelfth day after birth, a name is given to the child by its aunt. The ceremony of making an auspicious mark on the throne of a king is performed by an unwidowed woman or an unmarried girl.⁵

¹ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

² The Schoolmaster of Surel.

³ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

^{*} The story tells how a woman and her daughter-in-law, intending to observe this vow, killed and cooked a calf by mistake: covered with shame, they locked themselves up in their house, and refused admission to the neighbours, to whom they confessed their crime. On searching for the ren ains of the calf, the neighbours discovered that it had been miraculously restored to life.—R. E. E.

† Some observe the *Nāgapanchami* on the fifth day of the bright half of *Bhādrapad*.

‡ A mixture of rice and pulse treated with spices and cooked in water.

§ A preparation of nine handfuls of wheat.

¶ A kind of rice grown without ploughing.

² The Schoolmasters of Vanod and Kolki.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.

¶ Vide Page 24.

At the time of a marriage, women make the auspicious mark on the forehead of the bridegroom and carry a *lāman-divo** to fetch *ukardi*.* For nine days preceding the date of marriage the bride and the bridegroom are besmeared with *pithi* or yellow turmeric powder, when auspicious songs are recited by a party of women invited to witness the ceremony. When the bridegroom reaches the entrance of the marriage bower, he is welcomed there by his mother-in-law, who carries him on her hip to his seat in the marriage booth.¹

It is necessary to make certain marks on the corpse of a woman, and these marks are made by women only.² Similarly, women alone take part in the ceremony of getting a widow's hair shaved on the ninth day after her husband's death.³

The *Shāstras* have enjoined the worship of certain higher-grade deities, and have prescribed certain ceremonials for the purpose. But women are not authorised to make use of these ceremonies. The reason is that the *Shāstras* regard women as inferior to men and do not grant them the privileges given to the latter. They are not allowed to learn the *Vedas* nor can the *Gāyatri-mantra* be taught to them. The result is that women are not qualified to perform the ceremonial worship of such higher-grade deities as Vishnu, Shiva, Durgā, Ganpati, and Hanumān;⁴ similarly the sacrificial rites of

Vishnuyāg, *Shaktiyāg*, *Ashvamedha*, *Rājajajna*, and *Gāyatri-purashcharan* can only be performed by men.⁵

It is the duty of men only to worship the *shami* tree (*prosopis spicigera*) on the *Dasarā* day, and the *Hutāshani* fire on the day of *Holi*.⁶

Women are not allowed to worship the god Kārtikey, who is said to shun women, and to have pronounced a curse against all who visit his image.⁷

The fifteenth day of the bright half of *Chaitra* is the anniversary of the birth of Hanumān, and a *vrat* called *Hanumānjayanti* is observed on this day. This *vrat*,⁸ as well as the *Ganesh-chaturthi-vrat*⁹ are meant only for men.

The ceremonies of *Shrāddha*† and the *Baleva*¹⁰ ceremonies can be performed by men only. The duty of giving *agni-sanskār*¹¹ to corpses, i.e., of performing the necessary rites at a funeral, is also laid on men.

People who practise the art of attaining mastery over spirits and fiends, usually remain naked while they are engaged in the performance of their mysterious rites. There are many branches of this black art: for instance, *Māran*,¹² *Uchchātān*,¹³ *Lamban*, *Vashikaran*,¹⁴ *Mohan*,¹⁵ *Stambhan*,¹⁶ etc., and although the *melī vidyā* (sacrilegious art) is not held in respect by high-class Hindus, it is popular among the lower

¹ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

² The Schoolmaster of Zaramā-Zaravā.

³ The Schoolmaster of Kolki and the Head-Mistress of Rajkot Civil Station Girls' School.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Surel.

⁶ The art of taking the life of a person by means of a magical process called *muth-mūravī*. The victim of this process suddenly vomits blood and loses his life, unless the evil influence is counteracted by another sorcerer.—B. K. Dave, Kotda Sangani.

⁷ Causing a person to leave his business by making him disgusted with it, by means of magical spells.

⁸ The art of so influencing the conduct of a person as to bring him perfectly under control.

⁹ Bewildering an enemy by means of magical charms.

¹⁰ The suppression of any force or feeling by magical means.

* The mother of the bride, accompanied by other women who sing songs on the way, carries an iron lamp to the village-boundary, and from that place the party bring earth to erect the altars on which sacrificial fires are burnt. The lamp is called *lāman-divo* and the earth which is brought is called *ukardi*.—K. D. Desai.

† Vide question 10.

¹¹ Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

¹² The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

¹³ Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

classes. There is a belief that knowledge of this art dooms a person to hell; but it secures to those who master it a position of much importance, and therefore finds many followers. The art consists in the knowledge of certain mysterious incantations, which enable a person to influence the spirits and to bring about certain results through their agency. Not only has every person when learning this art, to remain naked, but all those who make *prayogas* or experiments in it afterwards must observe the same precaution. The night of *Kāli-chaudas* or the 14th day of the dark half of *Ashvin*, is considered to be the most favourable time for the *sādhana* or accomplishment of this secret art of remaining naked.¹ On this day, it is the custom of those who exercise the art, to go stripped to a cemetery in the dead of night, and to cook food in a human skull as an offering to the spirits residing in the neighbourhood. On the same night, some sorcerers, after stripping themselves, are said to ride round the village on some mysterious conveyance.²

A practice is noted among low-class people of performing a *sādhana* before the goddess *Jhāmpadi* for the sake of progeny. The man who performs the *sādhana*, has first to go naked to a cemetery on a Sunday night, and to fetch therefrom the ashes of a corpse. At the time of the *sādhana*, the man takes his seat on a corpse, fills a *madaliun* or hollow bracelet with the ashes brought from the cemetery, and puts it on his arm above the elbow.³

Dhobis, *Mālis*, *Vālands* and other low-caste people remain naked while worshipping *Bhairav*.⁴ In the performance of the *anushtān* (propitiation) of such deities as *Kāl-Bhairav*,⁵ *Batuk*,⁶ *Mani*,⁶ *Griva*,⁶ etc., the devotees keep their persons uncovered.

The worshippers of the goddess *Jakshani* also remain naked when they attend upon her.⁷

Persons who practise the art of curing men from the effects of serpent-bites by means of incantations, have to sit naked under water in order to gain efficacy for their *mantras*.⁸

Followers of the *Devi-panth*, *Shakti-panth* and *Aghori-panth* sects remain naked while worshipping or offering victims to their gods.⁸ *Vāma-mārgis* worship a nude form of the goddess *Digambarā*.⁹

The hook-shaped instrument, known as *ganeshio*, which is used by thieves in boring a hole through the walls of a house, is sometimes prepared by a blacksmith and his wife on the night of *Kāli-chaudas*, both being naked at the time. Instruments prepared in this fashion are believed to secure success for the thief, who scrupulously sets aside the first booty acquired by the help of the *ganeshio* for the blacksmith as a reward for his services. He does not grudge the reward however large the booty may be.²

In making dice according to the directions of *Ramalahāstra*, the workers should remain naked.⁷

There is a belief that granulations in the eyes of a child are cured if the maternal uncle fetches naked the beads of the *Arani* tree, and puts a circlet of them round the neck of the child.⁹

If a person uncovers himself on hearing the screech of an owl, and then ties and unties seven knots in a piece of string, repeating the process twenty-one times, the piece of string is believed to possess the virtue of curing *Taria Tāv* or periodical fever.¹⁰ Another remedy for the same ailment is to go to a distance of three miles from the village and there to eat food which has been cooked in a state of nudity.¹

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

³ Mr. B. K. Dave, Kota Sangani.

⁴ Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhank.

⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Moti Murad.

⁸ Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

⁹ The Schoolmasters of Dhank and Songadu.

¹⁰ The Schoolmasters of Upleta and Aman.

In the preparation of Nargudikalpa* or Gujakalpa*, some drugs have to be procured by a naked person.²

It is considered meritorious by some persons to rise early in the morning and to bathe naked on the Makar Sankranti day.³

A Brahman boy must be naked at the time of the performance of his thread investiture ceremony. After the ceremony, the maternal uncle of the boy presents garments to him, which he thereupon puts on.⁴

In Gujarat, for the most part, the people seem to be unacquainted with the belief that certain stones possess the virtue of influencing the rain. Some persons however attribute this quality to the stones on such sacred mounts as Girnār, Ābu, and Pāvāgadh.⁵ There is a point called Tonk, on mount Girnār, of which it is said that rain is certain to fall whenever anyone succeeds in climbing it.⁶ There is also a common belief that *arasi* marble if heated has influence over rain.⁷

It is a common practice to submerge the image† of Shiva in water with the object of bringing rain. Similarly the image† of the goddess Harshadh is sometimes bathed when rain is desired.⁸ The *bhuva* or the *bhui*, i.e., the male and the female attendants of the goddess are at the same time given a bath, and an offering of *Khir†* is made to the goddess.⁹

There are two goals which a pious Hindu tries to attain by leading a life of purity and virtue, viz., (i) *moksha* or final emancipation, merging into the Eternal Spirit, and (ii) *swarga* (heaven or paradise) where meritorious persons enjoy pure pleasures unalloyed by earthly cares. The stars are the spirits

of so many righteous persons who are translated to *swarga* for their good actions, and are endowed with a lustre proportionate to their individual merits. But every moment of enjoyment in *swarga* diminishes the store of merit; and those whose whole merit is thus exhausted, on receiving their proportionate share of pleasures, must resume their worldly existence. The Bhagavad-gītā says: "धीनि पुण्ये मर्त्यलोके विद्यन्ति" i.e., "they enter the mortal world when their merit is expended." Meteors are believed to be spirits of this description who fall from their position as stars, to live again on this earth.¹⁰

Another explanation of meteors is that they are the sparks produced when the *vimāns* (or vehicles) of celestial people clash against each other.¹⁰

Meteors are also held to be the *agār* or *charak* (i.e., excreta) dropped either by a curious water-bird,² or by Garud, the favourite eagle, and vehicle of Vishnu,¹¹ or by a fabulous bird Anal.¹² The latter is said to fly at an immeasurable height from the surface of the earth, and to take food only once a day.¹² It is almost impossible to catch the *charak* when it falls to earth: but if ever it can be secured, the application of it to the eyes of a blind man will restore his eyesight. It also furnishes an effective remedy for leprosy, and gives a golden lustre to the body of a person suffering from that disease.¹¹

Some declare that meteors are stars which fall owing to the curse of Indra, and subsequently assume the highest human form on earth.¹

¹ Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.

² The Deputy Educational Inspector of Halar.

³ The Shastris of Jetpur and Bhayavadar.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Chok.

⁵ Mr. K. D. Desai and the Schoolmaster of Dhbank.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁷ The Schoolmasters of Dhbank and Ganod and the Mistress of Rajkot Civil Station Girls' School.

⁸ Name of a medicinal preparation.

⁹ But the virtue of influencing rain belongs to the *Shiva linga* and to the idol of Harshadh, not because they are made of any particular kind of stone, but because they represent certain deities.

¹⁰ Rice cooked in milk and sweetened with sugar.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster of Āman.

¹² Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹³ The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

¹⁴ The Schoolmaster of Pātanvāv.

¹⁵ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

It is also said that the stars descend to earth in human form when sins accumulate in the celestial world.¹

The influence of meteors on human affairs is treated at length in the *Varāhasanhitā*.² The phenomenon is popularly regarded as an evil omen : it is supposed to portend devastation by fire, an earthquake, a famine, an epidemic, danger from thieves, and storms at sea.³ The appearance of a bright shooting star is supposed to foretell the death of some great man;⁴ and on beholding one, it is customary to repeat the words 'Rām Rām' several times.⁵ A shower of meteors is believed to presage some civil commotion or a change in the ruling dynasties.

Some persons, however, regard the appearance of meteors as auspicious or baneful, according to the *mandal* or group of stars, from which they are seen to fall. Meteors from the *Vāyu-mandal*, (or the group of stars

known by the name of *Vāyu*) portend the breaking out of an epidemic : those from *Varuna-mandal*, are believed to be favourable to human happiness; if they fall from *Indra-mandal*, they forebode danger to all kings; those from *Agni-mandal*, threaten war between nations.⁶

During the monsoons, rain is believed to fall in that direction in which a meteor is seen to shoot.⁷ A meteor in the west is ominous to kings, and if it falls into the sea, it forebodes evil to the dwellers on earth.⁸

The appearance of a comet is believed to portend some dire calamity to the king and the nation.⁹ It is said that if a heavenly body is seen, *chhogālo*,† *chhogālā* kings (i.e., great and celebrated kings) are in danger of their lives.⁹ A comet is also believed to threaten all tailed animals with destruction.⁹

¹ The Schoolmaster of Sayala. Perhaps it is the accumulation of sin in this world that brings down the saints of heaven in human form. The earth is unable to bear too much sin and would soon come to an end if the balance between virtue and sin were not maintained. It is for this purpose that saints are born in this world and add to the store of merit on earth, by preaching righteousness to people and by leading a virtuous life.—K. D. Desai.

² The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

³ The Schoolmasters of Rajpara, Vasawad, Upleta, and Khirasara.

⁴ The Schoolmasters of Pātanvāv and Sultānpur.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Sultanpur.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Charādāwā.

⁷ The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

⁹ The Schoolmaster of Songadh.

⁹ It is an act of merit to repeat the name of Rām, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. As the death of a righteous person is due to the growth of sin in this world, people utter the name of Rām in order to atone for that sin. The name is repeated as long as the shooting star is visible. Vaishnavas recite the name of Krishna.—K. D. Desai.

It is also said that the name of Rām or Krishna is repeated, because the falling star enters the Court of God Bhagwān.—The Schoolmaster of Lākhāpadar.

† (I.e.) with a tail. *Chhogā* is the end of a turban, which is allowed to hang down the back.

CHAPTER II.

HEROIC GODLINGS

SEVERAL stories, in addition to the legend of the Rāmāyana, are related of the birth of the god Hanumān. Dasharatha, king of Ayodhyā, being childless, once performed a sacrifice with the hope of thereby obtaining male issue. On the completion of the ceremony a heavenly being rose out of the sacrificial fire and presented the king with a celestial preparation, called *pāyas*, which he directed the king to give to his wives if he desired a son. The king divided the divine gift among his three queens; but the share of one of them was snatched away by an eagle. It was dropped into the hands of Anjani; who was herself childless, and was practising austerities for the sake of obtaining son. On partaking of the *pāyas*, Anjani conceived, and the son born to her was afterwards known as the god Hanumān.

Another story relates how Anjani was one of those persons who helped Indra in his evil designs on Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama. She had on that account been cursed by Gautama, and threatened with the birth of a fatherless child. To prevent the curse from taking effect, Anjani buried herself in the ground as far as her waist, and began to observe religious austerities in the hope of propitiating Shiva. The latter was pleased with her devotion, and sent her a *mantra* through Nārada, who was ordered to deliver it in her ear. Vāyū, the god of wind, forced the *mantra* into her womb, and she conceived

a son named Hanumān. This son had the form of a monkey, because, at the time of conception, Anjani happened to behold a monkey, named Keshi, on a neighbouring tree.

Hanumān is a *chi, anjiva*, i.e., one of those seven * persons who are to live for ever and are therefore considered to be immortal. He is represented as possessed of miraculous strength, and his body is *vajramaya*, i.e., adamantine. When Sītā was carried off by Rāvana, it was he who crossed the sea and brought news about her to Rāma. When Ahi and Mahi, two cousins of Rāvana, carried off Rāma and Lakshmana by magic and decided to offer them as victims to their favourite goddess Panoti, Hanumān entered the temple of Panoti, crushed her under his feet, and released Rāma and Lakshmana. Hence he is known as the conqueror of Panoti. After the death of Rāvana, Hanumān was left to guard the kingdom of Lankā, which was conferred by Rāma on Bibhishana, the brother of Rāvana.¹

Hanumān is an incarnation of one of the eleven Rudras,†² is a *brahmachūri* (i.e., one who has taken the vow of celibacy), a powerful and benevolent deity, and a giver of many blessings. At the same time, he is considered to be the master-deity of all *bhūts*, *prets*, *pishāchas*, (ghosts, goblins, fiends), of *dākans* (witches), *shakans*, *chudel*, *vantri*, of the forty-nine *virs* (male

¹ K. D. Desai, from the answers of various Schoolmasters.

² The Schoolmaster of Vasavad.

* The following couplet mentions all of them :

अश्वत्थामा बलिर्वासी हनुमांश्च विभीषणः ।

कूपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः ॥

† A group of gods supposed to be inferior manifestations of Shiva, who is said to be the head of the group.

fiends), of the fifty-two *vetāls*, of *yakshas* and *yakshinis* and of all evil spirits in general, who are believed to obey his commands.¹ Vows are observed in honour of Hanumān if a person is possessed by a *bhut* or a *pret*, or if he is scared by a *jhapt* (sudden encounter) with a devil, or if he happens to step inadvertently within the *kundalan** of an *utār*. Persons who are possessed by evil spirits are exorcised by the *bhūvas* by reciting the *zanzira mantra* in honour of Hanumān.²

Kāli-Chandas, i. e., the 14th day of dark half of Ashvin† is considered to be the most favourable day for practising the black art; and the god Hanumān is accordingly worshipped with much ceremony by *bhūvas* on that day.¹

All *bhuts*, *prets* and spirits are thus believed to obey the commands of the god Hanumān. In the course of a *sādhana* (i. e. the process of procuring the fulfilment of certain desires through the favour and by the agency of spirits) the latter are conjured in the name of Hanumān, so that the *sādhana* may not prove inefficacious. For this purpose the *Hanumān raksha mantra* is repeated one hundred and eight times before the image of the god, the devotee remaining standing all the time. A lamp of clarified butter is also lighted, and frankincense is burnt. The *mantra* runs as follows:—‘Om namo Hanumān bālā ghatapidam, pānikā rakhavālā, lohaki kothadī, bajarkā tālā, deva-dānava-kumār, nikal Hanumān āsan, Mahādev bāsan, Hanumān hathēla, bajarkā khilā.’ It is neither pure Sanskrit, nor Gujarātī, nor Hindustānī, but roughly it

means:—‘Bow to the young Hanumān, the tormentor of *ghata*, the guardian of water, the iron-safe, the lock of *vajra*, the son of the gods and the demons. Take your seat the receptacle of Mahadev, O stubborn god, O Nail of adamant.’ After the repetition of the *mantra*, four nails are driven into the four corners of the seat of the votary, and it is believed that the *sādhana* is thus rendered sure of success.³

The god Hanumān is sometimes worshipped when a serious epidemic is to be warded off. The usual mode of propitiating him in such cases, and also in exorcising spirits, is to pour red lead and oil over his image, to make an offering of *udad* seeds (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and molasses, and to invest the image with a wreath of one hundred and eight flowers of *ānkadā†* or of as many leaves or berries of the same plant.⁴

The influence of the god is believed to be so powerful in some places that it is said that a *bhut* or a *pishācha* is at once exorcised from the body of a person who observes certain ceremonies there. In some places the mere sight of the image of the god has the same effect, and it is believed that ghosts shriek and fly from the bodies of possessed persons, if these visit the images of Hanumān. In Kodolia, about half a mile to the west of Lilapur in Gujarāt, there is a temple of Hanumān where persons suffering from fever go on a Saturday, and take a meal before 2 p. m. at which time the god goes out to graze his cows. This proceeding is believed to work a cure in cases of fever and is called *anagah*.⁵ A mere glance at the temple of Hanumān at Khandia and

¹ The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

² The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.

³ The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

* *Kundalan* is the circle formed round the *utār* by a *bhūvā*, after he has placed the *utār* in a cemetery or over a crossway.—The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

† This is the day to learn such arts as that of *munth*, *chot*, *māran*, etc., i. e., the art of doing bodily injuries by means of magic even to persons who are at a distant place. The process is gone through in a cemetery at the dead of night.—The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

‡ A poisonous plant, the leaves of which are used in fomenting in cases of palpitation and of stomach troubles.—The Deputy Educational Inspector, Prānt Hālār.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Prānt Hālār.

Saranghur, or of that image which is known as 'Blūd-bhanjan,' is sufficient to drive out evil spirits from the bodies of possessed persons.¹ The same virtue is attributed to the images of Hanumān at Bhurakhia, near Latli and at Nariana, near Dhrangadhra, in Jhalavar,² Kathiawar.³

There are certain peculiar conjunctions of planets, which if they appear in a person's horoscope, always bring him misfortunes. In such circumstances, the person is said to be under the influence of *panoti*.⁴ Such influence lasts for a period varying from one year to seven years and a half.⁵ When the planet Shani (Saturn) enters the 1st, 11th, or the 12th *rāshi* in relation to a person, the latter is said to be affected by *sādāsāli-panoti*, i.e., *panoti* extending over seven years and a half.⁶ The *panoti* enters the life of such a person with feet either of gold, silver, copper or iron; and in most cases the result is disastrous. If the *panoti* affects the head of a person, he loses his wits; if it affects the heart, it takes away his wealth; when it affects the feet, it brings bodily ailments. In order to counteract the evil effects of *panoti*, people worship Hanumān as the god who crushed the malignant goddess Panoti under his feet. On Saturdays red lead and oil, *adad*, molasses are offered to the image of the god.⁷ Frankincense is burnt, a lamp is lighted, and a wreath of *āṅkadā* flowers is sometimes dedicated.⁸ A fast is observed on such days; and sometimes the services of a Brahman are engaged to recite verses in honour of the god.⁹

There is a belief that Hanumān cries out once in twelve years, and those men who

happen to hear him are transformed into *hijadās* (eunuchs).¹⁰

Oil which has been poured over the image of Hanumān and caught in a vessel is called *naman*. It is sometimes carried in a *vātki* (a small metal cup) and is burnt to produce *anjan* (i. e., soot used as collyrium). This *anjan* is believed to improve the eyesight, and to protect a person from the influence of evil spirits.¹¹ There is a saying in Gujarāṭi that *Kāli-chaudasno ānjyo, ane koine na jāy gānjio*, i. e., a person using *anjan* on Kālichaudas day cannot be foiled by anyone.¹²

Of the days of the week, Saturday is the most suitable for the worship of Hanumān. Of all offerings, that of red lead and oil is the most acceptable to him.¹³ When Hanumān was carrying the Drona mountain to the battlefield before Lankā, he was wounded in the leg by an arrow from Bharata, the brother of Rāma. The wound was healed by the application of red lead and oil, and hence his predilection for these things.¹⁴ It is also said that after the death of Rāvana and at the time of the coronation of Bibhishana, Rāma distributed prizes to all his monkey followers, when nothing was left for Hanumān except red lead and oil.

Mostly *Āṅkadā* flowers are used in worshipping Hanumān, but sometimes *Karan* flowers also are made to serve the purpose.¹⁵ The favourite dishes of Hanumān are *maliddā†*, *churamā‡* and *radān*.[§] The usual *naivedya* is *malidda* of *Savāpāti*, i. e., of wheat weighing about six pounds and a quarter and *radān*.[¶]

Bhīma the second of the Pāṇdavas was begotten from Kunti by Vāyu, the god of

¹ The Schoolmaster of Songadh.

² The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

³ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

⁴ K. P. Desai.

⁵ The *panoti* cannot affect anybody who has an elder male relative living. i. e., it influences only the eldest male member of a family.—K. D. Desai.

[†] A sweet preparation of wheat flour fried in ghi.

[‡] Sweet balls of wheat flour fried and afterwards soaked in ghi.

[§] Small biscuit-sized cakes of pulse flour treated with spices and fried in oil.—K. D. Desai.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Sanka.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

wind, and hence was called Vāyusuta. From his childhood he was possessed of miraculous strength, and had a voracious appetite. Every day he consumed 12 *kalashis** (or 192 maunds) of corn, and as much oil as is yielded by 13 *ghānis*.* He also required a maund and a quarter of betelnuts after each dinner. These habits had procured him the name of Vrikodara, i.e., wolf-bellied. He played a very important part in the Great War, and on the last day of the battle smashed the thigh of Duryodhana with his ponderous mace. In his early days he killed several demons including Baka and Hidimba.¹

Bhīma never took food without first worshipping Mahādev. On one occasion no temple of Shiva could be found within easy distance, and in a rage, Bhīma turned his bowl upside down and set it up as Mahādev. Such was the first installation of Bhīmanāth. Mahādev revered to this day by all Hindus.¹

Once upon a time Bhīma obstructed the stream of a river by laying himself across it, when the river rose to the banks and submerged a temple of Shiva near by. Shiva thereupon assumed the form of a lion and pretended to chase Pārvatī in the guise of a cow. Bhīma, in his true Kshatriya spirit, instantly rose from the water in order to save the cow from the lion. But the latter gave Bhīma a blow on the shoulder with one of his paws, and instantly transformed himself into a sage. After Bhīma had fruitlessly searched for the lion for a long time, he was informed by the sage that it was he, Shiva, who had assumed the form of a lion in order to rouse him from his position across the river. Shiva then favoured him with a boon that the half of his body which had received the blow would be turned into *vajra* (adam-

ant). On Bhīma's request a further boon was granted to him that he should in future be able to digest as much as he could eat without suffering discomfort. Hence the proverb: *Bhīma khāve shakuni aghe*.²

It is said that Bhīma once played at *navateri* (lit. nine and thirteen), i.e., he flung into the sky nine elephants with his right hand and thirteen with his left. The corpses of these animals were afterwards brought down to earth by Shukamuni to expiate king Janmejaya's sin of *Brahmahatyā* (Brāhman-slaughter).²

In his whole life-time Bhīma is said to have fasted only on one day, which happened to be the eleventh day of the bright half of Jyeshtha and is now called *Bhīma-agiāras*. On this day people who desire to be cured of dyspepsia observe a strict fast, taking neither food nor water, and pass their hands over their bellies repeating the name of Bhīma and also offer cocoanuts to his image.³ On the night of *Bhīma-agiāras*, persons who are anxious to obtain health, wealth and victory over their enemies, bathe the image of Bhīma in water and *pañchāmrit*† and worship it according to the prescribed ceremonies.⁴

In some places there are *vāvs* (or tanks) called Bhīma-vāvs which are said to have been formed by the strokes of Bhīma, when playing *gilli-dandā*.⁵

There are huge images of Bhīma on Mount Pālitānā.⁶ There are many places in different parts of India which possess such images and which are believed to have been visited by the Pāndavas during their exile from Hastinapur. The Pāndavas never attained the status of gods and there is no systematic form of worship for them.¹

¹ K. D. Desai.

² The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

³ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

* A *ghāni* is that quantity of oil seeds which is put in at one time to be crushed in an oil mill.

† A mixture of milk, honey, curds, sugar and ghi.

² The Schoolmaster of Aman.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

Bhishma, the uncle of the Kauravas and the Pāṇdavas, was an incarnation of one of the Ashtāvasus* and was the son of king Shantanu by Ganga. The stories about Bhishma are chiefly derived from the Mahābhārata, and need not be repeated here. He is not regarded as a god and does not receive systematic worship.¹

A fast is observed on the eighth day of Māgh, the anniversary of the death of Bhishma. A *durā* (a knotted piece of string) tied in the name of Bhishma is believed to cure fever.² The *Yantra* (a mystical formula or diagram) of Bhishma is sometimes drawn on a piece of paper, water is poured over it, and the water is offered to women in labour to drink, as likely to expedite delivery. Bhishma-worship is supposed to facilitate the observance of the *Brahmacharya-vrat* (the vow of celibacy) and to bestow heroism and learning.³ Bhishma is credited with having composed the well-known poem, *Bhishma-stavarāj*, which recites the glory of Krishna and shows the way to attain salvation.⁴

There is a large temple of Ganpati near the eastern gates of Dhank. It is said that this Ganpati informed a goldsmith, by appearing in a dream, that he was buried in a particular spot, and promised that a son would be born to him if he raised a temple in honour of the god. The goldsmith satisfied the wishes of the god and was soon relieved from the repeated taunt of the *vānzīāpanā* (i. e., the barrenness of his wife).⁵

The following tradition is connected with a place, about a mile from Dhank, called Dhank-ni Fui. Dhank was in ancient times a great city and was known as *Preh Pātant*. Once a *bāvā* (recluse), named

Dhundhalimal, came to reside with his *chela* (disciple) in a cave on a neighbouring hill. Every day the *chela* went about the city begging alms for himself and his *guru*; but nobody except a poor *kumbhāran* (a potter-woman) ever gave him anything. So the *chela* was obliged to cut and sell fuel in order to obtain means of subsistence, although he did not mention this fact to his *guru*. One day the *guru* noticed the growing baldness of his disciple and on being questioned about it, the latter had to admit his difficulties in earning a livelihood. The next day the *bāvā* decided to test the charity of the neighbourhood, and went on a begging round in person. He moved about the city from door to door, crying aloud *ālek ālek*, but nobody except the *kumbhār* woman offered him so much as a handful of flour. He then addressed the latter thus:—"Girl, this city is sinful and will shortly meet with destruction. Fly, therefore, instantly with your family and never turn your face towards the city in your flight". Having thus warned the only righteous person in the city, the *bāvā* returned to his cave where, after reciting an incantation in high exasperation, he pronounced a terrible curse for the destruction of the city 'Let Pātan be buried and let *māyā*† be reduced to *māti* (dust)'. A whirlwind at once arose and destroyed the whole city. The *kumbhāran* had already fled with her children; but she unfortunately happened to look back in her flight, in spite of the warning, and she and her children were all turned into stones. In this form she can be seen even to-day, with two of her children on her shoulders and leading the other two.

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

³ The Schoolmaster of Dhank.

⁴ The Vasus are a class of deities, eight in number, and are often collectively called Ashtāvasus.

⁵ Vide Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, page 414.

† *Māyā*, in philosophy, means the illusion, by virtue of which, one considers the unreal universe as existent and distinct from the supreme spirit. Here it means the effect of *māyā*, the unreal splendour of the world, in fact phenomena opposed to the noumenon.

² The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthshālā.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

To the south of the same village on the banks of a small lake are situated the temples of Hinglaj Mātā and Kāmdev Mahādev. If there is a prospect of a drought in any year, the people of the village make an offering of *lāpsi* to the former deity in order to bring about a fall of rain. About two miles from Dhhank there is a temple of Vikani, in whose honour vows are observed for the cure of fractured bones of men and animals. Brāhmans are feasted at the temple of Hanumān at Timbo, four miles away from Dhhank. At a distance of about two *khetareās* (fields) there is the shrine of Ashabi-pir where Mussalmāns feast *fakirs* and other co-religionists of theirs.¹

Besides the above there are the temples of Shankar Tapakeshwar Mahādev and Mungeshwar Mahādev near the hill mentioned in the paragraph above and the temples of Pipaleshwar Mahādev and Rāmchandraji, to the south of Dhhank. There are also temples erected in honour of *suttees* known as Nomalmātā, Hulmātā, etc.¹

The river Vinu meets the Bhādar, at a place two miles to the east of Ganod, and the Moja also joins the Bhādar a little further to the east. Hence the spot is called *Traveni* (a confluence of three rivers) and is regarded as holy. The beautiful temple of Baraneshwar Mahādev is situated here. Vows for feasting a certain number of Brāhmans, are observed in honour of this deity.²

The celebrated shrine of Husen-pir is situated in the vicinity of Ganod, and is much revered by the Khoja community, who hold a fair there on every *Āso-sud-bij*, i.e. the second day of the bright half of Āshvin. The fair lasts for seven or eight days, when Khojas from Bombay and even Zanzibar visit the place. A large building, the Khoja-khana, is set apart to the west of the shrine for the *sabhā* (or meeting). The largest fair was held in *samvat* 1940 (1884 A.D.), when H. H. the Agashah paid a visit to the

shrine. There is a large gathering of people at the place every *bij* day.²

Husen-pir was a native of Kadi and a Saiyed by birth. In his youth, with his father's permission, he decided to remain unmarried, and took to travelling. In the course of his wanderings he halted for a week on the spot where his shrine stands at present, and was so charmed with the place, that he asked the owner of it, a Rabāri, Almora by name, for permission to reside there always. The Pir was accompanied by two followers of the Mujāvar fakir sect. The present Mujāvar attendants at the shrine are descended from them, and stand in the 12th or the 15th degree of descent.²

One evening (it was the 5th day of the dark half of Bhādrapad) the Pir accompanied by his two followers went to the Bhādar to offer the evening prayers. After the prayers were over, he told his followers that a flood was soon coming in the river, and asked both of them to leave him and return with their horses. One of them left the place as directed; but the other placed his head on the Pir's lap and was drowned along with his master in the flood, which came down as if in obedience to the Pir's words. Before dying the Pir granted a boon to the Mujāvars that their line of descent would never fail for want of their heirs, and that their heirs would always be his attendants.

The same night the Pir informed the Khojas of Keshod and Kutiana that his corpse and that of his Mujāvar follower lay unburied at a particular spot. The Khojas, accompanied by the Rabāri Almora, visited the place in the morning and made ready to carry the corpses to Junāgad. They found to their astonishment that the corpses could not be removed. Almora then recollected the request of the Pir, and told the Khojas of his favourite place. The corpses were then carried to their present place of rest, and all efforts of the Khojas to proceed further

¹ The Schoolmaster of Dhhank.

² The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

proved unavailing. At that time there was a village called Keralun about a mile from the present site of Ganod. It is, however, uninhabited and in ruins and its site is now known as the *timbo* of Keralun. The Khojas erected a shrine over the place where the Pir was buried, and the tombs of his relatives were afterwards erected in the vicinity. Vows observed in honour of the Pir having proved fruitful in many cases, the Pir's fame spreads wider every day. The Gondal Durbar has granted a *wādi* (a piece of land) for the maintenance of the Mujāvar family, who also receive the things that are offered to the Pir. The Khojas consider it a merit to dedicate a portion of their earnings to this Pir. People of all castes from Ganod offer one *kori** at the time of the marriage of a girl at their house. The knots of the marriage-scarves of newly-wedded couples are untied here, and the ceremony of shaving children for the first time is also performed in the presence of the Pir. The usual offering to the Pir consists of *churamu* and *kansār* : some people, however, offer a goat or a ram and call it *pānechednāriel*.¹

There is a hollow log of wood on the boundary of Lath, a sub-village of Gondal and a mile to the South of Ganod. Long ago a fakir, while accompanying a band of outlaws *bārentias*, was killed in a scuffle and was buried here. A *bābul* tree grew over his tomb, and came to be known afterwards as Lakkad Pir (the wooden Pir). The tree after a time withered till its stem was reduced to a small log with a hole in the centre. People observe vows in honour of this Pir for the cure of cough and bronchitis in children. After recovery, the children are made to pass through this *bākān* or hole and an offering of *kansār* is made to the Pir. It is not only the Musalmāns who observe

vows in the Pir's honour : Hindus also have the same strong faith in him.¹

Nearly twelve miles from Vanod lies the temple of Bechrā Mātā, who is the patron goddess of the Pāvaiyā sect. A male buffalo is offered to her as a victim on the 15th day of the bright half of every month. Near the temple there is the holy *kund* of Mānsarovar, the legend about which has already been related in these notes†

The village of Dādvi possesses the shrine of Mangalshā Pir. Friday is the day for special worship of the Pir, when dainties and cocoanuts are offered, and a flag is hoisted. Frankincense is burnt every evening.² There is also a temple of Māchho, the goddess of the Bharvāds, who offer her *lāpsi* and cocoanuts on every *bij* day. They also light a ghi lamp and lop off the ears of a goat or a ram, and offer the blood to the goddess.²

In Kolki a *bārā* of the Bharvād caste named Hado Bhagat is said to have set up the images of all the gods in a certain temple. It is believed that he possessed miraculous powers. His descendants do not sell goats to Kasāis (butchers³).

There is a temple of Khodiār Mātā in Chok. The goddess is worshipped by Atits, who offer her *lāpsi* on every *Dasarā* day. There is also a temple of Hanumān, where the Khākhis bring an offering to the god every Saturday.⁴

In the village of Motā Devaliā are the temples of Bholānāth, Mahādev and Pipaleshwar Mahādev. Both the deities are worshipped by Atits, who perform the ceremony with the usual materials of frankincense, a ghi-lamp, cooked food, and who also blow a conch. It is said about Pipaleshwar Mahādev that none can stay at night in the temple. Once a Brāhman, who insisted on passing the night there, was hurled to a

¹ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

² The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

* *Kori* may mean either a new garment or an unused earthen jar.

² The Schoolmaster of Dādvi.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Chok.

† See p. 42 *Supra*.

distance of two fields. There is also a temple of Swāmi-Nārāyan and three temples of Thākorji where the ceremony of worship is performed every morning and evening in the usual way with frankincense, a ghi lamp, and *ārati*. The shrine of Nilā-Pir on the village boundary is revered alike by Hindus and Musalmans.¹

In the vicinity of Chhatrasa, there is a temple of Kishordās Hanumān. On *Kālī Chaudas* day the people of the village offer *churamu* and *radān* to the god. The shrine of Gebalashā Pīr is situated two miles away from Chhatrasa, on the boundary line between that village and Kalānā. Sweet-balls, or sometimes only molasses, are offered to this Pīr on the fulfilment of vows observed in his name. Near the village gates lies the shrine of Daudshah, of whom it is said that he deprives thieves of their eye-sight, if they try to enter Chhatrasa. In the Vishnu-mandir, *annakūt** is offered to Vishnu by the attendant priest, on the first day of the bright half of Kārtik.²

A temple of Khodiar Mātā surrounded by Pandari creepers is to be seen on the way from Mojidad to Sanka. The Thakor of Limbdi used to kill a goat before the goddess during the Navarātra holidays; but an offering of *lāpsi* is now substituted for the goat. There is another temple of the same goddess on the way to Zābālā where she is worshipped by the Bhadrakavā Durbar. The attendants at both places are Atits, and the usual offering consists of *lāpsi* and *khīr*.† At a place near the boundary-line between Mojidad and Ayarda, Swāmi-Nārāyan Bhagwān and Sahajānand Swāmi are said to have bathed in the company of Hanumān in the

river Vansal. The Brahmachāris, of the Swāmi-Nārāyan sect hold a fair there and offer prayers to Hanumān on the 15th day of the dark half of Bhādrapad.³

Every marriage-procession on its way to and from the place of marriage has to offer a new earthen jar to such field-deities as Dādmokhodiār, Lālo, Hardās, etc. Failure to do so arouses the wrath of these deities and brings disasters to the married couple. The only form of worship in use for these deities is to apply red lead and oil to their images. Seven kinds of corn, viz. *adād* (phaseolus radiatus), *mag* (phaseolus mungo), *kalathi*, *math*, *chanā* (gram), wheat and *juvari* are mixed and cooked together and the preparation which is called *khichdi* is offered to the deities at sunset. If the deities are not propitiated in this manner, they are believed to do harm to the people of the village.⁴

On a hill near the village of Patanvav there is a temple of Mātāji, where a ghi lamp is kept constantly burning at the cost of the Gondal Durbar. In Patanvav itself there is a shrine of Alabā Pīr attended upon by a fakir. At the approach of the monsoons, all the villages offer *lāpsi* to Mātāji and *churamu* to the Pīr.⁵

In Paj, near Sultanpur there is a shrine of Gebansha Pīr surrounded by a number of *bābhul* trees; and it is said that if a person were to cut any of the trees, he would meet with death or at least fall ill. There is a cobra deity, called Khetalo, near Sultanpur whose *gors* (attendant priests) are Nāgmagā Brahmans. It is believed that this deity confers once on each generation of the *gors*, as much wealth as would suffice for the lifetime of all men of that generation.⁶

¹ The Schoolmaster of Mota Devalia.

² The Schoolmaster of Mojidad.

³ The Schoolmaster of Patanvav.

⁴ An offering of all sorts of dainties and vegetables.

[†] Milk and rice boiled together and sweetened with sugar.

[‡] I. e. persons who have taken the vow of celibacy.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.

⁶ The Shastri of Jetpur. Pāthashālā.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Sultanpur.

There is a temple of Hadmatio Hanumān about half a mile to the west of Luvāria. A *Kaubi* of the Dhani tribe once, while pursued by robbers, took shelter behind the image of Hanumān, and vowed that he and his descendants would discharge priestly duties towards the god if he escaped safely out of the difficulty. The god protected him in his danger, and his descendants are now the recognised attendants at the temple.¹

The village of Aman possesses the holy tomb of Davaishah Pir. This Pir lived in the 15th century and was a native of Ahmedabad. He had come to serve in the Amaran *thāna*, when he was killed in a battle. A tomb was built over his body, and he soon came to be regarded as a Pir. His name became famous when a blind Bharvād regained his eye-sight through his favour. The Pir also gave a son to a Bania from Ahmedabad who visits the tomb every year in a black suit. Once a Miana killed a cow and took refuge at the shrine of this Pir: but the shrine spontaneously caught fire and he was burnt with it. The present building was erected by the Bania, and the ladies of the Jamsaheb's court have supplied silver gates and copper railings to it. The Jamsaheb also presents *kinkhab* coverings for the tomb every year. On the night of the *Uras* (or the fair held in the Pir's honour) sandalwood is burnt before the Pir.²

Charadwa is well-known for the temple of Rājeshwari Mātā. King Prithwi Rāj Chohān suffered from white leprosy and was once going to Dwārkā, with the hope that residence in the holy city would cure him of his disease. On the way, one of his best bullocks suddenly fell. The animal was almost given up for dead when a young woman named Rājibāi, daughter of Udā Chāran, happened to pass by while carrying water in earthen pots. Rājibāi touched the bullock with one of her toes, and to the astonishment

of all beholders, the animal at once got up. Prithwi Rāj got rid of his leprosy by the favour of Rājibāi, who granted him an additional boon that she would come to help him on another occasion if he remembered her and sought her assistance. Rājibāi then directed him to visit Dwārkā. Long after, king Prithwi Rāj, when he was at his own place, remembered her in a moment of distress, and she went there (in spirit) after giving instructions to her relatives not to dispose of her body, as she would return soon. But the relatives did not understand her, and before she had returned from Prithwi Rāj's place, her body was disposed of according to the usual manner. For this, Rājibāi cursed her relatives that one of their descendants in each degree would turn out a lunatic. In her memory a pillar was raised and an image set up, both of which are worshipped every morning and evening. Milk, sugar and cakes are offered to her every morning in a *thāl* or dish, and milk and sugar every evening. There is a festival in honour of Rājibāi during the Navarātra holidays.³

The temple of Swāmi-Nārāyan at Charadwa contains the images of Shrikrishna, Baldev Rādhā, Rāma, Lakshman and Sītā. The ceremony of *ārati* is performed before the images five times every day. The first is called *mangalārati* or the auspicious *ārati* and is performed early in the morning. The second is *Shangār* (*Shringār*) *ārati*, when night garments are taken off the images and new ones are put on for the day. The third, *Rājbhog ārati*, takes place at the time when dainties and cooked food are offered to the gods. The *Sandhyā ārati* follows the offering of milk, sugar and cakes to the gods in the evening. The last, *Pidhān ārati*, is performed at night, when night garments are substituted for the rich dresses of the day. There are five occasions during the year

¹ The Schoolmaster of Luvāria.² The Schoolmaster of Aman.³ The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

when a fair is held at this place : (1) the Annakūt fair on the first day of Kārtik ; (2) Vasantapanchamī fair, on the fifth day of the bright half of Māgh ; (3) Hutāshani or Holi fair, on the 15th day of the bright half of Phālgun ; (4) Rāmanavamī fair, on the 9th day of the bright half of Chaitra, (5) Jamnāshritamī fair on the 8th day of the dark half of Shrāvan.¹

To the north of Charadwa there is a field-goddess, named Motisāri Meldi Mātā, in whose honour persons who are afflicted by diseases take a vow of presenting a *tavā* (a cake fried in oil in a pan). There is also a serpent-god named Charmaria who receives an offering of *lāpsi* on every *Aso-sud-bij*, i. e., the second day of the bright half of Ashvin.¹

Besides these there are four temples of Shiva, one of Shaktimātā, one of Hanumānji and two Mahomedan Pirs in the village.¹

In Limbdi Taluka, there is a temple of Kālikī Mātā, in whose honour vows are observed by persons suffering from physical or mental afflictions. The attendant at the place is a Brahman, and the worshippers of the Mātā visit her temple on a Sunday or a Tuesday and offer sweetmeats or *lāpsi*. On the eighth day of Ashvin a *havan* is made (i. e., offerings are burnt) before the goddess.²

Vows in honour of Khodiar Mātā are efficacious in the prevention of such epidemics as cholera. The Khiyado Māmo quells evil spirits, *bhūts* and *prets*. The Khodo Māmo cures such diseases as cough and bronchitis. In the temple of Rāmnāth, a *brahmabhoj*—a feast to Brahmans—is given on the last day of Shrāvan.²

Near the western gates of Zinzuwada is seen the celebrated shrine of Rājibāi Mātā. In old times Zinzuwada was only the *nehado** of a Bharvād called Zunzā. At that time

the queen of the reigning prince of Pātan could not be delivered of a child even though two years had passed since the time of conception. Once while on tour the queen's party encamped near the *nehado* of Zunzā Bharvād. The latter, when he learnt of the queen's misfortune, said that the co-wives of the queen had bewitched her by the *kāman* art, i. e., by passing an earthen pot round her and by burying the pot underground with a live frog hanging with its head downwards in it. He added that the queen would not be delivered unless the frog was brought out by some stratagem. He asked the queen and her followers to stay there for some time, and sent word to Pātan with a messenger that the queen was delivered of a son. The co-wives of the queen, dismayed at the unexpected news and at the futility of the *kāman* art, went to look at the buried frog, which instantly jumped out and at the same moment the pregnant queen gave birth to a son. As the child was brought to birth by the instructions of a *Siddha-purusha* (a magician), it was named Siddharāj. The town of Zinzuwada was built in memory of Zunzā Bharvād, and a temple of Rājibāi Mātā was erected in honour of the queen. A large lake named Sensāsar was also constructed in memory of Sensā, the brother of Zunzā.³

Soon afterwards people began to observe vows in honour of Rājibāi Mātā. The devotees of the goddess visit her temple every evening. All newly-married couples in the village offer salutations to the Mātā accompanied by hired musicians and a party of women who sing on the way to the shrine. A virgin walks in front of the party with an earthen pot and a cocoanut on her head. After the salutations, sweetmeats to the amount vowed for are distributed among all those who are present. Sometimes a woman who has observed vows for the sake of a son,

¹ The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

² The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

³ The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.

* *Nehado* is the residence of Bharvāds or shepherds.

presents a silver umbrella to the goddess, of the value of one rupee and a quarter or five rupees and a quarter, on the birth of a son to her. Burnt offerings and *lāpsi* are presented to the goddess to protect the town from such misfortunes as cholera, plague, etc.¹

There is a well-known place called Vāchhdā-solanki about eight miles from Zinzuwada. Once a Rajput boy, aged sixteen, was going round the marriage-altar at the time of his wedding, in the village of Kuar, when he heard a piteous cry from a distressed cowherd, whose cows were being carried away by freebooters. The boy immediately ran to rescue the cows; but he was killed in the encounter. A temple was built on that spot in his honour. There is a small *kund* near the temple, the water in which is believed never to dry up and to possess the quality of curing hydrophobia.

Goradia Hanumān lies three miles from Zinzuwada, and there is a tradition that there is a treasure hidden near by. Many vows are observed in honour of Dhamā Hanumān, whose place is at a distance of two miles from Zinzuwada.¹

The holy *kund* of Zilānand is one mile from Zinzuwada. It is a custom of the neighbourhood to throw the bones of deceased persons into this *kund*, and a fair is held annually at the place on the last day of Bhādrapad. The Bhotāvo *kund* is one mile distant from Zilānand *kund*; the bottom of this *kund* presents a bluish appearance, and the water always remains hot. It is said that there are sulphur mines below.¹

A princess of Marwar used to worship five gods: Sumaria Ganesh, Kanaknath, Ratneshwar Mahādev, Nāgnāth and Hanumān; and she had taken a vow never to take food before she had worshipped all of them. The gods followed her everywhere in all her tours, but they had made one condition, that they would stop if she looked behind at them on the way.

The princess happened to look back at Ganpati on the ridge of Sumaria near Keshia, three miles to the east of Jodia. So Ganpati would not leave Sumaria, and was installed there as Sumaria Ganesh. The same happened to Ratneshwar near Badanpur; to Kanaknāth, at a place midway between Kanakpuri (the modern Kunad) and Badanpur; and to Hanumān, near Kunad. In the same manner, Nāgnāth was installed near the Balambla gate of Jodia. The old town of Kanakpuri was buried by an earth-quake, and the image Kunadia Hanumān was found among its ruins.

The attendants of Sumaria Ganesh are Atits. A fair is held there on the 4th day of Vaishākhi, when thousands of Dheds flock to the place. The usual offering to the god consists of sweet balls. Kanaknāth is attended upon by Atit Bāvās who share among themselves whatever is offered to the god. Shaivas hold a fair here on the 8th day of the dark half of Shrāvan.

The devotees of Kunadia Hanumān observe *anagh* (vulgarly called *anagodha*) at his place on Saturdays. They cook their food there and make offerings to the god before partaking of it, fasting afterwards for the day. The *anagh* is observed in the month of Mārgashīrsha. The attendants of this god are Khākhi Bāvās.²

One mile to the north-west of Jodia, towards the sea, there is a stone image of a horse set up on a pedestal, known as Rāval Pīr. A heroic Girāsia of the Dāl sect, named Rāval, was once shipwrecked while on an expedition from Cutch, and is said to have landed at the spot where Rāval Pīr stands at present. He received a hearty reception at the hands of the then ruling prince of Jodia (who was a Khavās) and was installed in the Durbār as Nana Rāval Pīr.

On the second day of the bright half of Āshādh (which is the new year's day

¹ The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

² The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

according to the Halari year) Hindus offer *lāpsi* to Rāval Pīr as also on each Monday in the month of Bhādrapad. On occasions of popular distress, such as the breaking out of cholera or when the rains stop for days together, the *bhuvā*s at the place, who are Dāl Rajputs, receive the *pedi* (a small heap of *lāpsi*) on behalf of the Pīr, and being possessed, declare the will of the Pīr as to when rain may be expected or when an epidemic will be warded off. Persons who are anxious for the success of their undertakings observe vows in honour of the Pīr which may cost them anything from a single pice to twenty-five rupees. At the shrine of Nānā Rāval Pīr, huge kettledrums are beaten and the ceremony of *ārati* is performed every morning and evening.¹

The present site of Lilapur was formerly uninhabited, and the village stood nearly one mile off. Once the goddess Bhavānī directed the *patel* of the village in a dream to reside on the present site, and promised him that he would be always happy and that none of his descendants for seven generations would die of cholera. In testimony of the reality of the dream a box of red lac, a cocoanut, a reel of red thread—called *nādāsādi* and *chunadi*—were found under the *patel*'s pillow. The village was then removed to its present site. The descendants of the *patel* are called Yadodā. The Mātā chose to take a Bharvād to be her attendant. On the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan offerings are burnt before the Mātā, when the attendant *bhuvā* has to offer sweetmeats worth five rupees. Every Bharvād family spends a rupee and a quarter every third year in honour of the Mātā.

During the famine of the year 1895 Samvat era (=1839 A. D.) the *bhuvā* was thinking of leaving the Mātā in order to escape from starvation, when the goddess appeared in a dream to him, and told him

that he would find half a rupee every morning in the temple until he saw and partook of the new harvest. In the month of Shrāvan, he happened to partake of some new seeds and the coin could not be found as usual after this, although the new harvest was not quite ready till three months afterwards. At the entreaties of the *bhuvā*, however, the Mātā again told him in a dream that he would find a silver anklet, weighing 60 *tolas*, on the *bhogavā* (village boundary) of the village of Shiyani. A number of vows are observed in honour of this goddess with various motives.²

The Shakta Mātā in the western part of the same village prevents the Joganis or female fiends from spreading contagious diseases.²

The Surdhans near the gates of Lilapur represent two heroes who were killed in an encounter with freebooters in the Samvat year 1836 (1780 A. D.). The knots of the marriage-scarves of the descendants of the Surdhans are untied before them, and any of their female descendants visiting the images without a veil on their faces, are subjected to serious calamities.²

About ten years ago Unād Bhagat and Jivā Bhagat of Paliad were one day walking together, when Unād Bhagat collected seven stones and placing them one over the other, said to Jivā Bhagat that he was constructing a *pālio*, i. e., a tomb for Jivā. Immediately Jivā died, and Unād had to carry out what was merely meant in jest. Some rooms are built at the expense of the Jasdan Durbar, and a *pujāri* daily offers worship to Jivā Bhagat. A fair is also held in his honour on the second day of Bhādrapad.³

About two miles from Jasdan in the village of Bakhvalvad there is a temple of Āvad Mātā. The latter represents the queen of one of the rulers of Jasdan. On every Vijayā-dashamī, i. e., the 10th day of the

¹ The Schoolmaster of Gola.

² The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

³ The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.

bright half of Ashvin, the prince of Jasdan goes to visit the image in a procession, offers *lāpsi* to Āvad Mātā, and then a feast is celebrated. Formerly it was the custom to kill a buffalo before the goddess on this day: but only *lāpsi* is now offered instead. It is usual to take some wine also on this occasion.¹

On the Chitalia hill, two miles from Jasdan, there is a temple of Shitalā, the goddess of small-pox, where children who have lately recovered from that disease are taken to offer salutations to the goddess. Silver images of human eye, milk, sugar, curds, grapes, cocoanuts, a sheet of blank paper, and a number of other things are presented to the goddess on such an occasion. Some persons vow to visit the goddess with a burning hearth on their heads. Such vows are discharged on a *sātem*, i. e., the 7th day of the bright or the dark half of a month. On Shili Sātem, the 7th day of the dark half of Shrāvan, there is a large gathering of people at the place.¹

The village-gods of Upleta are Kaleshwar, Pragateshwar, Somnāth, Nilkanth, Dāmo and Khetalio. Pragateshwar is said to have emerged from the earth of his own accord and is therefore called *Swayambhu* (self-existent). The same is said about Nilkanth and Somnāth also. The temple of Dāmo lies a little away from Upleta. Persons suffering from cough observe vows in his honour and partake of parched gram. There is a *devi* near Pragateshwar before whom a sacrifice is performed on the 9th day of the bright half of Ashvin, and cakes, bread, *khichdi* and *khir* are offered.²

In Gondal there is a temple of Gondalio Nāg and one of Nāgnāth Mahādev. Pure milk is the usual offering made to both the deities. Gondalio Nāg is installed in Durbārgadh and is white in appearance. Newly

married couples of high class Hindus untie the knots of their marriage-scarves before this deity. In the Durbārgadh there are tombs of seven *ghoris* with whose assistance the first king of Gondal is said to have won his crown. There is also a family goddess of the Bhadeja Rajputs in Gondal known as Ashūpuri, a vow in whose honour is believed to fulfil all desires.³

There is a female spirit named Meldi in Movaiya who is worshipped by *bhuvās* on the 14th day of the dark half of Ashvin. On that day they heat oil in an iron pan and take out cakes from the burning oil with unprotected hands. A goat and a cock are also sacrificed on this occasion, and the meat is partaken of in order to win the favour of the goddess.⁴

There is a *bedā* tree near Movaiya about which the following story is told. Long ago there was a *kanbi* (farmer) in Movaiya who used to see a boy moving in front of him with an uncovered head whenever he was ploughing his field. One day the *kanbi* lopped off the hair from the boy's head who followed him to his home, entreating him to return the lock of hair. The *kanbi* however did not heed him, and concealed the lock of hair in a jar containing gram. The boy then served the *kanbi* as a field-boy, when one day he was asked by his master to take gram out of the jar for sowing. The boy, who was a *bhut*, found his lock of hair there, and when once he had obtained it, he took a very heavy load of gram to the *kanbi* and bade him good-bye. But before the boy had fled with his lock of hair, the *kanbi* begged of him a boon that a *bedā* tree should grow in his field, where vows could be observed in honour of the *bhut*.⁴

The villagers in Sayala accompanied by several *bhuvās* and by musicians who beat the *dhol*s and the *dānklān* go outside the village

¹ The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.

² The Schoolmaster of Upleta.

³ The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka and the Head Mistress of girls' school, Gondal.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Movaiya.

to visit the temple of Khodiār Mātā on the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan. The *bhuvās* wind a piece of cotton-thread round the village, and sometimes pour out milk or water in the same place in order to secure its safety from any epidemic. On the same occasion four divers, who are generally healthy young athletes, are presented with an earthen pot each and are made to stand in the village-tank till the water reaches to their necks. They are asked to dive simultaneously in the water at a signal from the headman of the village, and to get out immediately. Each of them is named after one of the four months of the rainy season and the amount of water in the pot of each is supposed to indicate the amount of rain which would fall in the respective months of the next year. After leaving the water the divers break the pots on the spot, and the fragments are taken away by the people, to be kept in their jars of corn, in the belief that they will bring prosperity in the ensuing season. The four divers are then made to run a race on the *maidan*, and he who wins the race gets a small plough and a coconut as a prize. The winner is called *hālino-jityo*, and it is believed that he will be successful in all his undertakings.

On the same day the *bhuvās* place a small four-wheeled chariot of the Mātī outside the village, and it is believed that the chariot carries off the plague, cholera and similar diseases with it. Such ceremonies are performed in most of the villages on the Balev holiday (*i. e.*, the Nārel-Purnimā day, or the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan).¹

The foundation of a new settlement is carried out in various ways. A series of unusual accidents befalling the residents of a village makes them doubtful of the security

of their residence, and produces a desire to move to a safer home. Very often on such occasions the *bhuvās* or exorcists are possessed by the Devis, or Mātīs, and declare the will of the gods regarding a new settlement. Sometimes a change of home is recommended to the villagers in a dream: sometimes a heavenly voice is said to direct the change, in addressing one of the villagers.²

An astrologer has first to be consulted as to the auspicious date on which the boundaries of the new settlement should be marked out. Three or four days before the delimitation, learned Brahmans are sent to purify the chosen site by the recitation of sacred mantras.³ On the appointed day the headman of the village leads a procession to the site, and performs the ceremony of installing the village gods. It is said that, at the time of founding a new settlement, it is necessary to install and worship the *panch-deva* or the five deities, namely, Hanumān, Ganpati, Mahādev, Vishnu and Devi. Hanumān is installed at the village-gates, and is propitiated with an offering of *churmu* and *radān*. The images of Ganpati and Vishnu are set up in a central place in the village, temples being built for them in due course. Mahādev is generally installed on the village-boundary, and has a temple built for him afterwards. Devi may be set up anywhere: her installation is not permanent nor does she receive systematic worship.⁴ But more generally only Ganpati, Hanumān and Mātā are installed on this occasion.⁵ Occasionally other deities, such as the Earth, Shesh Nāg,⁶ the Navagrah (the nine planets), the pole-star and Kshetrapāl are also worshipped.⁶

The village-gates are fixed after the ceremony of installation, and a *torar*—a string of *āsopālar* leaves (Jonesia asoka) with a coconut in the centre—is fastened across them

¹ The Schoolmaster of Sayala.

² The Schoolmaster of Khirasara.

³ The Schoolmasters of Jodia and Khirasara.

⁴ The celebrated serpent of one thousand heads who supports all the worlds.

⁵ K. D. Desai.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

near the top.¹ Here the ceremony of *khāt-muhuri** is performed² and afterwards the headman, accompanied by a Brahman, who recites mantras, either winds a cotton-thread besmeared with red lac round the village or pours a stream of milk *dhārāvādi* along the village boundaries.³ The headman has further to perform the *homa* at the gates of the village, when a company of Brahmans recite holy passages in honour of Hanumān and Mātā. At the time of the completion of the *homa*, when the *āhuti* (an oblation of ghi) is thrown on the fire, all persons present offer cocoanuts to the sacrificial fire.⁴

In some places it is usual to worship the newly chosen site itself, and then to drive into the ground a wooden peg besmeared with red lac, called the *khili* (peg) of Shesh Nāg, which is first ceremoniously worshipped with red lac, sandal-ointment and rice.⁵

After these ceremonies, the villagers are at liberty to build their own houses within the new settlement. When the houses are complete and ready for habitation, it is necessary to perform the ceremony known as *vāstun* (or *graha-shānti*) for the propitiation of the nine planets. Both the day of installing the gods and the day of *vāstun* ceremony, are observed as festivals, at which Brahmans are feasted, and *lāpsi*, *churmu* and *kansār* are offered to the gods.⁶

The new settlement may be named after the deity whose advice brought about the move or after the headman. It is sometimes

named after the particular incident which drove the people to seek their new home.⁶

A failure of the harvest is in most cases due to the irregularity of the rains. It is therefore ascribed to the displeasure of Indra, the god of rain, and Varuna, the god of water. The mode of propitiating these gods has already been described.

Sometimes a cessation of rains is attributed to the wrath of the village-gods, whereupon the festival of *Ujāni* is celebrated in order to appease them. One day, preferably a Sunday, all the inhabitants go outside the village, and rich viands are cooked to be offered to the village-gods. At the same time, the headman performs a *homa* sacrifice and the dainties are partaken of after the villagers have thrown cocoanuts into the sacrificial fire.

In similar circumstances people sometimes seek the protection of the gods Annadeva, Annapūrṇā, and Kriyā Bhaudai. Six *dokdās*† or six pice are collected from every house in the village to make what is called a *chhakadi*, and the whole amount is then bestowed in charity in the name of the above-named deities.⁷

Rain during the Ashleshā and Maghā nakshatras† is destructive to the crops, and is a sign of the wrath of Indra, who should be appeased with sacrificial offerings.⁸

Diseases among cattle are believed to be brought on by the wrath of minor deities such as Shitalā Mahākālī⁹ or the sixty-four Joganis.¹⁰§ The *bhuvās*, when they are

¹ The Schoolmasters of Chhatrasa and Rajpara.

² The Schoolmasters of Khirasara, Jetpur and Rajpara.

³ The Schoolmaster of Jodiā.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Kotda-sangani.

⁶ Vide Chapter I., p. 29.

⁷ The time taken by the sun to move through the constellations Ashleshā and Maghā, which is approximately the month of August.

⁸ Generally the same ideas prevail regarding diseases of cattle as in the case of human ailments. *Dokās* or magical threads and slips of paper are often used in cases of fever. In epidemics like cholera pollution is believed to be at the root of the evil. Bhangis are engaged to prepare images of corn to keep off the disease, and they forfeit their homesteads and property if the epidemic is not checked thereby. —The Schoolmaster of Barton Female Training College, Rajkot. (These images represent evil spirits presiding over particular diseases. Certain oblations are offered to these evil spirits, and after the recital of certain incantations they are either burnt or buried.)

⁹ The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

¹⁰ The Schoolmasters of Chhatrasa and Jetpur.

¹¹ K. D. Desai.

¹² The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

¹³ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

† 100 *dokdās* = 1 rupee.

possessed, declare to the people which particular deity is exasperated, whereupon that deity is conciliated either by offering dainties or a goat or a ram, or by the observance of *Ujāni*. A *dhārāvādi*—a stream of milk—is poured on to the ground adjoining the village side, and *torans* of *āsopālav* leaves (*Jonesia asoka*) are fastened on the doors of the offended deity's temple.¹ It is also customary to place *baklān* and *vadān* at a spot where three roads meet in order to propitiate the evil spirits, who frequent such places.²

Small-pox is supposed to be the result of the displeasure of the goddess Shitalā. In all cases of small-pox the victim is left to suffer, the only remedy being the observation of vows in honour of the angry goddess. Different things are dedicated to the goddess according as the disease affects one part of the body or another; and they are usually offered on a Sunday or a Tuesday. The usual offering consists of *kulera*,³ a *tāv* (a sheet of paper), fried *juvāri*, fried gram, and other articles varying according to the symptoms.³

To ward off this disease the women of the village sometimes prepare cakes, *gānthiās*,[†] etc., on the sixth day of a month, the preparations being partaken of on the next day, when no fresh food is to be cooked.⁴

Kharavā affects the hoofs of cattle, in which it produces irritation; it is generally due to worms in the hoofs. A *jantra* (a mystical arrangement of words) of the twelve names of Mahāvīr (the great warrior, i. e. Arjun) is written on a piece of paper, and

tied round the neck of the diseased animal, fastened over the gates through which the cattle pass, or suspended over the street by which the cattle go out to graze.⁵ The *jantra* is as follows:—

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| Shrisakhā | Dhanurdhārī | Gājīdhanā† | Krishna-sakhā. |
| Dhananjaya | Lalanlārkhā | Kapidhwaj. | Jayahari. |
| | ‡ | | |
| Gudākesh | Pitābhavā ‡ | Narsinh | Pārth. |

Sometimes the paper on which the *jantra* is written is placed in a hollow bamboo stick which is then fastened over the gates.⁶ The *jantra* is believed to have the power to cure the disease.

Muvā-keshibi causes saliva to flow continuously from the mouths of animals. A *gagarbediun* (a piece of leather thong or a piece of black wood, on which magic spells have been cast) is suspended over the village gates or is tied to the neck of the animal, in the case of this disease occurring.⁷

In such diseases as *kharavā*, *sunaku*, *motudukh* (lit. the great malady), *valo*, *pet-tod*,[§] *Bandhāi-javan*,|| a *jantra* is tied by a piece of indigo-coloured cloth or by a piece of thread of the same colour, round the neck of the animal, and is also fastened over the village-gates. A *toran* is prepared of the ears of *juvāri* corn with a cocoanut in the centre, and after magical incantations have been pronounced over it, is suspended over the village-gates. All animals passing under the *toran* are believed to be proof against the disease.

¹ The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

² The Schoolmaster of Dhank.

³ The Schoolmaster of Dhank.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁵ Small round cakes of wheat flour sweetened with molasses and fried in ghi.

[†] A preparation of fine gram flour treated with spices, which after being made into a thick paste, is passed through a sieve into boiling oil.

[‡] Shrisakhā, Gājīdhanā and Pitābhavā are most probably corruptions of Shrishasakhā, Gāndivadhanvā and Prithābhava respectively; Lalanlārkhā perhaps of Lalāma narākhyā.

[§] A disease which causes severe pain in the stomach of the affected animal.

^{||} A disease which stiffens the limbs of animals and renders them incapable of any movement.

² The Schoolmaster of Mota-Devalia.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁶ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

But if this is not successful in checking the course of the disease, it is usual to swallow the *chelans** of Mungi Mātā (the Dumb Mother). For this purpose the *bhuvās* of the Mātā, who are Bhurvāds, are invited to the stalls of the affected cattle, where they recite magic incantations amidst tumultuous shouts and yells. After this they are fed with rice, ghi and sugar, this latter process being called 'swallowing the *chelans* of the Mātā,'¹

In event of this process being of no avail in restraining the disease, the headman of the village in the company of his wife performs a *homa* sacrifice in the places dedicated to the Mātās, and offers an *āhuti*—a sacrificial oblation—when all the villagers dedicate cocoanuts to the sacrificial fire.²

Sometimes the wrath of the god Gorakhdev is supposed to be responsible for cattle-diseases. A bunch of the leaves of a poisonous medicinal plant *ānkdo* is passed seven times over the body of the ailing animal with the prayer 'May Gorakhdev be pleased,' and a cocoanut is dedicated to the god.³

Another method of checking cattle-disease is to bury the corpse of an animal which has died thereof near the village-gates. It is believed that this puts a stop to any further deaths among cattle from the same disease.⁴

When such a disease as *shili* (small-pox), *sakharado*, or *kharavā* prevails largely among cattle, a belief gains ground that the Dheds (who flay the dead cattle and sell their hides) have poisoned the drinking water

of the cattle in order to increase their earnings.⁵

The god Kāl-bhairav was brought into existence by the fury of god Shiva, when he, being extremely angry with Brahmā, cut off the fifth head of the latter. Kāl-bhairav is the leader of all *bhuts* (ghosts) and *dākans* (witches), and resides at Kāshi (Benares) by the order of Shiva. His favourite haunt is a cemetery. His image is always represented as fierce and ugly.⁶

It is said that this god once entered the mouth of Gorakhnath and performed religious austerities in that strange abode. Although Gorakhnath was nearly suffocated, he could only persuade Kāl-bhairav to come out by extolling his glory and by conferring on him the leadership of all *bhuts* and the guardianship of the Kotvālu fortress at Kāshi.⁷

Kāl-bhairav does not command worship on any auspicious occasion. On the other hand, he is much revered by persons who practise the black art. On *Kāli-chaudas* day his devotees worship him in a cemetery, offer an oblation of *baklan*, and recite magic incantations till late at night.⁸

The offerings favoured by Kāl-bhairav are *khir*,† cakes of wheat flour, sugar and *vadān*.‡ The sacrifice of a live animal is also acceptable.¹⁰ The offering after presentation to the god, are given to black dogs.

Pregnant women in order to secure a safe delivery sometimes vow to abstain from ghi till they have offered an oblation to Kāl-bhairav.¹¹

¹ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

² The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

³ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Aman.

⁶ The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

* The word *chela* in ordinary language means a pancake (*pudalo*) of wheat or gram, sweet or salt, and it is a favourite oblation to Mātā. So the word *chelan* may have come to be used for any oblation to Mātā and the expression swallowing the *chelans* may mean partaking of the oblation or offering of the Mātā.

† Milk and rice boiled together and sweetened with sugar.

‡ Vide page 48.

⁷ The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

⁸ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁹ The Schoolmaster of Moti Murad.

¹⁰ The Schoolmaster of Jodia and Dodiala.

¹¹ The Schoolmaster of Patanav.

The Mātrikās or Mātās are worshipped during the Navarātra holidays also. On this occasion small *morias* or earthen bowls with a hole in the centre of each, are plastered with *khadi* (red or green earth) and *kāyā*; and young girls carry them on their heads with burning lamps from door to door. At each house they receive oil for the lamp and a handful of corn. On the last day, i. e., on the ninth day, all the bowls are placed on the special site dedicated to the Mātās. The songs, which are also accompanied by dancing, are called *garabi* or *garabā*.¹

The Mātrikās are also supposed to be the *grahas* or planets which influence the life of a child in the womb, and their worship is believed to bring about an easy delivery.²

There is also a family goddess of the name of Mātrikā. In worshipping her, seven round spots are painted on a wall with red lac, and ghi is poured over them in such a manner as to form five small *relās* (streams). A mixture of molasses and ghi is then applied to these spots with a piece of *ādāchh* (red cotton yarn). By this process the devotee secures the motherly regard of the goddess.³

One of the deities which preside over child-birth is Randal Mātā or Rannā Devi, who is said to be the wife of the Sun.⁴ In order to secure an easy delivery, pregnant women take a vow that they will invite one or more *lotās* (bowls) of this Mātā. The process of "inviting the *lotās*" is as follow:—

The tufts round the shell of a cocoanut are pulled out, the nut is besmeared with chalk, and marks representing two eyes and a nose are painted on it. (Or the nut is so placed that the two spots on its surface represent eyes, and the pointed tuft of fibres between them serves the purpose of a nose). A bowl is placed on a piece of cloth stretched on a wooden stool, and the cocoanut

is placed over the bowl. It is then dressed in elegant female attire, and a ghi lamp is kept constantly burning near it. This completes the *sthāpan* or installation of Randal Mātā. Women bow down before this representation of the Mātā, and sing melodious tunes in its presence. On the morning of the following day, the image is carried to the temple of the village Mātā, the cocoanut is deposited there, and the garments are brought home. The cocoanut is subsequently taken by the Brahman attendant of the Mātā.

On the day of the installation it is customary to invite five *gorāṇīs** (married women whose husbands are living) to a feast of *khir* and cakes. On the next day, when the Mātā is sent away, three virgins are entertained with rice, sugar and milk.⁵

In some communities a custom prevails of "inviting the *lotās* of the Mātās" on the occasion of the first pregnancy of a woman. On the day on which the *lotās* are to be invited, the pregnant woman takes a bath early in the morning, and calls upon thirteen *gorāṇīs*, whom she invites to dinner by marking their foreheads with red lac. A Brahman is called to set up the Mātās, whose installation takes place in the same manner as that of Randal. The piece of cloth spread on the wooden stool is required to be green. When the *gorāṇīs* sit down to the dinner, the pregnant woman washes their right toes with milk and swallows that milk as *charan-āmrit* (lit. the nectar of the feet). The *gorāṇīs* are required to taste a morsel of some preparation of milk before they begin their meal. At night, a company of women dance in a circle round the Mātās, singing songs. Next morning a *bhuvā* is called, who declares the will of the Mātās. On receiving a satisfactory reply from the *bhuvā*, the party disperses.⁶

¹ The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

² The Schoolmaster of Sanka.

³ The Schoolmaster of Anandpur.

* Also known as *surāsaṇīs*.

⁵ The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

⁴ The Schoolmaster of Sanka.

⁶ K. D. Desai.

The goddesses Bahucharàji (or Beechràji) and Ambàji are sometimes worshipped for the sake of safety during childbirth. The ceremony of Nāndi-Shrāddha which was performed when Rāma was born is sometimes gone through at the birth of a child.¹

The deities of the forest reside in groves of trees or near the *Piludi* tree, to which their devotees must go in order to fulfil their vows.² These deities do not receive any formal worship. But they are noted for the

cure of certain diseases, and the groves which they haunt are frequently visited by afflicted persons. These deities are installed in those places where they have manifested their powers.³

There is a belief that if unmarried persons touch *sindur* or red lead, a cobra deity of the forest, Kshetrapāl, takes them in marriage. But the danger can be averted by vowing to dedicate *khichadi*, red lead, a *dokado** and some fruit to this god at the time of marriage.⁴

¹ The School Master of Jodia.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The School Master of Kolki.

⁴ The School Master of Kolki.

* A ball of molasses and sesamum seeds mixed together.

CHAPTER III.

DISEASE DEITIES.

Such diseases as cholera and small-pox are believed to be brought on by the wrath of the Mātās or Devis caused by neglecting to offer the usual oblations. In order to propitiate them, Brāhmanas are engaged to recite the *Chandipāth* and to offer *havans* (sacrificial offerings). Very often the festival known as *ujani* is observed, in which all the villagers go outside the village to take their meals, and return home in the evening after witnessing the *āhuti* (the offering of cocoanuts to the sacrificial fire).*

Another belief personifies the diseases as *malin* or evil spirits who are fond of human prey. To ward them off, a *dhārā-vādi*, or stream of milk, is poured out in the village or a magic thread is passed round. The chariot† of the Mātā is driven through the village with the same object.¹

There is a popular tradition that in ancient times cholera was subjugated by king Vikrama, and was buried underground. Once upon a time the British excavated the place in the belief that treasure was concealed there, and thus cholera was released. After many soldiers had fallen victims, the disease deity was at last propitiated by an oblation, and was handed over to the Bhangis (or scavengers).²

This association of the Bhangis with cholera is present in most of the beliefs current about the disease. There is a story that once upon a time a number of students had put up in a house by which a Bhangi was in the habit of passing frequently. He daily used to hear the students reciting the sacred texts and this produced in his mind the desire to become a Sanskrit scholar. For this purpose, having concealed his low birth, he went to Benares and by diligent study, soon became a *pandit*. He even married a girl of high caste. But his imposture being at last discovered, he burnt himself to death, and his ashes gave rise to the disease known as cholera.³

At the present day, if the epidemic breaks out, the Bhangis are often suspected in some way or other of having brought it about. It is said that they make statues of the flour of *adad* (*phascolus radiatus*) and after piercing them with needles and pins, either throw them into the wells which are daily used by the villagers‡ or bury them in a spot over which the people frequently pass. The whole affair is managed very secretly and at the dead of night. The slightest rumour of such proceedings causes a tumult in the village, and the Bhangis are then in danger of being severely handled by the enraged villagers.⁴

¹ The School Master of Luvania.

² The School Master of Kotda-Sangani.

* *Vide* Question 19.

³ The School Master of Jodia.

⁴ The School Masters of Jodia, Dadvi, and Songadh.

† A small wooden car five or six inches long is covered over with a piece of cotton cloth and the wooden image of a Mātā—Khodiar or Kalkā—besmeared with red lead is placed upon it. This *rath* or chariot of the Mātā is then passed through the village on the shoulders of a low-caste person, who begs corn from door to door and afterwards places the image at the gates of the neighbouring village. From thence it is removed by the people of that village to the next village and so on till it reaches the sea.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

‡ Sometimes the statues of *adad* flour are besmeared with red lead and afterwards are boiled in dirty water. The whole of this preparation is then thrown into wells, the waters of which are used for drinking in the village.—The Schoolmaster of Songadh.

Another method by which the Bhangis are supposed to bring about cholera is to sprinkle the blood of a black cow on the image of Hanumān. The god is deeply offended at the insult, and in consequence spreads cholera in the neighbourhood. For this reason, offerings are burnt before Hanumān in order to stop an epidemic of cholera.¹

Bhangis are also supposed by some to accomplish the same result by the help of *malin* or evil deities who are first gratified by the offering of victims.² One of such deities is Rāmdepir, to whom *bali-dān* (offering of a victim) is made by the people, through the medium of Bhangis, for the prevention of cholera.³

An outbreak of cholera offers a good opportunity to the Bhangis, who extort dainties and small sums of money from the people. Persons attacked by cholera often seek the services of a Bhangi and promise him liberal gifts if they are cured. The latter generally treats his patients by tying a magic thread round their elbows.⁴

It is said that the Bhangis have to present an offering to their *malin* or evil goddess every third year, and that, in so doing, they kill a black animal before the goddess. They then place an iron pan full of sesamum oil on the fire, and suspend the body of the animal above it. It is believed that as many human beings will fall victims to cholera as the number of the drops of blood that fall from the body of the animal into the iron pan.⁵

Another deity whose wrath is supposed to be responsible for the breaking out of cholera is Mahāmāri Devi.⁶ The worshippers of this goddess are Bhangis. She is believed

to send forth cholera when her oblations are stopped,⁷ and her favour is regained by renewing the offer of these oblations. Sometimes the *Navachandi* sacrifice is performed at the principal village-gates, and the *chandipāth* is recited at the other gates. A number of Brāhmins and virgins are also feasted, and presented with garments. A magic cotton thread is passed round the village and a *dhārā-vādi*, or stream of milk, is poured out. The *bhuvās* go round the village playing upon the harsh unpleasant *dank-lan*. A goat is then taken to the temple of the Mātā, and the *bhuvās*, after cutting out its tongue, dip their hands in its blood and strike them against the doors of the temple. The goat is then killed and similar blood-marks are made upon every door in the village as well as on the village-gates, where an iron nail is driven into the ground with an incantation. A lime is then cut, and an oblation is offered to the Mātā. Such a process is believed to stop the progress of the epidemic.⁸

Other deities connected in popular belief with cholera are the goddesses Visuchikā⁹ and Chandikā.¹⁰ Visuchikā is conciliated by burnt offerings: the recitation of the *chandipāth* wins the favour of Chandikā. There is also a giantess named Karkatā who is supposed to be responsible for cholera. She is said to have sprung from the sweat on the forehead of Brahmā and to reside in the *chandra mandal* (or lunar sphere).¹¹

One of the remedies adopted to stop an epidemic of cholera is to propitiate Shiva by the performance of *Rudrayāg*,¹² *Mahā-rudra*,¹³ *Shatachandi*,¹⁴ *Homahavan* and by bestowing gifts on Brāhmins and other holy

¹ The School Master of Dadvi.

² The School Master of Jodia.

³ The School Master of Movaiya.

⁴ The School Masters of Devalia and Vasavad.

⁵ The School Master of Charadwa.

⁶ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁷ The School Master of Mendarda.

⁸ The School Master of Vanod.

⁹ The Shastri of Jetpur Pathshala.

* These are different sacrifices, the first two in honour of Shiva, the third in honour of the goddess Chandi.

men.¹ Sometimes vows are observed with the same object in honour of a minor local deity named Lala Hardev.² Another method of driving off the disease is to convey it to the body of a goat or a ram, or a he-buffalo, and to drive the animal out of the village.³

Small-pox is believed to be the act of the goddess Shitalà Mâtà, who spreads the disease whenever she is desirous of having victims.⁴ Thus, in cases of small-pox, the patient very often receives no medical treatment, the only remedies adopted being directed towards the propitiation of the Mâtà.⁵ A number of vows are taken in the Mâtà's name, to be fulfilled after the patient has recovered. Many people accomplish their vows before the Shitalà Mâtà at Kalavad in Jāmāgar. A vow to visit this place after the patient's recovery, and to abstain from certain things till the day of the visit, is taken by the mother of the affected person in case of a severe attack. But almost every village contains a temple of Shitalà Mâtà, and those, who cannot go to Kalavad, vow in the name of the local Mâtà.⁴ One of such vows is to go to the temple of the Mâtà with a burning hearth on the head.⁴ Such a vow is generally undertaken by the patient's mother.

Ordinarily in a case of small-pox, the patient is not allowed to bathe till he is completely free from all traces of the disease. A bath is then given on a Sunday, a Tuesday, or a Thursday, with water which has been heated by being placed in the sun. An image of Shitalà Mâtà is set up in the house near the water room, and the patient

worships the image after the bath. The image is drawn in cowdung with two cotton seeds to represent the eyes. An offering of *kulera*† and curds is made to the goddess. Five virgins are invited to dinner, and are served with cold food. All the members of the household also partake of cold food. On the 7th or the 13th day of the bright half of a month the patient is taken to the temple of Shitalà Mâtà, when a cocoanut is broken in the presence of the goddess. Half of the cocoanut is brought home, the other half being carried away by the Mâtà's attendant. Some people place a new earthen vessel filled with water near the goddess. Silver eyes, which may be worth anything between half an anna and half a rupee, are dedicated to the Mâtà.⁴

The first visit to the Mâtà should take place on a Sunday or a Tuesday. The things vowed to the goddess are dedicated on this occasion. It is also necessary to go to the goddess again on the next Tuesday or Thursday after the first visit. This time only water and red lac are offered.⁵

During the course of the disease no low-caste person and no woman in her monthly course is allowed to cast his or her shadow on the patient.⁴ The women in the house are prohibited from combing their hair, or churning curdled milk, or indulging in sexual intercourse. Such acts are believed to cause extreme displeasure to the Mâtà, who then causes some limb of the patient to be affected. Branches of *nimb* leaves are suspended over the doors of the house, and also round the patient's bed. The same leaves are used to fan the patient.⁴

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Dadvi.

³ The School Master of Dhank.

⁴ The School Master of Jodia.

⁵ Mr. K. D. Desai.

* The patient is often entirely made over to the Mâtà and is again purchased from her at a nominal price of a rupee and a quarter. —Mr. K. D. Desai.

† A mixture of the flour of *bajri*, ghi, and molasses.

When a child suffers from the disease, it is often weighed against dates, which are first dedicated to the goddess, and then distributed amongst the poor.¹ The child is taken to bow down before the goddess after nine or ten days from the date of attack, and the mother of the child offers several things to the Mâtà, among which are grapes, sugar, a pinch of flour, a small earthen bowl full of water, and a blank sheet of paper.²

Different things are dedicated to the goddess according as the disease affects one part of the body or another. For instance, flour of *bâjrâ* or *juvârî* is offered in case of bronchitis; silver models of the human eye when the disease affects the eyes; a *gôras* (a black earthen vessel full of curds) in case of morbid heat; a piece of black paper, in high fever, and salt if there is an itching sensation.³ The Mâtà is said to live on cold food and to be very fond of things which have a cooling effect such as fruits, sugar, etc. The same things are given to the patient as food.⁴

To secure the protection of Shitalâ Mâtà for their children, women annually observe the vow of *shili sâtem* on the 7th day of the dark half of *Shrâvan*. On this day the Mâtà is said to visit every house and to roll herself on the hearth. No fire is, therefore, lighted in the hearth on this day: for if the Mâtà comes and is scorched by the fire she is sure to bring misfortune on that household. For this reason, a number of dainties and all the food necessary for the day is prepared on the previous day. On the day of *shili sâtem*, *juvârî* seeds are spread on the hearth, and after being sprinkled with red lac, a cowdung bowl containing a plant called *vaṇa* is placed upon them. The women of the house bathe with cold water and take only one meal during the day.

They further abstain from sewing and embroidering during that day. Sometimes a Brâhman is engaged to recite the *Shitalâ shloka* from a book called *Rudrayâmal*.⁵

The following legend is related of *shili sâtem*. A certain woman once forgot to extinguish the fire in her hearth on *Rândhan Chhetha* (lit. cooking sixth), i. e., the day previous to *shili sâtem*. On the next day, the Mâtà was scorched in the stomach when she came to roll herself on the hearth. In extreme anger the goddess cursed the woman saying that her only son would be burnt to death; and immediately the boy died. In her anguish the unfortunate mother confessed her fault to a friend, who advised her to go to the jungle and entreat the Mâtà to give back her son. She found the goddess rolling in distress under a *bâbul* tree. The woman slowly approached her, and began to comb out the Mâtà's hair. She then placed her son in the Mâtà's lap and entreated the goddess to revive the boy. The Mâtà felt much relieved by the woman's attentions and blessed her saying that her bosom should be as quiet as her own head. Immediately, at these words, the boy revived, to the intense joy of his mother.⁶

Women whose relatives have recovered from a dangerous attack of small-pox observe a vow on every *sâtem*, i. e., the 7th day of the dark half of every month. They first bathe with cold water and, after offering an oblation of *kulerâ*, take their meals only once during the day. This food has to be prepared on the previous day.

Shitalâ Mâtà is described as riding an ass in a nude state with the half of a *supadun* (a winnowing fan) for an umbrella and with a swing in one hand, and a broom in the other.⁷ But more usually the Mâtà is represented by a mere trunkless head in

¹ The School Master of Jodia.

² The Deputy Educational Inspector of Hâlâr.

³ The School Masters of Dhânk and Ganod.

⁵ The School Master of Sayala.

⁶ The School Master of Zinruwâdâ.

⁷ The School Master of Vanod.

⁷ The School Master of Ganod.

stone, besmeared with red lead. This is said to be the head of Babhrivāhan, the son of Bhima¹ the second of the Pāṇḍavas by a Nāg mother. At the time of the Great War, he was sent by his mother from his residence in the *pātāl* (the regions below this world) to assist his father, and as he did not know the Pāṇḍavas, he was asked to join the weaker side. On coming to the earth he first met with Krishna who took a promise from him to lop his own head off. In return, Krishna promised him that he would be immortal, invisible and worshipped by all, and the head was set up on the flag of the Pāṇḍavas. This head began to trouble the Pāṇḍavas after their victory, and could only be quieted by the promise of Krishna to have him recognised as a deity with unlimited powers. This head afterwards came to be known as the controller of small-pox. How the head of the male Babhrivāhan came to be identified with Shitalā Mātā, it is difficult to explain.⁴

There is a tradition that a Kunbi once recovered his eyesight, lost in an attack of small-pox, by worshipping Shitalā Mātā, and by vowing not to tie his lock of hair till his blindness was cured.²

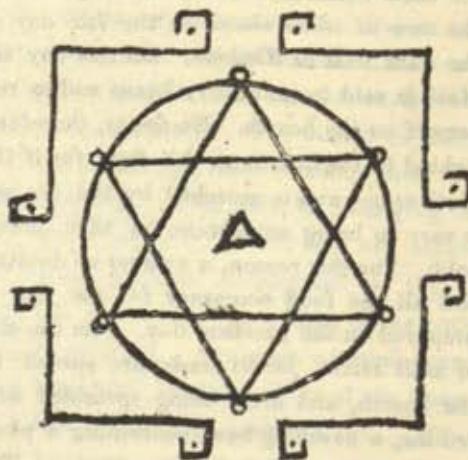
It is said that the powderlike substance which falls from the scabs of small-pox cures cataract if applied to the eyes.²

Dakṣha Prajāpati once celebrated a great sacrifice, but did not invite his son-in-law Shiva. The latter was extremely enraged at the insult, and eight sorts of fever were in consequence produced by his breath at that time.³ According to another story *zār* or fever was created by Shiva in order to assist the demon Bāṇāsura in his contest with

god Krishna, and it can be cured by the recitation of a piece called Ushāharan, from the *Harivansha*.⁴ Some persons attribute fever to the wrath of Vishnu, and declare that it can be avoided by the recitation of *Vishnu-sahasranāma*.⁵ Others believe it to be due to the anger of Shiva, and say that it can be cured by pouring a stream of water over the image of Shiva by offering *bel* leaves (*Aegle marmelos*) to him, and by reciting the *Mrityunjaya mantra* in his honour.⁶ Others again ascribe it to the displeasure of the gods Hari† and Har,† saying that the heat is caused by the wrath of Shiva.⁷

The following are some of the remedies adopted in cases of fever:

- (i) The recitation of sacred hymns in honour of the gods.
- (ii) The worship of Narsinh.
- (iii) Rudrābhishek—pouring a stream of water on the image of Shiva with the recitation of verses in his honour.
- (iv) Drawing the *jantra* of Mrityunjaya (*lit.* Death-conquering, an epithet of Shiva) as shown below.



¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The School Master of Sanka.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Charadwa.

⁵ Babhrivāhan was not the son of Bhima, he was the son of Arjun by Chitrangadā, a princess of Manipur.

† Names of Vishnu and Shiva respectively.

‡ The half-man and half-lion incarnation of Vishnu.

⁶ The School Master of Jodia.

⁷ The Mistress of Rajkot, Civil Station Girls' School.

⁸ The Shastri of Jetpur Pathshāla.

(v) Tying a magic thread round the arm.¹ On a Sunday or a Tuesday a woollen thread or a piece of five-coloured silken thread is taken to a *bāvā* or a *jogi*, who mutters a few mystic words, and makes seven knots in the thread. The thread is treated with frankincense, and then tied round the arm.²

Periodical fevers are believed to be under the control of certain spirits. There is a story connected with almost every sort of fever, and it is believed that a person who listens to such a story is cured of fever.³ The following legend is connected with *ekānterio*—intermittent fever occurring on alternate days. Once a Bania, on his way to a village, came across a banyan tree where he unyoked his bullocks and went to a distance to seek for water. *Ekānterio* (the spirit controlling intermittent fever) resided on this tree, and when the Bania had gone sufficiently far he stole from behind the tree and carried away the Bania's carriage together with his family. The Bania was much surprised to miss them on his return, but he soon found out the author of the trick, and pursued *Ekānterio*. That spirit however would not listen to the Bania's entreaties to return his carriage, and the matter was at last referred for arbitration to *Bochki Bai*. The latter decided in favour of the Bania, and confined *Ekānterio* in a bamboo tube. He was released on the condition that he would never attack those persons who listen to this story.⁴

There is a flower garden to the west of Jodia where there is a tree called *ghelun* (mad) tree. Vows in honour of this tree are believed to be efficacious in curing fever.⁴

It has been already said above that such epidemic diseases as cholera or the plague are often supposed to be the result of the sinister practices of the Bhangis. There is a

belief that the Bhangis sometimes prepare an image out of the flour of *adad* (*phaseolus radiatus*) and pierce it with needles, and it is said that for every hole made in the image one human being falls a victim to some epidemic disease. Such an image is sometimes placed in an earthen vessel and buried underground in a public way so that every passer by treading on the spot where it is buried may be attacked by some disease. Or it is thrown into the well which is most used by village people, with the object that all persons drinking water from the well may perish by the disease.⁵

The Bhangis are also accused of causing an epidemic by means of boiling the ear of a buffalo and the flesh of an ox together in one vessel, it being believed that the virulence of the disease varies in proportion to the extent to which the boiling proceeds. This process is supposed to cause a disease among cattle also.⁶

Another belief is that the Bhangis charm seeds of *adad* and cloves by repeating magic incantations over them, and afterwards strew them on a highway in order that those who step on them may be attacked by cholera or some similar disease.⁷ One motive suggested for such action is that they are thereby likely to receive their garments, which would be used for covering the bodies.⁸ Also at the outbreak of such an epidemic, clothes, coconuts, ghi, molasses, wheat flour, etc., are offered by the people to the Bhangis, who in return give a *dorā*, a piece of thread, of black wool to be worn by the afflicted persons.⁹

But apart from such beliefs, the appearance of an epidemic is also attributed to other causes. There is the usual belief that it is caused by the diminution of virtue and the increase of sin among people and the

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ The School Master of Rajpara.

⁵ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁶ The School Master of Jodia.

⁷ The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.

⁸ The School Master of Jasan.

⁹ The School Master of Rajpara.

consequent wrath of the gods, who are only propitiated by the people again reverting to righteous ways and by the performance of sacrifices in their honour.¹

There is also a belief that the sixty-four Joganis, when they are desirous of victims, cause baneful epidemics among mankind, the remedies in such a case being such as offering a goat or a he-buffalo to them, or the observation of an *ujāni* in their honour.

The following tale is related regarding an occurrence said to have taken place not long ago in the village of Verad. The headman of the village who was a Rajput by birth but who had lost his caste owing to irregular conduct with a woman, died of fever, and as he was an outcaste his body was buried instead of being cremated. Soon after, a number of persons in the same village happened to die of the same fever and the people conjectured that the late *patel's* corpse must be lying in its grave with its face downwards chewing the *khahan* (? perhaps *kaphan*, i. e. the cloth in which a corpse is wrapped). Many thought that the health of the village would not be restored until the corpse was replaced in the correct position with its face upwards and unless the *khapan* was taken out of its mouth. But none ventured to do so, being dissuaded by the fear of meeting with a worse fate.

But although they did not open the grave yet they arranged for certain vows to be taken in honour of the dead man, and that put a stop to the disease.²

Another story from the same place is that when small-pox once raged furiously in that village, the people of the place celebrated a magnificent feast of dainties prepared of wheat-flour, ghi, molasses, rice and pulse, and afterwards the Dheds of the village lopped off the head of a dead he-buffalo, burying it at the spot where the feast was held.³

The remedies adopted for the abatement of epidemic diseases have already been mentioned above, the most common being the winding of a cotton-thread, the pouring out of *dhārāvādi*, i. e., milk, in the village, and the taking of the *rath* of the Mātā in a procession beyond the village boundary, the epidemic being supposed to be expelled in the *rath*. In the last case, after the *rath* has been taken to the neighbouring village, a charmed peg is sometimes driven into the ground near the village boundary to prevent the epidemic from crossing back again.⁴

Mention has already been made of the deities which protect the cattle and to whose displeasure diseases among cattle are attributed. It is said that such diseases are very common during the *vishi* of Shiva. A cycle of twenty years is called a *vishi*, three such cycles making a complete *samvatsar* of sixty years. Each of such *vishis* is presided over and named after each of the three gods of the Trinity, Brahmā, Vishnu and Shiva. The *vishi* of Brahmā is characterized by protection and creation, that of Vishnu by growth and that of Shiva by destruction, the last often bringing on such calamities as plague, famine and diseases among cattle.⁵

The following are some of the remedies practised by the village people in the case of certain cattle-diseases.

In the case of such diseases as *movā kharaṇā* or the like, there is a practice of burying a plough near one's gates, which is afterwards covered with dust gathered from three streets and is worshiped with a branch of a tree, a plate of iron and red lead. This ceremony has to be performed either on a Sunday or a Tuesday, and the man who performs it has to remain naked at the time.⁶

For the cure of *valo* (a disease in which the throat is inflamed), pieces of the stalk of *kukad-rel* (a kind of creeper) are tied

¹ The School Master of Kotda-Sangani.

² The School Master of Devalia.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Devalia.

⁵ The School Master of Sanka.

⁶ The School Master of Dhank.

round the neck or the horns of the diseased animal and no other food except *ghī* and molasses is allowed to it for two or three days. A handful of salt is sometimes thrown on the back of the animal.¹ Sesamum oil is also said to work as a good medicine in the case of the same disease.²

Another remedy for the same disease is to pass a knotted bamboo stick with seven knots seven times over the back of the ailing animal.³

Ghi is sometimes used as a medicine in the case of small-pox. In the case of *shakario* or *kālo vā*, the animal is branded in the affected limbs. To one suffering from a sty in the eye an ointment prepared from the horn of a deer is applied, while a mixture of whey and salt is said to be useful in most eye maladies. The treatment for the swelling of the belly is a mixture of molasses, *ajamo* (ligusticum ajwaen) and *sanchal* (a kind of salt). To cure an animal of *khāpari* (a disease which affects milch-cattle), the milk of the affected animal is poured on *rāfdā* (a kind of jujube tree). If after delivery, some part of the embryo remains inside an animal, milk and molasses are given to expedite its removal.⁴

In the case of *kharavā* the ailing animal is made to move about in hot sand and is treated with salt, which is first fried on the fire of *Holi*. The remedy for the disease known as *kumbhava* is to give a dose of castor oil, *sanchal*, *ajamo* and hot water to the sick animal and also to tie a magic thread round its neck.⁵

A disease called *okarinu* (i.e., vomiting) sometimes breaks out among sheep. In this case the shepherds separate all the affected animals from the herd and remove them to a distance. All the sheep which die of the disease are buried deep in a pit, which is

guarded for several days, lest some other animals dig it up and let loose the buried epidemic by exposing the carcasses. It is believed that the contagion of this disease lies in the ears; and the ears of all the sheep in the herd are carefully watched if they bleed.⁶

The twin gods Ashvini Kumār are sometimes propitiated by means of an *anushtān* (the performance of religious austerities in their honour) in order that they may put a stop to a disease among cattle.⁷

It appears that dancing often forms a part of the process of exorcism. Frequently dancing is accompanied by the beating of cymbals and drums and other loud noises. A *mandali* is convened at the house of the person who is to be exorcised i. e., a number of *bhuvās* are invited to attend along with a number of low-caste drummers, and afterwards the ceremony of *utār* is gone through; the *utār* is then taken to a cemetery.⁸

Sometimes the beating of drums and cymbals is alone resorted to for expelling an evil spirit from the person of a patient. It is believed that this process is effectual in proportion to the degree of the intensity of the noise created.⁹ The patient is asked to sit facing the east. The *Bāval* or *Vāghri* i. e., the drummer, sits in front of him, and not only beats the drum as loudly as he can, but also sings hymns at the top of his voice in honour of his favourite goddess. In the meanwhile, the *bhuvā*, who is also in attendance, begins to be possessed, and discloses the fact by convulsive fits. After a while, the *bhuvā* suddenly stamps his foot furiously on the floor, and, seizing the patient by a lock of his hair, and perhaps even giving him a blow on the back, asks in a stern voice "Who art thou? speak out at once why thou hast come or else I will burn thee to death."¹⁰

¹ The School Master of Dhānk and the Snastrī of Jetpur Pathshala.

² The Shastri of Bhayavadur Pathshala.

³ The Shastri of Jetpur and Bhayavadur.

⁴ The School Master of Anandpur.

⁵ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁶ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁷ The School Master of Wala Taluka.

⁸ The School Master of Kotdā-Sangani.

⁹ The School Master of Kotdā-Sangani.

¹⁰ All this of course is addressed to the evil spirit which is supposed to have possessed the patient.

The patient will then perhaps reply: 'Don't you know me? I am *chàran*', or 'I am *zàmlàdi*', (a female spirit guarding the village gates) or *Vàgharan†* or *Purvaj* (the spirit of a deceased ancestor). Regarding the reason for possession, the evil spirit will give some such explanation as follows:—"Once upon a time the patient was taking a loaf and vegetables which he hid from me, and therefore I shall leave his person only with his life." The *bhuvà* will then say "life is precious and not so cheap as you think. If you want anything else, say so and leave this person." After a dialogue such as the above, the *bhuvà* and the spirit come to some compromise, and the *bhuvà* then leads a procession with the *utâr* either to the village boundary or to a cemetery. The *bhuvà* then draws a circle on the ground with the point of a sword which he carries, and places the *utâr* within the circle. He then slightly cuts the tip of his tongue with the edge of the sword, and spits blood into a fire lighted for the purpose. The smoke of this fire is supposed to carry the offering to the evil spirit. The *utâr* is then taken away by the drummers, who share it secretly with the *bhuvà*. In the event of the patient deriving no benefit from this ceremony, the *bhuvà* advises the patient's relatives to repeat the process.¹

The following ceremony is sometimes performed in order to ascertain whether a person is under the influence of an evil spirit or not. A *bhuvà* is invited to the patient's house in the company of drummers, and there he dances for some time amidst the din produced by the beating of the drums and by the loud recitation of hymns in honour of his favourite goddess. Afterwards a handful of grain is passed round the head of the patient and presented to the *bhuvà* for inspection. The *bhuvà* selects a few seeds from the grain and making certain gestures, offers them to

the patient with either the words '*vàcho*' or '*vadhàvo*'. In case the *bhuvà* says '*vàcho*' and the number of seeds happens to be even, what he declared to be the cause of the patient's trouble is believed to be true. So also if the *bhuvà* says *vadhàvo* and the number of seeds proves to be odd. But in case the number of seeds proves to be odd when the *bhuvà* says '*vàcho*', or even, when he says *vadhàvo*, then his explanation of the cause of the patient's trouble is not credited.

Sometimes Bràhmans instead of *bhuvàs* are engaged to exorcise an evil spirit from the body of a sick person. A bellmetal dish, containing *adad* (phaseolus radiatus) wheat and *jowàri*, is placed on a copper jar and struck violently with a stick, called *velan*, so as to produce a loud noise. The patient, who is made to sit in front, begins to tremble and sometimes even to rave. The Bràhmans also create a loud noise and in a loud voice ask the patient who the evil spirit is and what it wants. The patient will then give out the name of some notorious *dàkan* (witch) or of one of his deceased ancestors and will add that he desires a certain thing which he was used to get while in human form. The evil spirit is then propitiated by offering the things asked for and is requested to leave the body of the patient.²

The following are other methods of expelling an evil spirit from the body:—

Either *lobhàn* i. e., incense powder, or chilies or even the excreta of dogs are burnt under the nose of the patient, who, overpowered, by the unpleasant odour, is supposed to give out the name of the evil spirit and also what the latter wants.

Water is charmed with incantations, and is either dashed against the patient's eyes or is given to him to drink.³

If the evil spirit possessing a patient is a *pyrvaj* i. e., the spirit of a deceased ancestor,

† Feminine of *Vàghri* belonging to the *Vàghri* caste.

² The School Masters of Ganod, Vanod and Kolki.

¹ The School Master of Sankà.

³ The School Master of Dadv'.

either *Nārāyan-bali Shrāddha* or *Nil-Parvati Shrāddha* or *Tripindi Shrāddha* is performed in order to propitiate it, and a party of Brāhmans is invited to dinner. In case the *purvaj* is a female, a cocoanut is installed in a *gokhalo* (a niche) in the wall to represent it, *ghi* lamps are lighted, and frankincense is burnt every morning before it. On the anniversary of the death of the *purvaj* a party of *gorānis* (unwidowed women) is invited to dinner.¹

If a woman is believed to be possessed by a *dākan*, she is made to hold a shoe in her teeth and is taken to the village boundary, where the shoe is dropped, and a circle is drawn round it with water from a bowl carried by the party. The holding of the shoe by the teeth signifies a vow on the part of the *dākan* never to re-enter the person of the exorcised woman.²

The following are other occasions for religious dancing, namely during the *Nav-rātra* holidays (i. e., the festival which commences from the 1st day of the bright half of *Āshvin* and lasts for nine days); at the time of offering oblations to the village-gods; on the occasion of setting up a pillar in memory of a deceased person; at the time of the *Nilotsava** ceremony.

At the time when Randal the wife of Surya is installed and worshipped, a party of young women dance in a circle before the goddess to the accompaniment of *garabis*.³

The eighth day of the bright half of *Āshvin* is dedicated to the worship of the *Mātās* and *devis* (minor goddesses), and on this day, *bhuvās* have to dance each before his favourite *mātā*. This they have also to do on the 1st day of the bright half of *Āshādh*. *Bhuvās*

are also invited to dance on the *Divāsā* day i. e., the last day of *Āshādh*.³

The *bhuvā* occupies a high place in the esteem of the village people, and commands much respect. In the first place, his position is that of a medium between the gods and goddesses on the one hand and human beings on the other.⁴ He is the interpreter of the will of the gods, which he expresses to the public when in a state of trance. Besides he is believed to have power over the evil spirits which are visible to a *bhuvā* though cannot be seen by ordinary eyes.⁵ He is the guardian of the village, his duty, being to protect the people from the malignant influence of the evil spirits.⁵

In the next place, it is also the office of the *bhuvā* to treat the sick. In cases when medicine is unavailing and where the malady is supposed to be the work of some evil spirit, the opinion of the *bhuvā* is sought by the relations of the patient and is given by the test of the scrutiny of grain.⁶ When the sick person is found to be under the influence of a spirit, the common mode of exorcising is to take an *utār* to the cemetery. An image of a human being is prepared out of the flour of *adad* (*phaseolus radialis*) and is passed round the body of the sick person. The *bhuvā* then holds the image near his heart and stretches himself on a bier with the image on his bosom. In this condition the *bhuvā* is taken to the cemetery, and the evil spirit is believed to be driven by these means out of the patient's body.⁷

The *bhuvā* distributes *dorās* (magic threads) and anklets among the people. Such things are coveted for their efficacy in warding off the influence of evil spirits and are often sought after by people for their cattle as well as for

¹ The School Master of Limbdi Taluka.

* *Nilotsava* or *Nil-purnavum* is a ceremony performed in honour of a young man, who has come to an untimely end. The chief part of the ceremony is the performance of the wedding of a bull-calf with a heifer. Sometimes a member of the deceased youth's family is possessed on such an occasion by the spirit of the deceased man and is believed to have then the power of correctly answering questions about future events, etc.—The School Master of Dhank.

² The School Master of Devalia.

³ The School Master of Sanka.

⁴ Mr. B. K. Desai.

⁵ The School Masters of Dhank and Kotda Sangani.

⁶ The School Master of Davdi.

⁷ The School Masters of Davdi and Kolki.

themselves.¹ The prosperity of the *dānkṛān-vagādnārs* (those who beat the drum) depends to a large extent on the success of the *bhuvā's* business, and for this reason, the drummers are often very good advocates of the *bhuvā* and take every opportunity of glorifying his powers and merits.

The respect which a *bhuvā* commands in this way is sometimes increased by the performance of such tricks as his putting lighted torches into his mouth, placing his hand in boiling oil, and similar performances.

But although there may be some *bhuvās* who profit by imposing upon the credulity of the villagers, there are many *bhuvās* who do not work with the expectation of any reward, and are only actuated by benevolent motives. Many of them honestly believe that at the time when they are thrown into a state of trance, the *mātās* or deities actually enter their bodies and speak their wishes through them as a medium.

In some villages, the office of the *bhuvā* is hereditary, and lands have been assigned to them in remuneration for their duty². In addition to this religious calling, a *bhuvā* often follows some other profession as that of agriculture, weaving or spinning.³

The *bhuvā* generally belongs to some low caste and may be a Koli, Bharvād Rabāri, Vāghri or even a Chamār. The *bhuvās* are also known as *pothiās*. One good qualification for becoming a *bhuvā* is to possess the habit of throwing one's self into convulsive fits followed by a state of trance, especially on hearing the beating of a *dānkṛān* (drum). At such a time the *mātā* or *devi* is supposed to possess the person of the *bhuvā* and to speak out her wishes on being questioned. Some *bhuvās* are regularly possessed by some *devi* or *mātā* on every Sunday or Tuesday.⁴

A typical *bhuvā* has a braid of hair on his head, puts one or more iron or copper anklets round his leg or elbow, and makes a mark with red lead on his forehead. A *bhuvā* attending upon the goddess Meldi is generally⁵ a Vāghri by caste and always wears dirty clothes. A Bharvād *bhuvā* has generally a silver anklet round his waist. A *bhuvā* has to observe a fast on all the nine days of the *Nar-rātras*. If a *bhuvā* happens to come across another *bhuvā* in convulsive fits or in a trance, he must need go into fits as well.

Generally speaking every *bhuvā* keeps an image of his favourite *mātā*⁶ in or near his own dwelling. Generally he erects a hut for the purpose and hoists a flag upon it. Near the image are placed a number of conch-shells and stones and brooms of peacock feathers. The deity is not systematically worshipped every day but receives adoration every Sunday and Tuesday. Sometimes the *bhuvā* has a disciple—a *sevaka*—who does the duty of dashing bell-metal cymbals at the time when the *bhuvā* throws himself in a trance.⁶

When a new *bhuvā* is to be initiated into the profession, he is made to sit before an image of the *mātā*, where he goes into convulsive fits while the *dānkṛān vagādnārs* beat the drums and loudly recite hymns in honour of the deity. Afterwards he is taken to a cemetery accompanied by the drummers and an expert *bhuvā*, where the latter marks out a square on the ground with the edge of a sword. The novice is asked to lie prostrate within the area thus marked out and to get up and lie again, doing the same four times, each time with his head towards each of the four quarters. The *bhuvā* who initiates the novice and who is thenceforth considered to be the *guru* or preceptor of the latter, ties a *rākḥadī* (a piece of silk thread) round the elbow of the pupil.⁷

¹ The School Masters of Kotdā—Sangni and Sanka.

² The School Master of Zinzuvādā.

³ The School Master of Sanka.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ The School Master of Jodiā.

⁶ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁷ The School Master of Patanvā.

Every *bhuvà* is required to propitiate his favourite goddess every third year, the ceremony which is then performed being called *Khad-Khadya-besàdvi*. This is performed either during the *Nav-ràtra* holidays or during the bright half of either the month of *Màgh* or *Chaitra*. All the *bhuvàs* in the village are invited on the occasion, when there is *gànjà*-smoking or *bhàng*-drinking, partly at night. After the supper which follows this party, all the *bhuvàs* gather together and go into convulsive fits till they are almost suffocated. Coconuts are then dedicated and cracked before the *mātā*, and the kernel is distributed among those present. The party then break up.¹

It is believed by some people that the spirit of a Muhammadan saint, living or dead, dwells in such trees as the *Khijado*, i. e., *Shami* (*Prosopis spieigera*) and *Bāval*, i. e., *Bābhul* (*Acacia arabica*). It is known by the name of *chitharia* that is, the ragged *Pir*. It is a common belief that if a mother fails to offer a rag or a piece of cloth to such a holy tree while passing by it, her children run the risk of falling ill. Women and ignorant people, therefore, make a point of offering rags to such trees whenever they happen to pass by them.²

According to another belief, travellers, in order to accomplish their journey safely, offer rags to such of the *Khijado*, *Bāval* or *Limdo* (*Nim*) trees as are reputed to be the residences of spirits, if they happen to be on their road.³

Some believe that both male and female spirits reside in the *Khijado*, *Bāval* and *Kerado* trees, and throw rags over them with the object of preventing passers by from cutting or removing the trees. Some pile stones round their stems and draw tridents over them with red lead and oil. If superstitious people come across such trees, they throw pieces of stones on the piles, believing them

to be holy places, and think that by doing so they attain the merit of building a temple or shrine. A belief runs that this pile should grow larger and larger day by day, and not be diminished. If the base of such a tree is not marked by a pile of stones, rags only are offered; and if rags are not available, the devotee tears off a piece of his garment, however costly it may be, and dedicates it to the tree.⁴

Once, a child saw its mother offering a rag to such a tree, and asked her the reason of the offering. The mother replied that her brother, that is the child's maternal uncle, dwelt in the tree. Hence a belief arose that a *chithario* (ragged) uncle dwells in such trees. Others assert that the *chithario pir* dwells in such trees, and they propitiate him by offering coconuts and burning frankincense before it.⁴

There is a *Khijado* tree near Sultānpur which is believed to be the residence of a demon *māmc*. This demon is propitiated by the offerings of rags.

Some declare that travellers fix rags of worn out clothes to the trees mentioned above in order that they may not be attacked by the evil spirits residing in them. Another belief is that the spirits of deceased ancestors residing in such trees get absolution through this form of devotion. It is also believed that a goddess called *chitharia devi* resides in such trees, and being pleased with these offerings, blesses childless females with children, and cures persons suffering from itch of their disease. There is a further belief that ragged travellers, by offering pieces of their clothes to the *Khijado*, *Bāval* or *Kerado* trees, are blessed in return with good clothes.

Some believe that Hanumān, the lord of spirits, resides in certain trees. They call him *chithario* or ragged Hanumān. All passers by offer rags to the trees inhabited by

¹ The School Master of Sankā.

² The School Master of Davaliā.

³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

him. There is such a tree near the station of Shiroi. There is a tamarind tree on the road from Tamnagar to Khantalia which is believed to be the residence of *chithario* Hanumān and receives similar offerings. Another tamarind tree of this description is near Marad and there is a *Khijado* tree on the road between Kālavad and Vāvadi which is similarly treated.¹

It is related by some people that in deserts trees are rare and the summer heat is oppressive. To the travellers passing through such deserts, the only place of rest is in the shadow of a solitary tree that is to be met occasionally. In order that no harm be done to such trees, some people have given currency to the belief that a spirit called *māmo* dwells in such trees and expects the offering of a rag and a pice at the hands of every passer by.¹

Some are of opinion that the *bhuvās*, in order to raise money from the credulous by terrifying them, daub a tree within the limits of each village with the form of a trident, and fix rags to it, stating that it is the abode of a *māmo* or a *pir*. At times they ask their clients to offer certain things to such trees, which they appropriate to themselves.²

There is also a belief, that the holy trees that receive offerings of rags from travellers, are the abodes of gods or evil spirits, and are distinguished from other trees of the same species by the epithet of *chithario*. Some people hoist flags on such trees instead of offering rags.

In some places, the *Borādi* (jujube), *Pipal*, *Vad* (banyan) and the sweet basil receive offerings of a pice and a betelnut from travellers, while the *Khijado* and *Bāval* are given rags.³

It is stated by some people that the belief in *chithario* *pir* has grown during the last four hundred years.

Rags are never offered to wells, but it is common to offer them copper coins and betelnuts. Sometimes flags are hoisted near holy wells in honour of the water-goddess Jaldevki. Travellers hoist flags on certain wells and throw copper coins into them in the course of their journey. The origin of this offering is said to be in the desire of travellers to prevent people from committing a nuisance near wells.

Some wells are noted as being the abode of spirits who have the power of effecting certain cures. It is customary to throw a pice in such wells. When a person is bitten by a rabid dog, he goes to a well inhabited by a *vāchharo*, the spirit who cures hydrophobia, with two earthen cups filled with milk, with a pice in each, and empties the contents into the water.

It is a belief among Hindus that to give alms in secret confers a great merit on the donor. Some of the orthodox people, therefore, throw pice into wells, considering it to be a kind of secret charity.

The belief in the practices adopted for transferring disease from one person to another obtains mostly among women, who have recourse to such practices for curing their children.

One of such practices is to lay a suffering child in the cradle of a healthy child. This act is believed to result in transferring the disease of the ailing child to the healthy child. Another practice is that the mother of the sickly child should touch the mother of a healthy child with the object of transferring the disease of her child to the child of the latter. Some believe that the mere contact of an ailing child with a healthy child is sufficient to transfer the malady of the former to the person of the latter. Others maintain that this can be brought about by a mother either by touching the cradle of another

¹ The School Master of Limbdi Taluka.

² The School Master of Dadvl.

³ The School Master of Kolki.

child or by touching the person of another woman. There are others, who hold that the disease of a sickly child can be transferred to another child by feeding the latter with the leavings of the former. There is a further belief that a mother can transfer the disease of her suffering child to the child of another woman by applying the end of her robe to the end of the robe of the latter. In some places, when a child begins to weaken, its mother makes an idol of cow or buffalo dung, and keeps it fixed to a wall of the house, in the belief that the child will be cured slowly as the idol dries. It is stated that instances are actually known of the recovery of children by this process. These methods of transferring disease are called *tuchakàs* i. e. mystic methods. As a rule superstitious women practise them on Sundays or Tuesdays, as it is believed, that to be efficacious, they must be practised on these days.

In addition to the *tuchakàs* above stated the *utàrs*, *doràs*, etc., already described, are used for curing diseases.

Some diseases are attributed to *vir* possession. *Virs* are male spirits fifty two in number. The *bhuvàs* or exorcists are believed to have control over them, and are supposed to be able to detect an illness caused by possession by a *vir*. In such cases, the *bhuvàs* drive away the evil spirits from the patients by magic incantations, or transfer them to others by waving a certain number of grain seeds round the head of the patient. By another process the *bhuvàs* can confine the evil spirit in a glass bottle, which is buried underground.

In order to eradicate a dangerous disease, an *utâr* is frequently offered to a dog, in the belief that by eating the *utâr* the disease is transferred to the dog.

In some places, diseases of long standing due to spirit possession are cured by employing a *bhuvâ*, (exorcist), who, accompanied by others of his order, goes to the patient's house,

makes a bamboo bier, waves an *utâr* round the patient's head, and lays himself on the bier with the *utâr* by his side. The bier is carried to the burning ground by four persons, to the accompaniment of the beatings of drums, followed by the exorcists, who throw *bâklâns* (round flat cakes of *juvârî* flour) into the air as the procession moves on. When the party reach the burning ground, the bier is put down, and the *bhuvâ*, shaking violently, offers the *utâr* to a spirit of the place. He then prostrates himself four times with his face turned towards the four directions and drives a nail into the ground at each turn. Next, the *bhuvâ* lets loose a goat or a ram, to which the *vir* in the body of the patient is supposed to be transferred. It is said that the performance of this rite relieves the patient's mind of anxiety regarding the cause of his disease, and he thereafter shows signs of improvement.¹

When a man is suffering from *anjani* (a sore or mole on the eye-lid) he goes to another person's house and strikes earthen vessels against his door saying "I have shaken the vessels. May the *anjani* be with me to-day and with you tomorrow". It is also stated that such a patient goes to the house of a man who has two wives while the latter is asleep, and taps his door uttering the words "*Anjani ghar bhangani âj mane ane kal tane*" i. e., "May *anjani*, the breaker of the house, be to-day with me and tomorrow with thee." This process is believed to transfer the disease from the person of the patient to that of the husband of the two wives.

A common method for transferring disease is to wave water round a sick person and give it to another to drink. Similarly, a goblet filled with water is passed round a patient's head and offered to a *bhuvâ*, who drinks off the contents.

A belief prevails all over Gujarât that a disease can be passed from one species of

¹ The School Master of Zinzuvâdâ.

animals to another, and various practices are adopted to effect this. Generally a *bhuvà* or exorcist arranges the transfer. The *bhuvà*, accompanied by a troupe of dancers and drummers, visits the house of the sick person and, after examining corn seeds *dànàs* which have been waved round the patient's head on a night preceding a Sunday or Tuesday, declares that the evil spirit possessing the patient requires a living victim. A cock, goat or a male buffalo is then brought as a substitute for the patient, is waved round him, the tip of its right ear is cut off, and it is offered to the *màtà* or goddess, that is, it is released to stray as it pleases. These goats, etc., are called *màtà's* goats, *màtà's* cocks, or *màtà's* male buffaloes, and are seen wandering about in many villages. Sometimes the goat, etc., is killed before the image of the *màtà* and the *bhuvà* dipping the palms of his hands into its blood, presses them against the doors of every house in the village. In the case of an outbreak of epidemic, the victim is set at liberty beyond the limits of the village affected. It is believed by some people that the animal to which a disease is conveyed in the above manner, dies of its effects.¹

In some places the patient is supposed to be possessed by a goddess instead of by an evil spirit. A goat, cock or a male buffalo is offered to the goddess in the same way as to an evil spirit.

In some villages, when there is an outbreak of a serious epidemic, it is customary to drive a buffalo beyond the village boundary,

with the disease on his back. The back of the buffalo which is chosen for this purpose is marked with a trident in red lead and covered with a piece of black cloth, on which are laid a few grains of *adad* and an iron nail. Thus decorated, the buffalo is driven beyond the limits of the village. It is believed that an animal driven in this way carries the disease wherever it goes.

Very often, the beast to which a disease is transferred is kept tied to a post all its life, with the belief that by so doing the disease remains enchained. Jain teachers confine a disease in a bottle and bury it underground. Sometimes, a disease is passed on to a crow, whose legs are tied to a pillar, thus making it a life-long prisoner.

Once upon a time, when there was an outbreak of cholera in a certain village, a *bàvā* (recluse) happened to arrive on the scene. He caught two rams, made them move in a circle, and left them in the burning ground, where they died, the epidemic disappearing with their death. Hence a belief gained ground that an epidemic of cholera can be expelled by passing it on to two rams or goats.²

It is related that, at Gondal, a case of cholera was cured by a Bhangi (sweeper) by waving a cock round the patient's head.³

A few years ago there lived in Khàkhi Jalia, a village in the vicinity of Kolki, a *Khàkhi* (recluse) named Nàrandàs, who, when laid up with fever, passed on the disease to his blanket, and after a time drew it back to his own person.

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

² The Pathashālā Shastri, Talpur.

³ The School Mistress of Gondal.

CHAPTER IV.

WORSHIP OF ANCESTORS AND SAINTS.

The spirits of a deceased father, grand father, great grand father, and of a mother, grand mother, and great grand mother, i. e., all the male and female ascendants up to the third degree, receive systematic worship when the *Shraddha* or funeral ceremonies are performed either on the anniversary of the death of any of them or on the day when the *Nàrāyan bali* is performed in such holy places as Gayā, Sidadhapur or Prabhās Pātan. The spirits of those who meet heroic deaths on fields of battle are called *Suropuros*, and pillars are erected in their memory on the spot where they breathed their last. They receive only occasional worship.¹

The *purvajas* or spirits of deceased ancestors receive worship on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of the dark half of *Shrāvan* (the tenth month of the Gujarāt Hindu year), on the fourteenth of the dark half of *Ashvin*, on the death anniversaries and on days on which the *Shraddhas*, *tripindis* or *nil parnavari* ceremonies are performed. On these occasions, the *pitriyas* (deceased ancestors) are represented by twisted braids of the *durvā* grass (*cynodon dactylon*)²

Purvajas or ancestral spirits descend to the level of ghosts when they are strongly attached to worldly objects. Such spirits often possess the bodies of their descendants, though the necessary *Shraddhas* are performed for their release. The 13th, 14th and 15th days of the bright half of the months of *Kārtik* and *Chaitra* are the special days for propitiation of departed spirits by their relatives either at home or in holy places, while the whole of the dark half of the month of *Bhādamā* is devoted to this purpose.* During

this fortnight, *shraddha* is performed in honour of the deceased on the day corresponding to the day of his death, when Brāhmins are feasted. Thus, a person dying on the 5th day of *Kārtik* has his *shraddha* performed on the 5th day of the *sharāḍian*. On this occasion, water is poured at the root of the *Pipal*, *tarpan* or offerings of water are made, and *pinds* or balls of rice are offered to the deceased.

Of all the days of the *sharāḍian* the 13th, 14th and 15th are considered to be of special importance.

The death anniversary of a *pitriya* is called *samvatsari*, *valgo samachari* or *chhamachhari*, when a *shraddha* is performed and Brāhmins are feasted.

The *pitriyas* are also worshipped on auspicious occasions such as marriages, by the performance of a *shraddha* called *nāndi*, when *pinds* (balls) of molasses are offered instead of rice. It is considered an act of merit to perform *shraddha* in honour of the *pitriyas* on the banks of a river or tank at midday on the 8th day of the dark half of a month.

From the 13th to the 15th day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*, after their morning ablutions, orthodox people pour water over the *Pipal*, the *Bābul*, the *Ber* (*Zizyphus jujube*) and, *durvā* grass, and on those places where cows are known to congregate, in the belief that by so doing the thirst of the spirits of the deceased is quenched. It is also believed that if feasts are given to the relatives of the deceased and to Brāhmins the *pitriyas* are satisfied.

According to some, the *Sharāḍian* lasts from the full-moon day of the month of

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

* This period of 15 days is called *Sharāḍian*.

² The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

Bhādarvā to the new-moon day of the same month, that is for a period of sixteen days. The *Shrāddhas* of those who die on the *Punema* or full-moon day of a month are performed on the full-moon day of *Bhādarvā*, and the *Shrāddhas* of those who die on the new-moon day *amavasia* of a month are performed on the *amavasia* of *Bhādarvā*. The 13th day of the dark half of *Bhādarvā* is called *bālā terash* that is childrens' thirteenth. This day is specially devoted to the propitiation of the spirits of children.¹

On the *Shrāddha* days Brāhmans and relatives of the deceased are feasted, and oblations called *Vāsh*, consisting of rice and sweets, are offered to crows.

On *Āsho Vad* fourteenth, that is, the fourteenth of the dark half of *Āsho*, it is customary to apply red lead to the pillars erected in honour of men that die heroic or noble deaths on fields of battle, to break cocoanuts before them, to light lamps fed with *ghi* and to offer cooked food to their spirits.²

The spirits of those who die with strong attachment to the objects of this world are said to enter the state known as *asur gati* or the path of demons. In this condition the spirit of the deceased possesses the person of one of his relatives and torments the family in which he lived. The members of the family, when worried by his persecutions, engage the services of a *bhuvā* or exorcist, who sets up a wooden image of the tormenting spirit in a niche in a wall of the house. A lamp fed with *ghi* is lighted daily before this image, and in times of trouble, a coconut is offered to it in the belief that the spirit can protect the offerers from injuries.

The *pitriyas* or ancestral spirits are propitiated by pouring water over the *Bordi* (jujube), the *Tulsi* (sweet basil) the *Vad* (banyan) the *Pipal* or *durvā* grass (cynodon dactylon) on the 13th, 14th and 15th days

of the bright half of *Chaitra* and on the same days of the dark half of *Kārtik* and *Shrāvan*. On *Vaishākā Shud Trij*, that is, on the third of the bright half of *Vaishākā*, which is called *Akhā Trij*, women offer to Brāhmans two earthen jars filled with water and covered with an earthen cup containing a betelnut, a pice and a *pān* or betel leaf, for the propitiation of the spirits of their deceased ancestors.³

For the propitiation of a male spirit a party of Brāhmans is feasted, and for the propitiation of a female spirit three unwidowed married women.⁴

Rajputs, Bhārvas, Ahirs and Kolis set up either a pile of stones or a single stone on the boundary of their village in honour of those among them who die on battle fields. These piles or stones are called *Pālios*. On the *Pālios* are placed engraved images to represent the deceased in whose memory the *Pālios* are erected. Small pillars are also raised in the localities where such persons met their death. On the *Kālī Chaudas* or black fourteenth, that is the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Āsho*, the *Pālios* are daubed with red lead and worshipped with offerings of cocoanuts. Women who have become *sati* receive worship and offerings on the Hindu new year's day.⁵

Spiritual guides such as Shankarāchārya, Vallabāchārya, the *mahārājas* or spiritual heads of the sect called Swāminārāyan, Lālo Bhagat and Talo Bhagat are worshipped by their devotees with offerings of food, garments and cash. In this *Kali Yuga* or iron age, men who are really great are rare, and even if there be some, they are invisible to the faulty vision of the present day degraded mortals. A few come into contact with such holy men by virtue of the good deeds performed by them in their past lives. These are said to attain paradise by this *satsang*⁶ (contact with the righteous).

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The School Master of Jodiā.

³ The School Master of Sānka.

⁴ The School Master of Luvaria.

⁵ The School Master of Lillāpur.

⁶ The School Master of Dhānk.

Holy men receive personal worship during their life-time. After they are dead, their relics, such as impressions of their footsteps, their photos or busts are worshipped with offerings of sandal paste, flowers, red powder, frankincense, lamps fed with ghi and *àrati* (swingings of lamps)¹

Every sect of Hindus has a *Mahàrāja* or spiritual head, and it is considered meritorious to entertain and worship him on certain special occasions. The *Mahàrāja* or *Guru* is received with great *éclat*. His followers form a procession and carry him in a palanquin or a carriage and pair accompanied with music. At the house of the person who invites him, the floor is covered with rich cloth, over which the *Mahàrāja* is led to a raised seat specially arranged for the purpose. He is then worshipped by the host with the same details as the image of a god. His feet are washed by *pañchāmrita* (five nectars), that is a mixture of ghi, milk, honey, sugar and water, which is sipped by the worshipper and distributed among the followers of the *Mahàrāja*. Very often the feet of the *Mahàrāja* are washed in water, which is considered as purifying as the *pañchāmrita*. Great festivity and rejoicings are observed on this day at the house of the *Mahàrāja's* host, where crowds of the *Mahàrāja's* followers assemble eager for a sight of him. After spending about half an hour in the house, the *Mahàrāja* departs, first receiving valuable presents from the host.

Spiritual guides who claim the power of working miracles are held in high esteem by the people. Some of these guides are said to have control over spiritual beings or to possess their favour. These spirits are supposed to endow them with the power of preparing mystic threads, which, when worn round the waist, neck or arm, cure various diseases.

In the Kadavāsan woods, near the village of Daldi, there lives a *bāvā* called Bhimputi, who is believed to possess miraculous powers. He surprises visitors by his wonderful feats and commands vows from the afflicted by mitigating their sufferings. Every day, before breakfast, the *bāvā* visits seven villages to collect sugar and flour, which he throws in handfuls over every anthill which he meets on his way. This act of charity has established him as a saint, and most of his prophecies are believed to be fulfilled.

A Musalmān named Muhammad Chhail is held in great respect by the people on account of his great magical powers. He is believed to be in the good graces of a *Pir*, who has endowed him with the power of commanding material objects to come to him from long distances, and of breaking them and making them whole again.²

Great men of antiquity often command worship as gods. A fast is observed by Hindus on the 9th day of the bright half of *Chaitra*, the birth day of Rāma, whose birth anniversary is celebrated at noon on that day in his temple. On this occasion, all visitors to the temple offer a pie or two to his image and receive his *Prasād*, that is, consecrated food, which consists of a mixture of curdled milk and sugar. The birth of Krishna is celebrated at mid-night on the eighth day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*, when people keep awake for the whole of the night.

The Jains observe a fast for seven days from *Shrāvan Vad Bāras*, that is the 12th day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*, to the 5th day of the bright half of *Bhādarvā*, in honour of Mahāvīr Swāmi, one of their spiritual teachers, who is believed to have been born on the 2nd day of the bright half of *Bhādarvā*. This period is known as the *Pajusan*, during which the Jains cause the

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Zinzuvādā.

slaughter-houses and fish markets to be closed and give alms to the poor.¹

A century ago there lived at Nalkanthà a sage named Bhànsàb. He met a holy death by deep meditations, and a few days after rose up from his grave in his original form. This led him to be classed in the category of great men and to command divine worship.²

Vithal, a sage of the Kàthi tribe, is revered in Pàliād. Sàvo, a devotee at Zanzarkà, is worshipped by Dheds. Fehalà a Rajput and Tolat his wife, are enshrined at Anjār, a village in Cutch. Lālo, a Baniā devotee of Sindhāvār, received divine honours in his life-time and his image in Sāyalā is held in great reverence to this day. The *samādhi* of Mādhvagar, an *atit* of Vastadi, situated in Unchadi a village in the Dhandhuka taluka in Ahmedābād, is an object of worship. Harikrishna Mahārāja, a Brāhman saint of Chudā, received divine honours at Chudā and the Charotar.³

If the souls of the departed ones are condemned to become ghosts, *shrāddha* ceremonies performed by their descendants are said to be efficacious in freeing them from their ghostly existence and relegating them to some other form of life.

The lives of *bhuts* and *pishāchas*, male and female ghosts, are said to extend over a thousand years.⁴ *Shrāddhas*, such as the *samāchari* i. e., the death anniversary and *Nārāyanbali* i. e., a *shrāddha* performed in a holy place, emancipate the ghostly spirits from their wretched existence and make them eligible for birth in a better form.⁵ Some believe that at the end of their ghostly existence (a thousand years) they take birth in the animal kingdom in the mortal world.⁶

The soul is not said to have finally perished unless it merges into the divine self and attains *moksha* or salvation. The passions and desires of a dying man do not permit his soul ascending beyond a certain stage, where he or she remains as a ghost until the soul is purged of all his or her desires and sins by the performance of funeral ceremonies. For relieving ancestral spirits from the low order of *bhuts* and *pishāchas*, *shrāddhas* are performed by their surviving relatives in such holy places as Prabhās, Gayā and Pindtārak. These ceremonies are known as *Nārāyanbali*, *Nilotsarga* and *saptāha-pārāyan* (recitation of a sacred book for seven consecutive days).⁷

Those persons who die with wicked thoughts still present and their desires not fulfilled, enter the order of evil spirits, from which they are liberated after their desires have been satisfied and their wicked thoughts eliminated.⁸

Bhuts and *pishāchas*-ghosts, male and female—can be prevented from doing harm by recourse to certain processes. For instance, the wife of a Nāgar of Gadhadā became a witch after her death and began to torment the second wife of her husband by throwing her out of bed whenever she was asleep. To prevent this, the husband took a vow to perform a *shrāddha* at Sidhpur in the name of the deceased wife, after the performance of which the ghostly presence stopped harassing the new wife of her husband.⁹

Bhuts and *pishāchas* are believed by some people to be immortal, because they are supposed to belong to the order of demi-gods. In the *Amorkosha*—the well-known Sanskrit lexicon—they are classed with divinities, such

¹ The School Master of Jodia.

² The School Master of Sankā.

³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

⁵ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gol ilvād.

⁶ The School Master of Lalapur.

⁷ The School Masters of Kotda Sangani and Dadv.

⁸ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁹ The School Master of Motā Devaliā.

as *guhaks*, and *sidhas*. The *bhut* is defined as a deity that troubles infants and the *pishācha* as a deity that lives on flesh. *Bhuts* and *pishāchas* are the *ganas* or attendants of Shiva, one of the gods of the Hindu Trinity. They are supposed to be *upadevas* or demi-gods.

Preta is the spirit of a person that dies a sudden or unnatural death with many of his desires unfulfilled. His soul attains emancipation by the performance of a *saptāh*, that is a recitation of the *Bhāgvat* on seven consecutive days. It is described in the *Bhāgvat* that Dhundhumari, the brother of Gokarn, who had become a *preta*, was released from his *preta* existence by the performance of a *saptāh* which his brother caused to be made. The *Garudpurāṇ* mentions that King Babruvāhan emancipated a *preta* by the performance of a *shrāddha*. The *mukti* or salvation of a *preta* is in itself its death. This would prove *pretas* to be mortal.¹

The span of life of the *bhuts* and *pretas* is very long, but those whose descendants offer them the usual oblations gain their emancipation sooner. There is a *kund* or spring called *Zilānand* in the vicinity of *Jhinjhuvāḍā*, on the banks of which is a temple of *Zilakeshwar Mahādev*. The performance of the *pitri shrāddha* by the side of this spring is believed to expedite the emancipation of the spirits of the deceased from ghostly life. Every year, on the *Bhādarvā amāvāsya*, that is, the new moon day of the month *Bhādarvā*, a great fair is held on this spot, when people from long distances visit the place to get their relatives exorcised by the *bhuvās* or exorcists.

It is believed, that though *bhuts*, *pretas* and *pishāchas* are immortal, they are scared

away by the sound of a European band and of other musical instruments.² It is said that all drums and other weird instruments whether European or Indian, have the power of scaring away evil spirits.

An evil spirit called *Bābaro* had entered the person of the uncle of *Māldev* the king of *Jhālāvāḍ* much to the king's annoyance. *Māldev* offered a stubborn fight to *Bābaro*, who, unable to cope with *Māldev*, promised to extend his kingdom over those villages in which he would hang up bunting in one night. It is said that the present extent of the *Jhālāvāḍ* territories was due to king *Māldev*'s enterprise in hanging up bunting over these territories as asked by *Bābaro*.³

Though at the time of a man's death the faculties may hardly be sound, yet the *vāsana*—the impressions—left on his mind by his past actions are in themselves good or bad enough to impress him so as to make his departing spirit assume a new form of life in keeping with them. For instance, a man following a particular profession becomes subject to dreams bearing on that profession. When the impression created by his actions in daily life is so deep as to induce dreams, his mind, even after death, leaves to his departing soul an inclination to be engaged in the subject of his mind's last activities. This is *vāsana*.⁴

It is a popular saying among Hindus that children inherit the nature of their parents. It is for this reason that high caste Hindus do not utter the names of their eldest sons. There is a further belief that the *Pitriyas* departed from the world with certain desires unfulfilled reappear as descendants of their children to have these desires satisfied.⁴

As the saying goes *Pitā putrena jāyate*, that is a father is born in the form of the

¹ Shāstri Bhāyāvadar Pāthshālā.

² The School Master of Jodiā.

³ A *vāsana* is the outcome of a person's good or bad actions. It is not the last desire of a man as supposed by some, but the result of his good or bad actions or rather of the workings of his mind during life. It is believed that, if at the moment of death, a man's mind is fixed on the strong attachment he feels for his children, he is born as a descendant of his offspring.—The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The School Master of Todā.

⁴ The School Master of Kotdā Sangani.

son, so the *Pitriyas* are born as descendants of their children, or according to the *Bijā vrikshanyāya*, as a tree springs from its seed, that is, its offerings, so parents take birth as children of their offspring.¹

The *Pitriyas*, whose attachment to their children or family or wealth does not die with them, reappear in the same family as descendants. It is also believed that persons dying with debts unpaid with the consciousness that they must be paid, are reborn in this world for the discharge of their obligations.²

It is not always that the *Purvajas* reappear in the same family. It is said about the departed spirits, that after undergoing punishment for their sins and enjoying the fruits of their good actions, they come down on earth again as drops of rain, and forming part of the grain which grows on rain water make their way into the wombs of animals and are thus reborn.³

On account of the community of their feelings, habits and ideas in previous births, members of different families form different groups. The actions performed in this life keep them bound to one another either as recipients of the return of the obligations given in the past or as givers of fresh obligations. The members of a family stand thus to one another in the relation of debtors and creditors. It is for the discharge of these debts and recovery of dues that several individuals are united in a family. This naturally leads to the members of a family taking birth again in the same family for the proper discharge of debts.

A virtuous child is declared to have been born to return the debts contracted in its past lives, and a vicious one to recover the dues.⁴

When an *atit* or holy man or a recluse dies, his body is interred, and a platform rising waist high from the ground, or a

small dome-shaped temple, is built over the spot. This is called a *samādḥ*. An image of the god Shiva is generally installed in the *samādḥ*; but sometimes *pādukās* i. e. the impressions on stone of the footsteps of the deceased, are installed instead. Instances of the latter are the *pādukās* of Dattātraya, Gorakha and Macchendra Nāth.

Both the *Samādḥ* and the image of the god Shiva as well as the *pādukās* installed therein, are worshipped by the people, who, in course of time, give currency to the belief that the *Samādḥ* possesses certain miraculous powers, such as curing long-standing diseases, blessing barren women with children, etc. Offerings are made to the *Samādḥ* by pious persons and festivals or fairs are held in its honour by the inhabitants of the village in which the *Samādḥ* is located.⁵

Kabars or tombs raised over the graves of Mahomedan saints or *Pirs* are held in equal reverence both by Mahomedans and Hindus. To these offerings are made, and fairs are held in their honour.

Some *Samādḥs* and *Kabars* noted for miraculous powers are given below.

1. *Gorakhnāth* :—The *Samādḥ* of Gorakhnāth lies on Mount Girnār. It is said that when the word *Salām* is shouted by any one standing on the brink of the hollow wherein the *Samādḥ* is said to be, the word "*Aleka, Aleka, Aleka*" is heard in response.⁶

2. *Kevaldās* :—The *Samādḥ* of Kevaldās stands in Susavāv. It is told that, on one occasion, when a festival was being celebrated in honour of the Bāvā Kevaldās, a *nimb* tree (*Azadiarchta Indica*) overhanging the *Samādḥ* was transformed into a *mitho Limbo* (*Ailantas excelsa*).

3. *The Samādḥ at Kāngā* :—In the religious house at Kāngā, a village in the Junāgadh State, there lived a *bāvā* given to

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Motā Devaliā.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Master of Charādwa.

⁶ The School Master of Dhānk and the School Mistress of Gondal.

religious austerities. It is said that he took *Samādḥ** during life. This *Samādḥ* is said to work miracles at times.

4. Similarly, a *bavā* in the religious house at Navānagar called *Shārada Matha* has taken a *Samādḥ* during life, and his remains and the structure over them have become an object of worship.

5. *The Samādḥ of Lālā bhakta* :—Lālā bhakta was a native of Sāyolā. He was famous for his piety, and after his death his *Samādḥ* was deified. It is said in reference to this *Samādḥ* that a meal of dainty dishes prepared for five or six persons by its side, would satisfy the hunger of a company of fifty, if one happened to arrive there at the time of serving the meal¹.

6. *Dātār† Pir* :—The tomb of this Pir is situated on Mount Gīrnār. Almost all people in Kāthiawār and many from Gujarāt offer vows to this Pir.²

This Pir is also known by the name of Kala Yavan.³ It is believed that he has the power of releasing the chain bonds of a person falsely accused with an offence, provided he approaches the Pir in chains. The sanctity of this Pir is so great that vows in his honour secure to persons desiring male heirs the birth of sons.⁴

7. *Asāmi Pir* :—The tomb of this Pir is in Lunār. He is believed to ensure the fulfilment of certain vows made by those who have faith in him.⁵

8. *Devalshā Pir* :—The tomb of this Pir is situated at Amarān about seven miles from Todia. Many Hindus perform the first hair-cutting ceremony of their children

at the shrine of this Pir with an offering of a sweet preparation of ghi, sugar or molasses, and wheat flour. The Muhammadans distribute cooked rice among the Fakirs about this shrine.

A tradition runs that, once seven eunuchs defied the power of this Pir saying that they would put no faith in him unless they conceived sons. This they did, and when in terror regarding their approaching confinement, they were told that the children would have to be taken out by cutting their bodies open. The tombs of these seven eunuchs and their sons still stand near the tomb of Devalshā to bear testimony to his glory and miraculous power.⁶

9. *The Kabur of Hājī Karmani* :—Is situated at Dwārkan and is much respected by both Hindus and Muhammadans.⁷

10. *The tombs of Jesal and Toral* :—These are said to be the tombs of a husband and wife of the names of Jesal and Toral. They are situated in Anjār, a village in Cutch. It is said that originally these tombs were at the distance of twenty-seven feet from one another, but now the distance between them is only 7½ feet. A belief is current that the day of judgment will come when these two tombs meet.⁸

11. *Hāj Pir and Gebānshā Pir* :—The tombs of these Pirs are at Mendarda. Vows are offered to the Hāj Pir (Pilgrims saint) with the object of securing a good rainfall after an unusual drought, also for the restoration of stolen property. Vows to the Gebānshā Pir are believed to be efficacious in curing foot diseases of cattle and skin diseases of children.⁹

* A *samādḥ* is taken during life in the following way.

A deep pit is dug in the ground. The person who wishes to take a *samādḥ* goes into a deep trance by meditation, and then runs yelling and screaming to the pit, while drums are beaten furiously and a loud din is raised, so that none should hear a possible exclamation or cry from the runner. In the midst of this din the runner leaps into the pit and is covered over with salt and earth. An altar is raised over this spot with Shiva's image, which afterwards becomes an object of worship. It is believed that if a word or a cry from the runner is heard while he is taking the leap, the whole village will be destroyed.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

† Dātār means the great giver or munificent.

The Pir is so called on account of his power of fulfilling the vows of many.

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Dhānk and Moti Parabdi.

³ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁴ The School Master of Davaliā.

⁵ The School Master of Movaiya.

⁶ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁷ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁸ The School Master of Mendarda.

12. *Panch or Five Pirs* :—The tombs of these *Pirs* are situated in Dahurā, each of them measuring about twenty-seven feet. A miracle is attributed to these tombs in the phenomenon that they can never be accurately measured, each attempt at measurement giving a different result. Women whose sons die in infancy make vows in honour of the *Panch Pirs*, and take them to their tombs on their attaining a certain age, where they observe *fakiri** for ten days.¹

13. *Aulia Pir* :—The tomb of this *Pir* lies on Mount Girnār. It is believed to possess the miraculous power of stopping the career of galloping horses and bringing them to the ground, and of stupefying the senses of a person who enters the shrine.²

14. *Miran Dātār* :—The celebrated tomb of this *Pir* is in the village of Unjhā near Baroda, where a fair is held every Friday in *Shrāvan*. Persons possessed by evil spirits are said to be cured by visiting this tomb and offering an image of a horse stuffed with cotton, and a cocoanut. People from all parts of Gujarāt and from distant places suffering from physical infirmities, observe vows in honour of this *Pir*. Some wear iron wristlets round their wrists in his honour.³

15. *Pir Māhābali* :—The tomb of this *Pir* is situated at Gotarkā near Rādhānpur. Every year a fair is held in honour of this tomb, when the chief *Pujārī* of the shrine of Varalu goes there, holding in one hand a bayonet with its point touching his breast, and in the other, a cocoanut. It is said that when the *Pujārī* reaches the third step

leading to the entrance of the shrine, the locked doors of the shrine fly open, and the *Pujārī* throws the cocoanut into the shrine. If the shrine gates do not open of themselves on his approach, the *Pujārī* has to stab himself to death then and there.⁴

16. *Kalu Pir* :—It is said that this *Pir* leads a procession every night, when monstrous kettle-drums are beaten by his phantom followers. On every Friday this procession goes on its rounds, which cover a large area.⁵

Other tombs noted for miraculous powers are those of Gebalshā *Pir* in Charādwa, of Dariā *Pir* in Morvi, of Hajarāt *Pir* in Baghdād and of Khojā *Pir* in Ajmere.⁶

The followers of the tenets of Swāminārāyaṇ, Vallabhāchārya, Kabir, Shankarāchārya, Rāmānuja, Madhwāchārya, Nimbārka and Talo Bhagat look upon these personages as gods, and worship their images.⁷

Some of the spiritual teachers mentioned above maintained large establishments and made their supremacy hereditary. Their representatives (that is either their heirs or disciples) are looked upon as the embodiments of the same virtues as were concentrated in the founders of the sects. The great teachers are worshipped either in the form of their footprints, their images or their representatives.⁸

The worship of the following Muhammadan *Pirs* has been adopted by Hindus :—

- (1) Dātār *Pir* in Junāgaḍh.
- (2) Dātār in Rātaiya near Khirāsara.
- (3) Gobalsha *Pir* :—This *Pir* is noted for curing boils.

* A symbol of servitude of the saint.

† *Aulia* and *Pir*, synonymous terms, the first Arabic, the second Persian. *Aulia* is the Arabic plural of *wali* which means a saint. In Hindustāni the plural form is used to signify the singular e. g., a single *wali* or saint is often spoken of as an *aulia*. The word *Pir* originally meaning an old man is used in Hindustāni in the sense of a saint. *Aulia Pir* is the Gujarātī for a single or many saints.

¹ The School Master of Moti Porabdi.

² The School Master of Surel.

³ The School Master of Charādwa.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ The School Master of Sultānpur.

⁶ The School Master of Zinzuwāda.

⁷ The School Master of Jaseluan.

⁸ The School Master of Dhank.

(4) *Tāg Pir* or the live saint near *Bhāvavadar*:—This Pir is believed to have the power of curing enlargement of the spleen. Persons suffering from this disease go to his shrine and distribute dry dates among children. This is supposed to propitiate him and to effect the cure.¹

(5) *Miran Dātār*:—The miraculous and curative powers of this Pir are so potent that blind persons are known to have their eye-sight restored and childless persons to have their longings for children satisfied through his favour. Persons possessed by evil spirits are exorcised by merely wearing a ring in his name.²

The shrine of this Pir is situated in the village of *Unāva* in the *Gaīkwār's* territory in North Gujarāt. His Highness the late *Gaīkwār Khanderao* has fixed solid silver railings round the shrine of this Pir in gratitude for a cure effected by him.

(6) *Rāmde Pir*:—This Pir has obtained the epithet of *Hindva Pir* as he is worshipped mostly by the Hindus. He has worshippers in many places, where shrines are erected in his honour and verses and hymns composed and sung in his praise.³ He is evidently, as his name suggests, one of the first *Khoja* missionaries who practised teachings more Hindu than *Musalmān* in order to secure a following among the Hindus.

(7) *Hāji Karmāni* near *Dvārikhān*.

(8) The *Dāvalsha Pir* near *Amarān*.

(9) The *Lakad Pir* and the *Hussein Pir* in the vicinity of *Ganod*.

(10) *Mahābali Dāda Pir*:—This Pir is to be found close to the village of *Varai*. Milk offered to him in his shrine in *indās* (egg-shaped pots) is said to remain fresh for a year. Similarly, the doors of his shrine open of themselves after the lapse of a year.

(11) *Mangali Pir*:—This Pir is worshipped at *Dadvi*.

(12) *Moto Pir*:—Is worshipped at *Khandorāna*.

(13) *Hindva Pir*:—This is the Pir of the *Khojās* in *Pirāna* near *Ahmedābād*. He is so called because he is worshipped by the Hindus also.

(14) *Bhadiādaro Pir*:—Is in the village of *Bhādia* near *Dhorāli*.

(15) *Ingārāsha Pir* and *Bālamsha Pir*.

(16) *Tamialsha* and *Kāsamsha Pir*:—The shrines of these Pirs are on the *Girnar hill*.⁴

(17) *Ganj Pir*:—The shrine of this Pir is near *Todia*. Vows to offer a quarter of a pound of molasses to this Pir are believed to be efficacious in curing persons of fever and children of their ailments.⁵

There is a Pir in the village of *Vadhardun* near *Viramgām*. Persons suspected of having committed thefts are conducted in chains before this Pir. It is said that, if the charge be false, the chains break asunder of themselves.⁶

Apart from the respect paid to the Pirs mentioned above, the Hindus hold in great reverence the *tābuts* of the *Muhammadans*.⁷

¹ The School Master of *Devalia*.

² The School Mistress, Female Training College, *Rājkot*.

³ The School Master of *Todia*.

⁴ The School Masters of *Dhānk* and *Vanod*.

⁵ The School Master of *Moti Parabadi*.

⁶ The School Master of *Lilāpur*.

There are various rural methods in vogue for the cure of barrenness.

One of these is for the barren woman to swallow the navel-string of a new-born child.¹ Another is to partake of the preparation called *kātlān*.²

There are two kinds of preparations which go by the name of *kātlān*. One is prepared from seven pieces of dry ginger.² The other is a mixture of *suva*,³ *sunth* (dry ginger), *gundar* (gum arabic), *gol* (molasses) etc.³ In order to secure the desired effect, the *kātlān* must be eaten seven times every Sunday or Tuesday seated on the cot of a woman in child-bed.⁴

The longing for a child is also believed to be satisfied by partaking of the food served to a woman, in confinement, sitting on her bed, either on a Sunday or Tuesday.⁵

There is also another preparation which is believed to cause conception. It consists of a mixture of *pitpāpdo* (*Glossocardi Boswellia*), sugar-cane and butter. In order to be efficacious, it must be taken on seven consecutive days commencing from the fourth day of the monthly menstrual period.⁶

Conception is also believed to be favoured by administering the gum of the *bābul* tree dissolved in milk for three days commencing from the third day of the monthly period.⁷

Some believe that, in order to be effective, this mixture must be taken standing.⁷ In some places, seeds of a vegetable plant called *shivalangi* are also administered.⁸

To secure conception, a bit of coral is also eaten, with the face turned towards the sun.⁹

Other preparations taken with the belief that they cause conception are:—

(1) *Harde* (*Myrobalan*) put in *kansār* (a preparation of wheat flour cooked in water and sweetened with molasses) (2) extract of the fruit called *sārangdha*, (3) *paras pipalo* (*Thespesia populnea*) mixed with clarified butter,⁸ (4) gum mixed with plantains, (5) juice of the cooked leaves of the *Arani* (*Elacodendron glaucum*),⁹ (6) powder of *Nag kesar* (*Messua ferrea*) put into milk, and (7) the roots of *Bhong ringdi* (a kind of poisonous plant) mixed with the milk of a cow.¹⁰

It is also believed that if a barren woman succeeds in carrying away grains of rice from the folds of the upper garment of a pregnant woman, and eats them cooked in milk, her desire for a child is satisfied.¹¹

In celebrating the *Simant* or first pregnancy ceremony of a woman, the pregnant woman is taken for a bath to a dung-hill or to a distance of about thirty yards behind the house. After the bath is over, she returns home walking over sheets of cloth spread on her way. On this occasion her company is coveted by barren women for the purpose of tearing off unseen a piece of her upper garment, as this is believed to bring about conception. It is said that if a woman succeeds in doing this, she conceives, while the victim has a miscarriage.¹²

Some believe that a slight pressure by a childless woman on the upper garment of a pregnant woman is sufficient to bring about the result mentioned above.¹³

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Uptala.

³ The School Master of Sultānpur.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Mistress of Rājkot, Civil Station Girls' School.

⁶ The School Master of Dhānk and Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁷ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁸ The School Mistress, Girls' School, Gondal.

⁹ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹⁰ The School Master of Ganod.

¹¹ The School Master of Bhayavadar.

¹² The School Master of Sultānpur.

¹³ The School Master of Dadvi.

* An ingredient used in preparing spices.

Others hold that a slight blow on the shoulder of a pregnant woman by a childless woman satisfies the desire of the latter for a child.¹

Conception is also said to be effected by branding children while at play in the streets.²

It is believed that this brand, to have efficacy, must be inflicted on a Sunday or Tuesday.³ The operation is generally performed in the evening with a red-hot needle. It is said that the branded child dies while the branding barren woman conceives a child.⁴

Offering bread to black dogs is also supposed to be a cure for barrenness.

Conception is also favoured by passing under the bier or palanquin holding the corpse of an ascetic or holy man while it is being carried to the cemetery.⁵ Some believe that such an ascetic or saint must be a follower of the Jain faith.⁶ Others maintain that the desired end can be secured only by wearing round the elbows the grains of rice or coins offered to the bier of a saint on its way to the cemetery.⁷

Other methods practised for the cure of barrenness are as follows:

The barren woman cuts off a lock of the hair of a child-bearing woman and keeps it in her custody.⁷

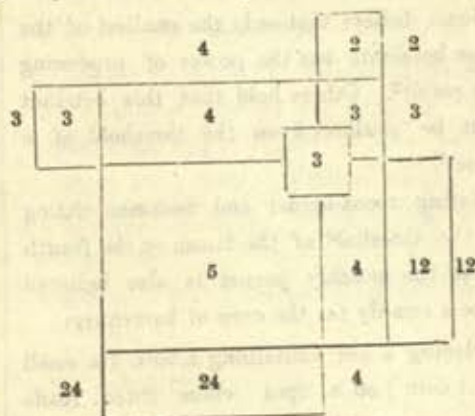
Some women collect the dust trodden on by a child-bearing woman in an earthen pot and eat it every day till it is exhausted.⁷

Some throw grains of *adad* (*Phaseolus mungo*) over the bed of a woman in confinement.⁸

Others daub their foreheads with the blood emitted by a woman in menses.⁷

There are some who pour water in a circle at the village gate on a Sunday or Tuesday, and when in period, partake of the powder of *mindhal* mixed with *lāpsi* (coarse wheat flour fried in *ghi* and sweetened with molasses or sugar) seated on the threshold of the house.⁸

Many wear round their necks leaves called *bhojapatras* on which the mystical figure given below is drawn by an exorcist.



Pieces of paper on which the following *jantra* is written by an ascetic, woven in a string made of five kinds of silk, are also worn round the elbows:—

Swāhā aum rhin kling swāhā.

About a month and a quarter after the delivery of a woman, a ceremony called *zarman zarvān* is performed, when the woman goes to a neighbouring stream or well to fetch water for the first time after her delivery. Near the stream or well five small heaps of sand are made and daubed with red lead. Next, a lamp fed with *ghi* is lighted, and seven small betelnuts are offered to the

¹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The School Master of Jetpur.

⁴ The School Master of Vanod.

⁵ It is for this reason that barren women are not allowed to approach the bed of a woman in child bed.

⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

⁷ The School Masters of Kotda Sangani and Chhatrasa.

⁸ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohilwād.

⁹ The School Masters of Dadvi and Chhatrasa.

stream or well. A cocoanut is then broken, and a part of it is thrown into the water as an offering. Next, the woman fills a jar with the water of the stream or well and returns home, taking with her six out of the seven betelnuts offered to the stream or well. On her way home she is approached by barren women who request to be favoured with one of the betelnuts, as it is believed that swallowing such a betelnut causes conception.¹

Some believe that only the smallest of the seven betelnuts has the power of producing this result². Others hold that this betelnut must be swallowed on the threshold of a house.³

Eating cocoa-kernel and molasses sitting on the threshold of the house on the fourth day of the monthly period is also believed to be a remedy for the cure of barrenness.

Placing a box containing a *kori*, (a small silver coin) on a spot where three roads cross one another is also said to favour conception.⁴

In some places, a black earthen pot containing charcoal and grains of *adad* (*Phaseolus mungo*) is placed on a spot where two roads cross one another, on a Sunday or Tuesday. On this day the barren woman has to take her meals without salt.⁵

Cutting off a lock of a child's hair and keeping it in custody is also believed to satisfy the longing of a barren woman for a child. This result can also be obtained by securing a piece of a garment of a suckling child.

Some worship daily a cocoanut and a betelnut consecrated with incantations.⁶

Some take a bath on the third day of their period, and stand on the threshold of the house with their hair sprinkled over with *kankotri* (red powder). Next, a *ghi*-fed lamp is offered to the deities, and the devotee prostrates herself before the lamp.⁷

It is also believed that barrenness can be cured by religious vows, by offering alms in propitiation of malignant planets such as Mars, and by reciting the *jap* or incantation called *gopāl santān* to please the deity of that name.⁸

One of the religious vows of this nature is to observe, fasts on twelve consecutive Sundays or Tuesdays. On these days the devotee fixes her gaze on the sun and offers him worship, after which she takes a meal prepared in milk without salt or sugar.⁹

Some hold a recitation of the *chandi kavach* a hundred times through Brāhmins with sacrificial oblations of clarified butter, sesamum seed, *kamod* (a kind of rice), *gugal* (rhododendron), sandal wood and sugar-candy.¹⁰ Others have the story of the *Harivansha* recited on seventeen consecutive days, during which period the devotee (i.e., the barren woman) observes *brahmacharya* that is abstains from sexual enjoyment. This ceremony is believed to exorcise the fiend of barrenness.¹⁰

Some keep a vow of standing on their legs for the whole day on the fourteenth of the month of *Phālgun* (the fifth month of the Gujarāt Hindu year) and of breaking their fast after worshipping the sacred pyre.¹¹

There is another vow called the *Punema* or full-moon day vow, the observance of which is believed to favour the birth of a son.¹²

¹ The School Master of Todia.

² The School Master of Luvaria.

³ The School Master of Rājpara.

⁴ The School Master of Jhinjhuvāda.

⁵ The School Master of Kotdā Sangani.

⁶ The School Master of Todia.

⁷ The School Master of Mota Devalig.

⁸ The School Master of Chhatrāsa.

⁹ The School Master of Khirāsara.

¹⁰ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹¹ The School Master of Ganod.

¹² The School Master of Ganod.

Pouring water at the root of, or circumambulating, a *pipal* or *bābul* tree after a bath without removing the wet clothes, is also believed to cause conception.¹

Some observe the vow of entertaining thirteen Brāhmans and thirteen virgins to a feast, and of setting up Randal Bantva.²

Women whose children die in infancy give them opprobrious names such as Khacharo (filth), Ghelo (stupid), Natho, Uko, Ukardo, Bodho, Pujo, Adāvo, Mongho, Tulhi, Tutho, Kadavi, etc. in the belief that by so doing the life of the children is lengthened.³ The idea is almost Asiatic in extent. Among Musalmāns also such names are given; and even among the Persians and Arabs boys are given such names as Masriequ and Osaïd—the Stolen and the Black. Sometimes parents arrange that their children be actually

stolen; and some next of kin, generally the aunt, is made to commit the kindly felony. She afterwards returns the child for a certain amount in cash or clothes. The custom is as old as the scriptures, there being an allusion in the Korān to how the little Joseph was made to steal some garment of his aunt and was claimed as a forfeit by her. Speaking about Levi, the older brothers of Joseph say to the Egyptian soldiers, "If he hath stolen (the king's goblet) verily the brother of his too did (formerly) steal."

Some make a vow of not cutting the hair of their children till they are taken to Ambāji, where their hair is cut for the first time.⁴

Some treat their children as beggars until they attain the age of five years, that is, they are dressed till that age in clothes obtained by begging. Some bore the nose of the child.⁴

¹ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

² The School Master of Ganod.

³ The School Master of Khirasara.

⁴ The School Master of Todia.

CHAPTER V.

WORSHIP OF THE MALEVOLENT DEAD.

The beliefs current as to the cause of dreams are many. One of these is that memory of known facts or incidents heard or seen causes dreams. Dreams are also supposed to be caused by disorders in the brain, by brooding constantly over a particular occurrence, by anxiety or by the perpetration of sinful acts.¹ Those who are indebted to the *pitris* (ancestral spirits) are also said to be troubled by dreams.² A hearty meal at night just before going to bed is also supposed to cause dreams.³

There are three conditions of human existence, (1) *Jāgriti* that is wakefulness (2) *Swapna* that is dream and (3) *Sushupti* that is sleep. The incidents which impress the mind strongly during wakefulness are reproduced in dreams. Very often thoughts that never occur to our minds strike us in dreams. These are ascribed to the impressions made on the soul during past lives.⁴

It is said that the interpretation of dreams goes by contraries. But at times they are fully borne out. A good dream is an indication of future good, and a bad one of future evil.⁵

There are some persons whose dreams are always fulfilled. Dreams dreamt by persons pure of mind and heart seldom turn out false,

Dreams occurring in the first quarter of the night are believed to be fulfilled in a year, those in the second quarter of the night in six months, those in the third quarter in three months, and those in the last quarter in one month. A dream seen during an hour and a half before daybreak bears fruit in ten days, while that seen just at day-break is realised immediately.⁶

Dreams that occur before midnight are never fulfilled.⁷

If a person has a bad dream, he should go to sleep at once, and not communicate it to any one. If he has a good dream, he should not sleep on that night after its occurrence. Early on the following morning he should communicate it to a preceptor or saint; but if neither be available, he should repeat it into the ears of a cow. A good dream should never be told to a bad or low-minded person.

If a man sleeps after a good dream and has a bad one, the former loses its force while the latter gains ascendancy and comes true.⁸

It is related that Allāuddin the bloody once entered the house of a blacksmith when the latter was asleep dreaming that he saw a treasure trove after having bathed in a stream and drunk a little water. At the same time Allāuddin saw a small insect come

¹ The School Master of Chhatrāsa.

² The School Master of Dadvi.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

⁵ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

⁷ The School Master of Chhatrāsa.

⁸ The School Master of Chhatrāsa.

out of the blacksmith's nostril, drink water from a neighbouring cistern, and return to the place from whence he came. When the dream was over, the blacksmith woke and communicated it to Allāuddin, which enabled the latter to spot the treasure, found by excavating the place where the insect was hidden.¹

The king Nala was questioned in his sleep several times by an individual unknown to him, "May I come now or later?" Nala replied "Come now" thinking that if it was misfortune that put him the question, it would be better to get rid of it soon, so that the latter part of life might be passed happily. The questioner proved to be misfortune, and it is related that Nala met many mishaps during his youth.²

Similarly, a bad dream dreamt by Harischandra was followed by a series of calamities.³

Rāvan, the demon king of Lanka or Ceylon, had a dream in the third quarter of the night that Lanka was destroyed, and the destruction of Lanka followed.²

To see or think or experience in dreams the following, as the case may be is considered to be auspicious :—

(1) A cow, (2) a bullock, (3) an elephant, (4) a palace, (5) a mountain, (6) a high peak, (7) the droppings of a bird, (8) ointment, (9) weeping, (10) a king, (11) gold, (12) the crossing of the ocean, (13) a lamp, (14) flesh, (15) fruit, (16) a lotus, (17) a flag, (18) the image of one's favourite god, (19) a saint, (20) a Brāhman, (21) an ancestral spirit, (22) a white snake biting the right side, (23) a flowering tree, (24) climbing a tree, (25) climbing the Rāyan (Mimusops hexandra), (26) a woman dressed in white, (27) walking over a layer of lead, (28) lifting a goblet filled with wine, (29) a lion, (30) the goddess of wealth, (31) a

garland, (32) driving in a carriage to which an elephant, a lion, a horse or a bullock is yoked, (33) swallowing the disc of the sun or the moon, (34) the hands or feet of a man, (35) worship of a deity, (36) barley, (37) rice, (38) sandal paste, (39) the *Dro* grass (*Cynodon Dactylon*), (40) the moon, (41) the sun, (42) a goblet, (43) an ocean of milk, (44) jewels, (45) smokeless fire, (46) an image of the god Shiva, Brahma or Ganesh or of the goddess Gauri, (47) a celestial vehicle, (48) the heaven, (49) the *Kalpavriksha* or the magic tree that satisfies all desires, (50) a river in floods, (51) fish, (52) curdled milk, (53) going on a pilgrimage, (54) ornaments, (55) crossing a river, (56) eating the flesh of a man's legs or flowers.³

To see in a dream (1) a person leading a life of celibacy, (2) a virgin, (3) a green tree, (4) or students returning from school, is also considered to foretell good fortune.⁴

Similarly, the sight of an unwidowed woman and the thought of the death of any person, in a dream, is believed to bring good luck.⁴

A dream in which one of the following objects is seen is also supposed to be good :—

1. An assemblage of Brāhmans, (2) a gardener, (3) milk, (4) a prostitute, (5) a shield and sword, (6) a musket, (7) a scimitar, (8) an antelope, (9) an unwidowed woman carrying on her head a jar filled with water, (10) a mongoose, (11) a peacock, (12) a woman carrying a child on her waist, (13) newly-washed dry clothes, (14) a costly fan, (15) a man dressed in white clothes.⁵

In a book called *Harit-sanhita* the subject of the influence of dreams on human happiness or misery is fully treated.

The book says :—If the sun, the moon, the congregation of the stars, a lake filled

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

² The School Master of Chhatrasa.

³ The School Master of Todia.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

⁵ The School Master of Kolki.

with clusters of expanded lotuses, or crossing the sea or a river full of water be seen or experienced in a dream by a man, he attains wealth, happiness and prosperity and relief from diseases.

"If a cow, a horse, an elephant, a king or a flower called *prashasta* is seen in a dream by a sickly person, his illness disappears; if by one laid in sick bed, he is cured; if by one confined in a jail, he is released."¹

If a child grinds its teeth and weeps in a dream, it indicates liquidation of pecuniary liabilities. One who sees a man die in a dream is blessed with longevity.²

A bite by a white snake in a dream is an omen of increase of wealth.³

"All black objects except a cow, a horse, a king, an elephant, and fish, seen in a dream, are the precursors of disease and calamity."

"One who sees in a dream his body devoured by crows, herons, camels, serpents, boars, eagles, foxes, dogs, wolves, asses, buffaloes, birds moving in the sky, tigers, fishes, alligators or monkeys, experiences in the immediate future a heavy loss or a terrible disease."⁴

The following objects seen, heard or experienced in a dream are believed to forebode evil :—

1. Cotton, (2) ashes, (3) bones, (4) whey, (5) singing, (6) merriment, (7) laughing, (8) studying, (9) a woman dressed in red, (10) a red mark on the forehead, (11) a *gandharva* or heavenly bard, (12) a demon, (13) a wizard, (14) a witch, (15) a prickly shrub, (16) a cemetery, (17) a cat, (18) vomiting, (19) darkness, (20) a hide, (21) a woman with a bad reputation, (22) thirst, (23) a contest between two planets, (24) fall of a luminous body, (25) a whirlwind (26)

vishotak (a disease in which the skin is covered with ulcers) (27) one carrying away one's vehicle, wife, jewels, gold, silver or bell-metal utensils, (28) the breaking of one's own house (29) the drinking of a poisonous liquid.⁵

If in a dream one renches a dish of sweetmeats, plays upon a musical instrument, or sees a widow dressed in the garment of an unwidowed woman, it is believed to prognosticate evil and bring misfortune.

Similarly, if in a dream, the sleeper marries or hears the crowing of a crow or the bark of a dog, or an owl speak like a man, it portends misfortune.⁶

Seeing an auspicious mark, or bathing in or being besmeared with oil, in a dream, is an indication of one's death in the near future. Going to the south riding a he-buffalo, or seeing a widow, brings on misfortune.⁷

If a man in health comes across a corpse in a dream, he apprehends illness. If a patient does the same, he fears death.⁸

It is a common belief that the soul can leave the body temporarily.

When a man feels thirsty in sleep, his soul is supposed to leave the body to drink water, and if it finds the water pots covered, not to return to the body, which is found dead the next morning.* It is for this reason that most people drink water at the time of going to bed.⁹

Shankaracharya was a life long celibate. Once, in a discussion with the wife of Mandan Mishra, she put to him a question on the subject of the pleasures of married life. To answer the question it was necessary to have the experiences of a married life. To

¹ The Shāstri, Bhāyavadar Pāthashāla.

² The School Master of Gondal.

³ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Master of Todia.

⁶ The Shāstri, Bhāyavadar Pāthashāla.

⁷ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁸ The School Master of Gondal.

⁹ The School Master of Dhank.

* The Musalmān Hadith has it that spirits cannot open closed doors, uncover covered pots, or even remove a piece of cloth if it is spread over a tray or vessel to save its contents from view.

gain these experiences Shankarāchārya's soul left his body and entered the corpse of a king just dead, and enjoyed the pleasures of married life for six months in the company of the queen of the deceased king. It then returned to his body, which was preserved by his disciples according to his instructions, and answered the question put to him by the wife of Mandan Mishra.¹

It is related that the spirit of the daughter of a black-smith in Luvāria returned to her body two hours after her death, after which she lived for a fortnight.

A similar story is told of a Nāgar Brāhman, who lived for some years after the return of his spirit to his body.²

About forty years ago, the corpse of a Kanbi in Lilāpur was carried to the burning ground for cremation, and there his spirit returned to his body. On being asked where he had been, the Kanbi replied that he had been to Dharmarāja, the lord of hell, who told him to go back to his body, saying that his life's thread had not yet ended. It is related that the Kanbi lived for some years after this incident.

Another instance of the soul departing and then returning to the body is that of a Kanbi woman in Lilāpur, whose soul returned to the body after she had been carried to the burning ground. The woman lived for five years after this occurrence.³

A Brāhman in Limbdi named Vaijnāth had, by the performance of *yoga*, obtained the power of sending his spirit out of his body and recalling it at pleasure.⁴

The soul of a living being leaves its physical tabernacle during sleep and hovers about. It can go to and return from even the heavenly and infernal regions.

There are eighteen kinds of *siddhis* or accomplishments, one of which is *parakāya-pravēśh* or the power of entering the body of another and returning to one's own body at will. The soul cannot exist separated from the body. When a person who revives after death is asked how he returned to life, he declares that he has been carried to the presence of the god of death by his messengers, being mistaken for another bearing the same name and living in the same locality. When such a mistake is detected, the god of death tells the soul of the man concerned that his life's span has not yet ended, and sends it back to the body, which appears to be dead.⁵

Often the soul of a man ascends to his temples, when the man is supposed to be dead although he is alive. In such cases, when the soul descends, the man is supposed to come to life again.

It is believed by some people that if all the desires of a man are not satisfied at the time of his death, his soul leaves the body to satisfy them and subsequently returns to the corpse, whereupon the body revives.⁶

A devotee in his meditative trance can send forth his soul whithersoever he pleases.⁷

It is also believed that the soul of man leaves the body in sleep to enjoy those pleasures which it cannot enjoy in wakefulness.⁸

The popular conceptions of the character and functions of the *bhut* or disembodied soul are as follows :

A ghost has no recognised form. It may assume the form of a human being, a goat, a blaze of fire, a whirl-wind or any other object it pleases.⁹

Some assume a terribly gigantic and fearfully uncouth frame, with big fang-like

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Lilāpur.

³ The School Master of Vanod.

⁴ The School Master of Kolki.

⁵ The School Master of Luvāria.

⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

⁷ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁸ The School Master of Mojidā.

⁹ The School Master of Dhānk.

teeth, long matted hair and a height that reaches the sky. At times they assume the form of a child and cry heart-breakingly at a concealed corner of a road. Should a passer-by, out of compassion, try to save it, the supposed infant begins to lengthen its legs to show its benefactor its real and supernatural dimensions. Sometimes it transforms itself into a gigantic and terrible being, taking possession of the man if he becomes afraid.¹

Some evil spirits manifest themselves as showers of burning charcoal, while some are so forward as to offer their services as guides to strangers from one village to another. Some assume the form of *Bhensāsūr*—a demon in the form of a buffalo—said to be a most malignant ghost.²

The throat of a ghost is as narrow as the fine end of a needle, and yet it is believed to require a dozen potfuls of water to quench its thirst. It cannot get pure water, as such water is guarded by the god Varuna. It has, therefore, to quench its thirst with such dirty water as it can get. Similarly, it cannot get clean food, and has to satisfy its hunger on human excretions, the droppings of birds and other animals, urine, and the filth of houses.³

It is generally believed that evil spirits do not cast shadows. All attempts to catch them prove futile, as they vanish in the form of a flame.⁴

If it is sought to catch hold of a goat-shaped ghost, the goat swells into such a monstrous size that the spectator gets terrified, whereupon the ghost finds an opportunity of disappearing in a flame.

It is believed that ghosts prefer darkness to light and silence to noise. They

live on the *Pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) or *Shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) trees.⁵

A ghost presents itself to the vision of a man by blocking its way in the form of a goat or some other animal.⁶

Ghosts are believed to infest woods, unused wells, cellars and old tanks. They are also found in ruins and cemeteries. As far as possible they keep themselves aloof from mortals; but at times they are visible to human beings, mostly to those destitute of religion and morals. They roam about and terrify people. Sometimes they enter the persons of human beings. Such men either gain in strength, fall sick, or become senseless. The ghosts who possess them make them laugh or work, without being fatigued, with ten times the vigour they originally possessed.⁷

Ghosts keep their persons uncovered, feed upon flesh and blood, sleep during the day, and roam about at night.⁸

Often a large concourse of ghosts meet together and dance, sing and make merry uttering loud and fierce shrieks. A ghost has no back, and has its feet reversed. It keeps away from man, but terrifies him by pelting him with stones from a distance.⁹

On the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Ashvin* (the twelfth month of the Gujarati Hindu year) all ghosts are believed to go about playing pranks with poor mortals and possessing them.¹⁰

The *Navarātra* holidays is the season when ghosts appear in many places.¹¹

Ghosts enter corpses or possess human beings and speak through them as a medium. Sometimes they assume their original human form, and often torment people with disease.

¹ The School Master of Kolki.

² The School Master of Ganod.

³ The School Masters of Sanka and Songadh.

⁴ The School Master of Dhank.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁶ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁷ The School Master of Bantva.

⁸ The School Master of Charadva.

⁹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kolki.

¹¹ The School Master of Lilāpur.

They present themselves as animals and pass away in a blaze. They hum in the air without being seen, wrestle with men or carry unseen human beings from one place to another. Some women are believed to conceive by intercourse with male ghosts.¹

If a man happens to step in the circle described by water round the offering given to a ghost, viz., *utâr*, he is possessed by the ghost. A house haunted by a ghost is the scene of great mischief.²

Ghosts are said to be most mischievous during the first part of the night. Their fury diminishes with the advance of night.³

Ghosts are inimical to human beings, terrify them, and sometimes, assuming the form of a cobra, kill those whom they hated most during life.⁴

They are pleased with offerings of blood.⁵

To throw stones at houses and trees and to set them on fire are their usual pranks.⁶

The ghost called *Jân* manifests itself as a giant, its height reaching the sky. If a man comes under its shadow, he is seized by it and dashed to pieces on the ground. On the contrary, if a man wins its favour, he becomes prosperous. Hence a proverb has been current that "seizing another as by a *jân*" meaning "being attacked by a dire misfortune."⁷

There is a female ghost called *Chudel*. Its back is covered with flesh, its feet are reversed, its form is hollow and its face handsome like that of a charming woman.⁸

It is said that a woman dying in childbed becomes a *chudel*. Her form is a skeleton behind with the figure of a pretty woman in front.

It is believed that mastery over ghosts can be obtained by dint of incantations or *mantras*. Those who subjugate ghosts in this way have power to command them to do their behests. But the process by which such powers are procured is believed to be beset with dangers, and many lose their lives in so doing.⁹

There is also a belief that a *bhut* or ghost can be brought under control by lopping off a lock of its hair or top knot and keeping it in one's custody.¹⁰

It is said that this lock ought to be kept inside the right thigh by tearing a hole in the flesh. It is believed that the thigh can be cut open by a hair of the ghost without injury.¹¹

The ghost so subjugated should never be kept unemployed; otherwise it oppresses its master.¹²

It is believed that the spirits of deceased persons become ghosts under the following conditions:—

1 If scriptural ceremonies are not performed with the ceremonial offerings of rice balls to the deceased.

2 If the deceased dies with a strong attachment to worldly objects.

3 If the death is unnatural that is, caused by an accident.

All ghosts get absolution by the performance of propitiative ceremonies by their descendants as prescribed in the scriptures.¹³

There are various beliefs current as to the state of the soul after death. The *Garud purân* contains many passages illustrating its movements after it leaves the body. Says the book:—

"When the soul leaves the body it assumes a form as small as a thumb. At this very

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Kolki.

³ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁴ The School Master of Dhank.

⁵ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁶ The School Master of Gondal.

⁷ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁸ The School Master of Oman.

⁹ The School Master of Rājpara.

¹⁰ The School Master of Vanod.

¹¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹² The School Master of Ganod.

* The word *Jân* is the plural of the Arabic *jinni*. It has remained as a relic of Arab supremacy and occupation of the Kathiawar coast just in the beginning of Islam during its first conquests—about half a century after the Prophets' death.

moment it is caught by the servants of Yama while he is crying out ha ! ha ! looking at its corporal receptacle."

And again :—

"Covering the body of the soul (which suffers intensely) and strangling it forcibly, the servants of the god Yama carry it away just as a culprit is carried by a king's soldiers."

The verses that follow describe the miseries inflicted upon the poor thumb-shaped soul for the sins committed by him during his lifetime. The sinful soul has to undergo similar miseries in hell. From hell it returns to this world guarded by the servants of Yama, to partake of the rice-balls and other articles of food offered by the sons or other relatives. It is then again taken to hell to suffer more miseries and penalties in expiation of past sins. Then it returns once more to receive the offerings of rice-balls made at *shraddha* ceremonies. If, even after this, any desires remain unfulfilled, it has to continue a wretched existence in the other world.¹

In a chapter of the *Pretamanjari* of the *Garud Purāṇ* it is stated that the souls of righteous men go to the next world unmolested.²

Some people believe that the departing soul assumes a form like a thumb, and remains in that state until relieved by the performance of *shraddha* by his heirs. It then enters the other world to enjoy the fruits of its good actions. The *Yamapuri* or the city of the god of death is 8,500 *Yòjans*—a *Yòjan* being equal to four miles—to the south of the earth. The lord of this place is Dharmarāja. Yama is his servant, whose duty is to carry the soul from one place to another.³

Others maintain that two states await the soul after death according to whether it

has performed righteous or sinful acts during life.

The righteous attain to heaven and enter the *Pārshad Vaikunta* of Vishnu. The sinful go to hell or *Yamaloka*.⁴

The sinful souls go to *Yamaloka* and are made to suffer the miseries of twenty-eight *naraks* or hells in proportion to the sins perpetrated by them, after which they return to the earth.

The following are some of the punishments meted out to wicked souls for their sins, in their next lives :—

1 Those who murder Brāhmans suffer from consumption.

2 Those who slaughter cows are born as tortoises.

3 Those guilty of female infanticide suffer from white leprosy.

4 One who kills his wife, as well as a woman guilty of causing abortion, becomes a beggar.

5 Those who commit adultery become impotent.

6 He who seats himself on the bed or seat of his preceptor is affected by skin diseases.

7 Flesh-eaters get a red body.

8 Those who indulge in drink get black teeth.

9 A Brāhman partaking of prohibited food suffers from dropsy.

10 One who eats sweets without sharing them with the by-standers suffers from cancer in the throat.

11 One who offers polluted food to departed spirits suffers from black leprosy.

12 One who disobeys and despises his teacher suffers from wind *apasmār*.

13 One who does not believe in the *shāstras* suffers from enlargement of the spleen or Bright's disease.

14 A perjurer is born dumb.

¹ The Shāstri, Bhāyavādar, Pāthshālā

² The School Master of Ganod.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The D. E. Inspector, Hālār.

15 One who does not serve food equally to all the members at a dining table loses one of his eyes.

16 Those who break off a marriage alliance are punished with thick (negro-like) lips.

17 Those who steal books lose their eye-sight.

18 He who kicks a Brāhman becomes lame.

19 A liar becomes a stammerer.

20 Those who listen to contradictory versions of what is generally believed to be true become deaf.

21 One who poisons another becomes a lunatic.

22 One who steals precious metals becomes indigent.

23 An incendiary is punished with a bald head.

24 Meat-sellers meet with misfortunes.

25 One who steals gold has his nails deformed.

26 He who steals food is born a mouse.

27 One stealing corn has to be reborn as a locust.

28 One stealing opium or other poisonous drugs is born a scorpion.

29 One who steals leaves or vegetables is born a peacock.

30 One who enjoys perfumes by stealing them is born a mole.

31 One who steals honey becomes an eagle.

32 One who steals flour, rice, etc. is born a monkey.¹

The state of the soul after death depends upon a man's good or bad actions in life.

The souls of the righteous leave the body without any trouble. The messengers of the god of death present themselves to these souls in the form of saints and carry them to that part of the heaven which is presided over by their favourite deity, by the eastern,

northern, or western gates. They are received there with great respect. Here they enjoy the fruits of their merit, after which they return to this world and are born either in the family of a wealthy virtuous man or in that of a poor Brāhman who has attained the knowledge of God. In this new life they accumulate further merit, in virtue of which they are endowed with a higher spiritual life in the following birth, and so on until they attain final emancipation.

After attaining *moksha* or salvation the soul becomes free from the wheel of birth and rebirth.

To the souls of the sinful, who leave their bodies with a great struggle, the messengers of the god of death present themselves in a terrible form. They are carried to hell by the southern gate, being constantly lashed on the way. There they are relegated to one of the twenty-eight pits (of hell) appropriate to their misdeeds, to suffer retribution for their sins.²

The soul is carried to Dharmarāja after it leaves the body. Thence, with the permission of the god, it returns to this world and halts for thirteen days at the threshold of its house. On the thirteenth day an earthen jar filled with water is emptied on a *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) after which its connection with this world ceases. Then it returns to the heavenly judge of actions (Dharmarāja), and is again born in the species prescribed by him. The soul of a strictly spiritual being merges into the divine entity and becomes free from birth and rebirth.

Moksha or *Mukti*, that is final emancipation is of two kinds, *sayujja* or merging into the divine form and *sāmishya* or entering the divine order and living in this state so long as one's merits allow.²

Dharmarāja keeps an account of the good and bad actions of all men in his book

¹ The Shāstri. Pāthshālā, Bhāyāvar.

² The School Master of Dhank.

called *siddhi karan*, and dispenses justice according to it. A man guilty of adultery is sentenced to embrace a red-hot image of a woman; one who has slaughtered animals is devoured by those animals; while those who have committed the sin of murdering Brāhmins are relegated to hell for ever.¹

There are seven rungs to the ladder which leads to the next world. The first is covered with a thick forest. The second bristles with pointed spears. The third is strewn with *gokharu* (a species of thorns). The fourth has piercing blasts. On the fifth runs the river Vaitarna. The sixth is full of red-hot iron. The seventh is covered with deep streams.²

After death, the soul has to cross the river Vaitarna (*vide* the fifth rung above) on its way to the next world. Those who have given cows in charity can cross this river without difficulty by holding the tails of the cows, who present themselves to help them.

Those who have given shoes in charity can tread the third step with ease.

The sinful have to walk barefooted on ground studded with pointed spears, and to embrace red-hot iron pillars. It is with the object of avoiding these miseries that people distribute shoes and clothes in charity.³

The sinful expiate their sins by passing through a cycle of 8,400,000 births.⁴ They have to be born 2,100,000 times in the class of creatures born of eggs, 2,100,000 times in the species of worms produced from sweat, 2,100,000 times from embryonic birth and a similar number of times in the vegetable kingdom.

Those who lack virtue but commit no sins are born in the divine order of a low grade such as the servants of Kuber, the

attendants of the god Shiva, Gandharyas, Vaitāls, Brahmarākshasas, Kushmānds and other demigods. Virtuous women are born as goddesses or *devis* or as *apsarās* or celestial songstresses. Those who have performed only a few acts of righteousness enter the ranks of Jakhānis, Kinnaris, Mātrikās, and the maid servants of the goddess Durga.⁵

The souls of the righteous are carried by *Yamadutas* or the messengers of the god of death through five cities, by a route passing through beautiful gardens; while those of the sinful are led barefooted over brambles and pointed spears by roads running through dense forests hidden in pitchy darkness. The latter have also to cross large rivers and pass through streams filled with blood and puss. As they pass, eagles prey upon their bodies and they are bitten by venomous snakes.⁶

The souls of those who have in life performed good actions pass through the sun and assume divine forms; while those of ordinary beings pass through the moon and return to this world.⁶

A sinful soul has to go to *Yamaloka* or hell through sixteen cities. On its way it has to cross the river Vaitarna, which consists of blood mixed with puss. He who has presented a cow to a Brāhman can cross this river with ease. Beyond this river lies a land which is covered with spikes. Those who have given in charity *ashtamahādān*, that is, sesamum seeds, flour, gold, cotton, salt, clarified butter, milk and sugarcandy, can walk over this ground without being hurt. When the soul has reached Yama or the god of death, the sun and the moon, the ever-living witnesses of human actions,

¹ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

² The School Master of Limbdi.

³ "Like the green grass on the turf I have often grown and regrown. I have visited 770,000 bodies." Maulana Iḥluddīn Kūmī.

⁴ The School Master of Vanod.

⁵ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

⁶ The School Master of Jetalpur.

testify to its virtues and sins, and it is meted out a punishment appropriate to its sins.¹

In order that the departed soul may not find its way difficult, his heirs make a gift to a Brāhman of a bedstead, bedding, a lamp, corn, a pair of shoes and other articles, on the thirteenth day after death. This gift is called *seraja*.²

One enters the human order after passing through 8,400,000 species of living beings. It is in the human life that one can accumulate merit, and wipe out the influence of past sins.

Those who meet a sudden or violent death, e. g., by being crushed under a falling house, by drowning in a well, by an accidental fall, by a snake bite, etc. enter the order of *bhuts*, *pretas*, *pishachas*, etc., and are said to have gone to *durgati* or to a bad path.³

But those who die on a field of battle are believed to attain heaven.⁴

According to another belief, persons dying a violent death have to pass through the same fate, that is, die violently, for the next seven lives.⁵

Their souls are said to be liable to enter the *asurgati* or the order of devils. They are emancipated from this condition by the performance by their descendants of the ceremony called *Nil parnavasi* or of those ceremonies prescribed in the *Pāl Shāstra*.⁶

It is also believed that such souls after entering the order of ghosts oppress and torment their descendants and relatives.⁷

In the case of suicides, when the crime is proved before the god of death the culprit is hurled into a hell called *Mahāraurava*, where he has to pass a thousand years. After the expiry of this period he is born again into

this world, again commits suicide, and again meets the same fate after death. This is repeated seven times, after which he has to pass through 8,400,000 species of animals before again obtaining the human life.⁸

If the suicide be caused by poisoning the person, in his next life, becomes a serpent; if by drowning or strangling, he becomes a ghost.⁹

Some believe that the souls of persons meeting a violent death enter the order of such ghosts as *Jinni*, *Māmo*, etc. For their emancipation *shrāddhas* are performed by their descendants. At times these ghosts possess the persons of their nearest relatives, and through this medium declare their desires. If they express a desire to have a *pālio* or pillar erected in their name, one is erected on the spot where they breathed their last. On this pillar is engraved a figure riding a horse, representing the deceased, which is besmeared with red lead or ochre. This representation is worshipped as a deity with offerings of frankincense, cocoanuts and lamps fed with *ghi*.¹⁰

The *pālio* is called *surdhan*, and is worshipped, especially on the death anniversary of the deceased.¹¹

In some castes the *surdhans* are installed in the house of the deceased.¹²

There are various beliefs current as to the way in which spirits enter and leave the body.

According to one belief, when a person gets frightened by the apparition of a ghost the ghost enters his body through one of the organs, and makes him senseless and violent.¹³

¹ The D. E. Inspector, Hālār.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The School Master of Kolki.

⁵ The School Master of Bhāyāvar.

¹¹ The School Master of Songadh.

² The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The School Master of Charādvā.

⁶ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁸ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rājkot.

¹⁰ The School Master of Todia.

¹² The School Master of Dvealia.

¹³ The School Master of Dhānk.

According to another belief, a ghost, as stated above, takes an airy form and enters the body through any channel through which air can enter the body. It leaves the body by the same route.¹

There is also a belief that evil spirits enter the body of a man through any part of the body and under their influence the person possessed, dances, jumps, foams or sits idle.²

There is a further belief that a ghost enters the body through the thumb and gets out by the ears.³

According to some, a ghost makes its way into the body through the anus and its exit by the same route.⁴

Others maintain that it enters the body through the nostrils and gets out by the same passage.⁵

Some say that it finds an entrance and outlet through the skull.⁶

There are others who are of opinion that the immaterial form of a ghost can find admission into the body by the right side and egress the same way.⁷

It is said that when the body is unclean, a ghost can enter it through any of the organs.⁸

To drive away an evil spirit from the body of a person, a conjuror, *Vānjha*, *Koli Vāghri*, *Atit*, *Fakir* or other exorcist is engaged to set a *dānklān** and to offer a victim and frankincense to the evil spirit, which is supposed to drive the spirit out by the same route by which it entered the body.⁹

Another method of driving away an evil spirit from the body is as follows:—

As soon as it is ascertained that a man is possessed by an evil spirit, somebody catches hold of the top-knot of the man or ties it into a knot. Next he is lashed with a whip or chain until the ghost in him cries out "Please don't beat me. I shall leave the body and shall never return." Then the ghost is told that it is a liar, that it said a thousand times that it would leave the body and not return, but it did not do it. No faith, therefore, would be put in its word. After a haggling dialogue of this kind and on the ghost's confirmation of its offer never to return by some satisfactory oath or assurance, the top-knot is unloosed and the ghost disappears.¹⁰

A third method is to subject the person possessed to the fumes of red chillies or of black wood, or to tie a sacred thread round his elbow.

After one of these processess has been performed to expel the ghost, the victim gives a deep yawn, and it is said that the ghost goes out in the yawn. Next the relieved person is given water to drink, and an exorcist is engaged to take measures to prevent the possibility of the ghost's return.¹¹

In a book entitled *Brāhman Nighanta Ratnākara* is described the method of driving away an evil spirit from the body of a man by an offering of *dhup* or frankincense. The *dhup* to be used for this purpose must be made of *gugal*, and it must be offered with honey and clarified butter, repeating the following *mantra*:—

"Amen. Bow to the divine Lord of the evil spirits, the Lord whose teeth, jaws, and

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The D. E. Inspector, Gohilwād.

³ The School Master of Bāntva.

⁴ The School Master of Vāla.

⁵ The School Master of Dhānk.

† If a lock of the hair of the person possessed by an evil spirit be knotted round and round while the exorcist is trying to cast the spirit, it cannot get out.—The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁰ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹¹ See p. 3.

² The School Master of Pātan Vāo.

⁴ The School Master of Luvaria.

⁶ The School Master of Rājpara.

⁸ The School Master of Ganod.

¹¹ The School Master of Pātan Vāo.

mouth are fierce, by whose three eyes the forehead is ablaze, whose lustre is marked by irresistible anger, who holds a crescent moon on the forehead and matted hair on the head, whose body is besmeared with ashes; whose neck is adorned by the poison of the fierce lord of the cobras. Oh! may success attend to thee! Oh! Great one! The Lord of spirits! manifest thy form, dance, dance; move, move; tie with a chain, tie; terrify by a neigh, terrify; kill, kill by the adamant wand; cut, cut off by a sharp weapon; tear off, tear off by the point of a spear; reduce, reduce to atoms by the bludgeon; remove, remove; all the evil spirits *Śvāha*.¹

There are various superstitious beliefs entertained by people regarding sneezing.

According to one belief, if a person sneezes face to face with another who is about to begin an auspicious act, such as starting on a journey, decking his person with ornaments, performing a marriage ceremony, and the like, it portends misfortune to the latter; but a sneeze on his right or at his back foretells good. A sneeze in front of a person starting to perform an auspicious act is supposed to mean that a blow has been struck on his forehead, suggesting that the act should be stopped. If, in spite of this warning, the act is commenced, evil consequences are sure to follow.

A sneeze at a man's back confirms the unobstructed fulfilment of the act taken in hand, as it is believed to have patted the man on his back or shoulders in token of approval.

Sneezes on either side, right or left, portend neither good nor evil.

As a rule, sneezes are believed to forebode evil, and it is considered highly unmannerly to sneeze while one is about to begin an auspicious act or start with a good purpose. If, in spite

of this etiquette, one sneezes, he excuses himself by saying that he is suffering from cold.²

Some people believe that a sneeze in front is an indication of a broil on the road, a sneeze on the left side portends loss of money, one from above is a harbinger of success, one from below foretells danger, while the sneeze of the man who is engaged or is starting on the act contemplated is believed to be very injurious. A sneeze on the right is considered neither good nor bad.³

A sneeze in the east causes anxiety, in the south-east foretells happiness, in the south speaks of coming loss, and in the south-west is an indication of good. A sneeze from the west or north-west is considered good, from the north injurious, and from the east auspicious.⁴

Some lines from the sayings of Gorakhrāj run to the effect that a sneeze in the east causes anxiety, one in the south-east inflicts a sound beating, one in the south brings a visitor or guest, one in the south-west subjects the person concerned to a taunt, one in the west bestows a throne or crown, one in the north-west promises sweets or dainties, one in the north foretells good, one in the north-east brings disappointment, while one's own sneeze is so ominous that one should never start out on any business after sneezing.⁵

The beliefs enumerated above relate to sneezes which occur on certain week days. The sneezes which occur on Sundays have the following consequences.

A sneeze from the east is good, one from the south-east points to delay in the fulfilment of one's intended object, one from the south brings in profit, one from the south-west results in death, one from the west in happiness, one from the north-west throws one into the society of good men, one from the north is

¹ The School Master of Bhāyāvadar.

² The School Master of Sāka.

³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁴ The School Master of Kolki.

⁵ The School Master of Chharādvā.

productive of pecuniary gain, and one from the north-east of general wellbeing.¹

It is a common belief that if while one is about to commence some act, somebody sneezes once, the act is doomed to fail, and to avoid failure it must be postponed. But if the sneeze is repeated, no harm ensues.¹

A sneeze by an ailing person is believed to be a sign of his recovery, and more sneezes by the same person are supposed to indicate his complete recovery, even though the symptoms be not favourable.

A sneeze by a cow at the commencement of an auspicious act is supposed to be the worst possible omen, and a sneeze by a cat is proverbially a portent of failure in any act taken in hand at the time.²

A yawn is generally believed to be harmless, as it does not foretell either good or evil. Still as sometimes it results in accidental instantaneous death, the elders of a person when he yawns, exclaim, "Be long-lived! Patience! Live long!", and the spiritually disposed repeat the name of the god of their devotion.³

Lest spirits may make their way into the body of a person through his mouth when he is yawning, or lest his soul may pass out of it, some people pinch him to stop the yawn while others utter the words "Rām" "Rām" to divert his attention.⁴

In mythological times, Brahma, one of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, once left his body for a time. Some people began to molest the body, when he cried out, "Rākho! Rākho!" that is "Keep aloof! Keep aloof!" or "Wait! Wait!". These people came to be called *Rākho** which in course of time corrupted into *Rākshasa*. The beings who hold sway over

rākshasas are called *Mahārākshasas*. In the *Rāmāyan* and other *purāns*, *rākshasas* are represented as feeding on human flesh.⁵

A *rākshasa* is supposed to be sixteen miles in height and to roam about for his prey within a circle with a radius of sixteen miles.⁶

The *Mahārākshasas* are supposed to have their abode in the seas. It is said that they burn or swallow ships sailing thereon.⁷

The *rākshasas* are supposed to number 60,000,000 and the *mahārākshasas* 20,000. Kubera, a *mahārākshasa* is the lord of the *rākshasas*.⁸

It is said that the *rākshasas*, *mahārākshasas* wizards and witches were visible to the human eye during the *trētāyuga*. With the commencement of the present or *kaliyuga* they have become invisible. It is stated in the *Purāns* that during the recitation of the *Surya kavach*, *Saptasani* or the *Nārāyan kavach*, if the *rākshasas* or *mahārākshasas* fall into or approach the limits circumscribed for them, the recitation proves ineffective.⁹

It is a common belief that there is bitter enmity between the gods and *rākshasas*. The former follow the path of virtue while the latter lead immoral lives devouring Brāhmans and cows, feeding on flesh, and indulging in intoxicating drinks. The habitat of the *rākshasas* is the *pātāl* or nether world, Rāvan being their king.¹⁰

The exploits of some of the *rākshasas* are described in the *Mahābhārat*, *Bhāgvat* and the *Rāmāyan*. For instance, the misdeeds of Jarāsandh, Ghatotkacha, and Hedamba are described in the *Mahābhārat*; those of Kansa, Bānāsūr, Pralambāsūr, Adhāsūr, Dhenukāsūr, Kālanemi, Shankāsūr and Vritrāsūr in the

¹ The School Master of Limbdi.

² The School Master of Vanod.

* This derivation of the word *rākshasa* is obviously fanciful. *Rākshasa* is a Sanskrit word and has no connection with the Gujarati word *rākho* which itself is derived from the Sanskrit root *raksha* to protect.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁷ The School Master of Moti Parabdi.

⁹ The School Master of Charādvā.

² The School Master of Jbinjhuwāda.

⁴ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁶ The School Master of Pāntva.

⁸ The School Master of Rājpara.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

Bhāgvat; and those of Rāvan, Kumbhakarna and Indrajit in the *Rāmāyan*.¹

A *rākshasa* named Tripurāsura conquered the heavens, the earth and the nether regions, and began to annoy the gods. The god Shiva burnt the *rākshasa* to ashes.²

The two *rākshasas* Hīranyāksha and Hīranyakashyapu were originally the gate-keepers of Vishnu, one of the gods of the Hindu trinity. Once they affronted Sanātkumār, the son of Brahma, when they were cursed by Vishnu who decreed that they would be born *rākshasas* in three successive lives. In these lives they had to play the part of the enemies of gods and men, and were destroyed by Vishnu as such.³

A *rākshasa* named Jalandhar is stated to have met his death when the chastity of his wife was violated by the god Vishnu in the disguise of her husband.⁴

Mahārākshasas are also known by the name of *Brahma rākshasas*. A Brāhman dying without imparting all his learning to his disciples or with the guilt of the murder of a Brāhman or a cow on him is believed to enter the order of *Brahma rākshasas* after his death. In this state he possesses a body without a head. A *Brahma rākshasa* is also called *Khavis*.⁵

In addition to the wizards and witches mentioned above, there are others the names of which are as follows:—

(1) Dākini, (2) Sakini, (3) Kushmānd (4) Zōd, (5) Dholio, (6) Pāle Marad, (7) Bhuechar, (8) Khechar, (9) Jalaj, (10) Jakharo, (11) Shikotrum, (12) Ashtabhāro, (13) Chand Chani, (14) Chorosi Kāntini, (15) Joganti, (16) Hathadi, (17) Miyali, (18) Ghānchini, (19) Mochini, (20) Baladi, (21) Molani, (22) Khuntini, (23) Suti, (24) Gavati, (25) Bethi,

(26) Ubhi, (27) Avi, (28) Chaurār, (29) Madhu Pavanti, (30) Mānsa Khavanti, (31) Bhāsika, (32) Pratāb, (33) Vira, (34) Vāvānchara, (35) Chorāsi Viru, (36) Nao Narasing, (37) Jaikha, (38) Jutaka, (39) Masida, (40) Gāndharavi, (41) Jami, (42) Asmāni, (43) Mamikula,⁶ (44) Zāmpadi, (45) Meladi (46) Balla.⁷

Of the above, the first forty-three together with Chudela or Vantri and Preta are believed by some to be the names of so many *Joganis* or female evil spirits or witches. The remaining are living *Dākans* or witches who are believed to cause illness or even death by their evil eye to those on whom they throw a glance.⁸

Wizards live upon ordinary food, witches on air, while *pretas* require nothing to eat for their maintenance. It is said that their backs and shoulders are covered with filth and emit an offensive odour.⁹

It is generally believed that the spirits of such male members of low unclean castes as die a violent death become *Khavis*.¹⁰ Some believe that *Khavis* or *Khavith* is a Musalman ghost.¹¹ Others hold that he is the lord of all ghosts.¹²

Khavis has no head. His eyes are located in the chest. He is as tall as a cocoa-palm or bamboo. He roams about holding in one hand a weapon and in the other a lump of flesh. Those over whom his shadow falls are said to fall ill.¹³ His appearance is so terrible that a person who sees him for the first time is frightened to death.¹⁴ It is stated that he starts on his excursions after sun-set.¹⁵

The attendants of the god Shiva known as *Vaitālikas* are said to have no heads.¹⁶ They live in cremation grounds, as they have a

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Upleta.

³ The word *Khavis* comes from the Arabic *Khavith* from the root verb *Khavitha* and means one who has become impure or unholy.

⁴ The School Masters of Khirāsara and Pipalāna.

⁵ The School Master of Anandpur.

⁶ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁷ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁸ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁹ The School Master of Lewaria.

¹⁰ The School Master of Venod.

¹¹ The School Master of Sultānpur.

¹² Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹³ The School Master of Lillāpur.

¹⁴ The School Master of Vasāvād.

¹⁵ The School Master of Chubatrās.

¹⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

burning desire to possess the bodies of deceased persons.¹

A belief runs that the trunk of the evil spirit called *Suropuro*, that is the spirit of one who meets a heroic death, moves about like a *Khavis*.²

It is a common belief that evil spirits haunt trees, groves, deserted tanks and woods.³

Vetāl roams over burial and cremation grounds, as also *Bhuchar*, *Khechar*, *Kāl Bhairav* and a number of other ghosts.*

The *Jimp*, *Bābaro* and some other ghosts reside in fortresses and unoccupied houses and roam about in the burning grounds. *Chudela*, *Kotda* and *Brahma Rākshasa* make their abodes on the tamarind, *Shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*), *Bābul* and *Kerado* trees and in deep tanks and wells in deserted places. Their favourite haunts are river banks.⁵

It is stated by some people that the *Chudel*, *Vantri*, *Dūkan*, *Jimp*, *Khavis* and other ghosts generally haunt cremation grounds, fields where battles have been fought, thresholds of houses and latrines and cross roads.⁶

Some declare that ghosts are also to be found in temples in which there are no images and in dry wells.⁷

The ghost *preta* is said to be as tall as a camel, the passage of its throat being as small as the bore of a needle. It is therefore believed to be always wandering about in quest of water.⁸

The evil spirit *Jān* haunts mountains and forests and *Māmo* the centres of filth, while *Vetāl* is found in cremation grounds.⁹

Jān, *Brahma Rākshasa* and *Khavis* reside in woods, trees, or on mountains, *Khijadio* *Māmo* lives in the *Khijada* or *Shami* tree and *Amatho* *Māmo* in a grove of trees. Spirits

of high caste people not emancipated from the trammels of birth and rebirth have their abode in the *Pipal* tree.¹⁰

It is related that once a number of boys, on their return from a tank to which they had gone on a swimming excursion, passed by a *Khijada* tree, when one of them suggested to the others to throw stones at the tree, saying that any one not doing so would fall under the displeasure of God. One of the boys threw a stone at a neighbouring *Bābul* tree with the result that on reaching home he fell ill in a fit of terror. He began to shake and said "Why did you strike me with a stone? I had resorted to the *Bābul* tree from the *Khijada* and you struck me there. I shall not depart until I take your life." Evidently it was the *Khijadio* *Māmo* who had possessed the boy who spoke the above words; and an exorcist was called who drove him out by the incantation of *mantras*; after which the boy recovered.¹¹

It is believed that a woman who dies an unnatural death becomes a *Chudel* and troubles her husband, her successor or co-wife, or her children.¹²

There are three classes of *Chudels*, (1) *Poshi*, (2) *Soshi* and (3) *Toshi*. Those women that have not enjoyed before death the pleasures of this world to their satisfaction enter the order of *Poshi* *Chudels*. They fondle children and render good service to their widower husbands.

Those women that are persecuted beyond endurance by the members of their families become *Soshi* *Chudels* after death. They dry up the blood of men and prove very troublesome to the members of the family.

Those women who bear a strong attachment to their husbands enter the order of

¹ The School Master of Gondal.

² The School Master of Dhānk.

³ The School Master of Vanod.

⁷ The School Master of Kolki.

⁹ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹¹ The D. E. Inspector, Gohilwad.

² The School Master of Bāntva.

⁴ The School Master of Talpur and Luvaria.

⁶ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁸ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kolki.

¹² The School Master of Dhānk.

Toshi Chudels and bring great pleasure and happiness to their husbands in this life.¹

Most high caste people, on the death of their first wives, take an impression of their feet on gold leaves or leaf-like tablets of gold and cause their second wives to wear them round their necks.² These impresses of feet are called *shok-pagalans* or mourning foot-prints. Among the lower castes, the hands or the feet of the second wives are tattooed in the belief that this prevents the deceased wife from causing injury to the second wife.³

All female spirits called *Pishachas* or *Dakans* and male spirits called *Virs* or *Bhuts* oppress their descendants.⁴

It is also believed that any male member of a family dying with certain of his desires unfulfilled becomes a *Surdhan* and oppresses the surviving relatives, while a female member troubles others as *Sikoturu* or *Mavadi*.⁵

The spirits of men that fall victims to tigers or other wild animals are believed to enter the ghostly order and wander about until they are relieved from this state by the performance of the prescribed *shraddha* by some pious surviving relative.⁶ These evil spirits live in forests and eat nothing but flesh.⁷ If they do not get flesh to eat they eat the flesh of their own bodies.⁸ At times they put their relatives to great annoyance by entering their persons. To pacify them, *palios* are erected in their name, and their images are set up in the square cavities of walls. These images are besmeared with red lead and oil by their descendants on the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Ashvin*. The relief of such spirits is sought by the performance of a *shraddha* either at Siddhapur or at Gaya.⁹

It is believed that a woman dying in child-bed or menses enters the order of ghosts variously known as *Chudels*, *Vantris* or *Taxamis*. In order that she may not return from the cremation ground, mustard seeds are strewn along the road behind her bier, for a belief prevails that she can only succeed in returning if she can collect all the mustard seeds thus strewn on the way.¹⁰

In some places, loose cotton wool is thrown over the bier so as to be scattered all along the road to the cemetery. It is believed that the *Chudel* can only return to the house if she can collect all the cotton scattered behind her in one night. This is considered an impossible task, and no fear is therefore entertained of her return after the cotton has been scattered.¹¹

To prevent the return of the *Chudel*, some people pass underneath the bier the legs of the cot on which the woman lay in her confinement, while others drive in an iron nail at the end of the street immediately after the corpse has been carried beyond the village boundary.¹²

In some places, the nail is driven into the threshold of the house.¹³

Even after the precautions mentioned above have been taken, to prevent the return of a *Chudel* or *Vantri*, *Shraddhas* are performed, and a number of Brahman women feasted on the twelfth and thirteenth day after death to propitiate her as the fear of the mischief done by her is very strong.¹⁴

A *Chudel* has no shoulders.¹⁴ Any passer by coming across her is asked by her to take her to his home, and if he agrees, she accompanies him, passes the night in his company, and brings his life to a speedy end. In the village of Charadi under the jurisdiction of Dhranga-

¹ The School Master of Vanod.

² The School Master of Songadh.

³ The School Master of Jhinjhuwada.

⁴ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁶ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁷ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁸ The School Master of Jetpur.

⁹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹⁰ The School Master of Dhank.

¹¹ The School Master of Rajpara.

¹² The School Master of Dhank.

¹³ The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁴ The School Master of Limbdi.

dhra, a Girāsia named Halāji fell into the clutches of a *Chudel* who was driven from his person by the enchantment of a *Jati* on condition that he should not go into the eastern part of the village.¹

It is believed that a woman can be relieved from the ghostly order of a *Chudel* by the performance of a *shrāddha* at Siddhapur.²

There is no belief that the father has to take special precautions at the birth of his child except that care is taken to note the exact time of the child's birth for the purpose of casting its horoscope correctly. An inkstand and pen are also placed in the lying-in-room, as it is believed that the creator writes the destiny of a child as soon as it makes its appearance into the world.³

All children born in *Jyēṣṭha Nakshatra*, *Mula-nakshatra*, or *Yamaghanta* are said to cause the death of their male parent. Such children were left to starve uncared for in forests in olden times; but now-a-days they are kept alive, as certain performances are believed to avert the evil. One such performance is only to see the child after clarified butter has been given in donation. Another is to see its face after it has been bathed with the water collected from eighteen wells in a pot with a thousand holes.⁴ In a third, the parents of the child hold in their hands goblets filled with clarified butter, and see their faces reflected in them before the child is presented to the sight of the father.

Such children are named *Mulubhāi*, *Mul-chand*, *Muli* or *Mulo*.

A child born in the month of *Jyēṣṭha* prognosticates poverty.⁵

If the birth time of a child happens to fall within the ecliptic period, that is the period of nine hours before an eclipse takes place, as well as in the duration of the eclipse, the father does not see the child before performing certain rites, as to do so is supposed to bring misfortune.⁶

If a man has a child in his twentieth year he does not see the child before he completes it.⁷

If a child is born at a wrong juncture or conjunction of the stars, the father does not see it for twenty-seven days.⁸

A child born on the fourth, fourteenth or fifteenth day of a month is supposed to become a burden to its father.⁹

It is a common belief that a woman in child bed should not see the face of her husband nor he of her.¹⁰

Women who do not obey the commands of their husbands, who partake of their meals secretly before their husbands,¹¹ or violate any of their duties towards their husbands, are believed to enter the order of bats or owls after their death.¹²

According to another belief, men who have been incontinent become owls after death, while such women become bats.¹³

The owls and bats are blind during the day, but they can see corpses and the spirits of the deceased and converse with them in their own tongue.¹⁴

The spirits of the deceased are supposed to remain in their worldly tenement for twelve days, and owls and bats are supposed to be able to see them at night and talk to them.¹⁵

¹ The School Master of Lilāpur.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The School Mistress, Female Training College, Rājkot.

⁴ The School Master of Todia.

⁵ The School Master of Gondal.

⁶ The School Master of Devalia.

⁷ The School Master of Devalia.

⁸ This is a point of conjugal etiquette in India. Hindu, and in Gujarat and the Deccan, Muslim women, would much rather starve than dine before their husbands.

⁹ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹¹ The School Masters of Dhānk and Vanod.

¹² The School Master of Vanod.

¹³ The School Master of Lilāpur.

¹⁴ The School Master of Lilāpur.

¹⁵ The School Master of Kolki.

¹⁶ The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁷ The School Master of Chhatravā.

One of the beliefs entertained by Hindus about the owl is that none should throw a lump of earth at it, as the owl is believed to pick up the missile and throw it into a well or tank or any sheet of water, with the result that it gradually dissolves and disappears, and simultaneously the body of the person is said to be consumed.¹

If perchance an owl utters some note perching on the top cross beam of a house on a Sunday or Tuesday night, the owner of the house should pass a dark woollen thread below the cross beam, to which a nude person should give a knot at every screech of the owl. If such a thread be kept in one's anklet, one need have no fear of ghosts nor can he be seen by a *dākan* or witch.

If a person in sleep responds to the call of an owl, he is believed to expire within six months from that date.²

If an owl screeches every night for six months on one's house or an adjacent tree, a terror seizes the members of the house that some sure and certain calamity not short of death is imminent.³

An owl sitting on the house of a person and screeching is said to be uttering threats or forebodings of calamities and misfortunes, and is believed to foretell the death of some near

relative or of a member of the household.⁴

If a miser dies after accumulating vast treasures, his spirit becomes a ghost or a snake and guards his wealth.⁵

According to another belief, a miser dying without an heir becomes a snake to guard his treasure.⁶

It is believed that such treasures are accessible to *batrisas*⁷ (those possessed of thirty two accomplishments).

Those persons that die while ousted from the houses built by them become ghosts, and residing in the houses, do not allow any body to live therein, and leave them only when they are demolished.⁸

Some evil spirits guard treasures in the form of drones.⁹

It is related that there is a pond called Lakhota near Jamvadi in Gondal. It contains a treasure guarded by a cobra which tries to bite whosoever attempts to remove it.¹⁰

The *Janchar*, *Bhuchar*, *Jin* and some other spirits are believed to haunt valleys.¹¹

Some believe that those persons that meet their death in valleys become evil spirits and haunt the valleys.¹²

Rakhevālio, *Andhārio*, *Sevālio*, *Sulio* and *Ragatio* are evil spirits that haunt the ruins of magnificent buildings and also valleys.¹³

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁵ The School Master of Sāyala.

⁶ The School Master of Korda Sangani.

⁷ The School Master of Kolki.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ The School Master of Māvaiya.

¹⁰ The School Master of Vanod.

¹¹ The School Master of Gondal.

¹² The School Master of Vanod.

¹³ The School Master of Rājpara.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EVIL EYE AND THE SCARING OF GHOSTS.

The superstitious dread of an evil eye is to be seen mostly among ignorant people, especially among women. If a boy were to fall ill, they say, "Chhotio (the name of the boy) was playing in the house wearing a fine dress and was prattling sweetly, when that wretch came to the house and her evil eye fell on him"¹ or "The boy was eating a dainty dish when that devilish woman came up and her evil eye influenced the boy."²

Persons born on a Sunday or Tuesday are generally believed to have an evil eye.³

The evil eye causes its victim to vomit what he has eaten in its presence.⁴

If a child weeps all day long, or a person finds his appetite very weak, the evil is attributed to an evil eye.⁵

If milch cattle do not give milk, or if *seva* (vermicelli) *papad* (wafer biscuits) pickles, *dudhpak* (rice cooked in milk and sweetened with sugar) or such other eatables are spoilt, it is believed that the evil eye is at the root of the trouble.⁶

It is believed that the following objects are liable to be influenced by an evil eye:—

(1) Persons having fine glossy hair, fiery eyes, exquisite form, refined gait, fine speech or good handwriting, (2) good sportsmen, (3) pickles, (4) *papad* (wafer biscuits), (5) *seva* (vermicelli), (6) all attractive objects.

If a person falls ill after he is praised, he is said to have been a victim of an evil eye.⁷

The precautions taken to evade the influence of the evil eye are as follows:—

(1) When children are dressed and decked with ornaments, a spot is made on their cheeks

or near their necks with a black pigment or collyrium, as it is believed that the dark colour is an antidote against the influence of the evil eye.

(2) Some efficacious inscription is engraved on a copper plate, which is suspended round the child's neck.

(3) A bead of *kachakada* is also worn round the neck.

(4) A tiger's nail or tooth is worn round the neck.

(5) An iron ring is worn on the finger.

(6) A lime is worn in the turban or headdress.

(7) An incantation in the praise of Hanuman is written on a piece of paper and put in an anklet which is worn.

(8) A piece of thread of five kinds of silk or cotton spun by a virgin is given seven knots on the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Ashwin* and worn on the person.

(9) In order that sweet meats and other eatables such as *papad* (wafer biscuits), pickles, etc., may not be spoilt by an evil eye, a lime, an iron nail or a knife is put into them.

(10) In order that a cot or cradle may not be broken by the influence of an evil eye, a black woollen thread is tied round it.

(11) To prevent *dudhpak* (rice cooked in milk and sweetened with sugar) from being spoilt, a piece of charcoal is put into the pot in which it is prepared.⁸

While taking one's meal one should avoid the company of an evil-eyed person, but if perchance one happen to be present, a morsel of the food should be thrown behind him or

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

² The School Master of Kolki.

³ The School Master of Jetpur.

⁴ The School Master of Sayala.

⁵ Mr. K. D. Dasai.

⁶ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁷ The School Master of Devalja.

⁸ The School Master of Ganod.

set aside on the ground as an offering to the evil eye.¹

If, in spite of the precautions mentioned above, the influence of the evil eye prevails, the following remedies are adopted to remove its effects:—

(1) The evil eye is fastened or curbed, as they say, by one of the processes described in Chapter III above.

(2) A red-hot charcoal is placed on a dinner plate and covered with an earthen jar. A bowl filled with water is then passed round the head of the patient, emptied over the jar and placed on it with its mouth touching the jar. Next, a scythe is placed over the bowl. The jar, which is heated with the heat of the burning charcoal placed under it produces a hissing sound as soon as it is touched by the water in the bowl, and is said to speak. This process is called *Ghadulo* and is performed after sunset.²

In some places, it is a belief that the plate to be used in this process must be of bell-metal, and that over the fire placed in it mustard seeds, chillies and salt must be thrown before it is covered with the earthen jar.³

(3) An *utār*⁴ or sacrificial offering is taken to the village gate on a Sunday or Tuesday.

(4) Milk is passed three or seven times round the head of the ailing child, poured into a black earthen pot, and offered to a black bitch on a Sunday or Tuesday.⁴

(5) The mother or some other near relative of the child suffering from the effects of the evil eye, puts in a bell-metal cup mustard seed, salt, chillies and seven stones from the village gate, passes the cup thrice round the child's head, puts burning charcoal in the cup, and

after it is heated, places it overturned in a bell-metal pot and pours over it water mixed with cowdung, so that the cup adheres to the pot. This sticking of the cup is called *najar chonti gai* (the evil eye has stuck fast) and is believed to cure the child.⁵

(6) An exorcist is engaged to wave a bowl filled with water round the head of the patient. He then drinks off the water, and the patient believes that the disease has been drunk with it.⁶

(7) A handful of salt and chillies is passed thrice round the head of the patient and thrown into the fire. If the chillies burn without giving out fumes of an unpleasant odour, the evil eye is believed to be at the root of the illness.⁷

(8) A little dust collected from a spot where two roads cross one another, or red lead and oil offered to Hanuman, a red chilly, an iron nail and grains of *adad* (*Phaseolus mungo*) are packed into a piece of white cotton cloth with a black woollen thread, and tied to the cradle of the suffering child.⁸

(9) A side of a loaf of millet flour is baked by being exposed to fire, clarified butter is applied to this side, and a fine cotton thread is passed round the loaf. Next, the loaf is waved round the head of the ailing child and thrown into fire. If the cotton thread is not burnt by the fire, an evil eye is believed to be the cause of the illness.⁸

Sometimes the loaf is offered to a black dog after it has been waved round the child's head.⁸

(10) If the illness be due to the influence of the evil eye of a woman, she is called in and asked to pass her hand over the child's head.⁹

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The School Master of Dhank.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

⁶ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

† This process is generally adopted in cases of milch cattle not giving milk and all other ailments to ascertain the influence of the evil eye.

⁸ The School Master of Dadvi.

² The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ See page 3.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁷ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

(11) In order to avoid the effects of the evil eye, when a child returns home from an outside visit, a bowl filled with water is passed thrice round its head and emptied outside the house before it crosses the threshold of the house.¹

(12) The grains of *Adad*, twigs of the *Thor* (*Euphoria nerifolia*), salt and dust are passed seven times round the head of a person suffering from the effects of an evil eye, on the threshold of the house, and thrown away.²

(13) Grains of *Adad*, twigs of the *Thor*, salt, an iron nail and charcoal are put into an unused earthen pot and taken to the village boundary with a bowl filled with water. The person carrying the pot and bowl should not look behind either on his way to, or on his return from, the village boundary. The pot is placed on the village boundary, and water is poured over it seven times from the bowl.³

(14) A loaf baked on one side, with seven grains of *Adad*, seven grains of salt and seven cotton seeds placed over it, is passed seven times round the patient's head and placed on a spot where two roads cross one another. The person carrying the bread should not look behind while carrying it.⁴

Those whose children do not live, or die in infancy, or who get children with difficulty, give them opprobrious names, as it is believed that objects so named, being considered of no value, are left unharmed both by men and by gods.⁵

Some people believe that children so named are considered impure by Fate or Destiny, and consequently not molested by her.⁶

It is believed by some that, as good names attract attention, giving opprobrious names averts the danger of the evil eye.⁷

Some people throw a newly-born child on a dung-hill and take it back, saying that they found it on the dung-hill, with the belief that a child of such low origin cannot be snatched away from them by Fate. Such children are named Panjio, Unkardo or Kacharo meaning 'dung-hill.'

Some children are named Khoto, Amatho or Jutho, all meaning 'false', with the belief that children so named are considered to belong to gods or Fate and hence cannot be taken away from their parents by the god of death.

Some people exchange their children for sweets, or offer them to others and purchase them back at a nominal price. Others roll them in the dust and name them Dmilio or dust. This is believed to ensure a long life to the children.⁸

In some places, a relative of the child's on the mother's side presents it with a necklace of gold beads shaped like large black ants. When the child attains the age of eight or ten years this necklace is offered to some god or goddess. The child is named Sankalio as it wears round its neck this *sankal* or chain, that is, necklace.⁹

It is held by some that children bearing contemptuous names are not affected by magic.¹⁰

Some weigh the child against corn and give the name of that corn to the child, e. g., 'Kodario', 'Juvario'. The corn is then distributed among beggars, which is supposed to ensure a long life to the child.¹¹

Some make earthen figures of children, call them *Ila Ili* or *Pithad*, and carry them through the village on the *Holi* day (the full-moon day of *Falgun*), with the belief that by so doing they ensure a long life to the children.

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The School Master of Aman.

³ The School Master of Dhank.

⁴ The School Master of Vanod.

⁵ Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

⁶ The School Master of Sultapur.

⁷ The School Master of Bantva.

⁸ The School Master of Sayala.

⁹ The School Master of Devalia.

¹⁰ The School Master of Moti Khilori.

¹¹ The School Master of Khirasa.

It is related that a carpenter's children used to die in infancy, so he named one of his sons 'Pithad' and he lived. Since then, parents

whose children do not live name them 'Pithad.' Some name their children 'Jivo' that is 'Live' with the hope that they may live long.¹

The opprobrious and other special spirit-searing names generally given to boys are as follows:—

| NAME. | MEANING. | NAME. | MEANING. |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Amatho | Useless | Gobaro ² | |
| Jutho | False | Fakiro | Beggar |
| Kacharo | Refuse | Mafatio | Worthless |
| Nathu | Tied | Nago | Shameless |
| Punjo | Refuse | Bocho | Coward |
| Jivo | Live | Bakor | Noise |
| Kalo | Black | Bow | Name of a demon |
| Ghelo | Mad | How | Ditto. |
| Gafal | Stupid | Limbo | Poisonous |
| Valu or Vayali | Eccentric | Ganglo | Stony ³ |
| Sawo or Siwo | Sewed | Bhikhari or Bhikho | Beggar |
| Dungar | Hill | Vaigrari | Recluse |
| Ado | Useless | Amar | Immortal |
| Bhabho | Worthless | Sidio | Negro-like |
| Malo | Bower | Vasto ⁴ | |
| Velo | Creeper | Polio or Polo | Hollow |
| Nano | Small | Kadavo | Bitter |
| Khodo | Lane | Bero | Deaf |
| Oghad | Fool | Dipo | Panther |
| Hakalo | | Vagh | Tiger |
| Bhukhan | | Colampalo | Meddlesome |
| Uko | Dung-hill | Chindharo | Ragged |
| Lavo | Parasite | Chiko | |
| Jino | Small | Chuntho | Ragged |
| Daso | Old | Jinthro | Ragged |
| Rano | Lord (ironical) | Jalo | |
| Bavo | Recluse | Davalo | Not loved |
| Rupo | Handsome (ironical) | Dendo | The croaking of a frog. |
| Mor | Peacock | Dhingo | Fat |
| Popat | Parrot | Bodo | Bald-headed |
| Jado | Fastened ⁵ | Rotal | Womanish |
| Bodho | | Radio | Crying ⁶ |

¹ The School Master of Todia.

² The School Master of Ganod.

³ The School Master of Dadi.

⁴ The School Master of Dhank.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁶ The School Master of Kolki.

The contemptuous names given to girls are:—

| NAME. | MEANING. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Liri | |
| Dhori | White |
| Zini | Small |
| Panji | Refuse |
| Kali | Black |
| Ful | Light as a flower ¹ |
| Nàthi | |
| Juthi | False |
| Jādi | Fat |
| Monghi | |
| Jāba ² | |
| Kadvi | Bitter |
| Jivi | Live. |
| Divi ³ | |

Vēju, Bhilak, Chichi, Lāghu⁴, Mafat (useless), Gheli (mad), Panchi⁵, Dedki, Kukadi and Zabu.⁶

It is said that in ancient times change of sex could be effected.

Tradition relates that all the children of a certain Solanki king died in infancy, except the last child, a girl. She was dressed in male attire and passed for a boy. When the pretended boy attained marriageable age, he was betrothed to a princess. When the day fixed for the marriage drew near, the king became anxious and went on an hunting expedition to pass the time. On his way back from the hunt he became very thirsty, and quenched his thirst with the water of a pond near which a temple of Bahucharāji stands to this day. His bitch, which was with him, leapt into the pond, and on coming out of the water was found to be transformed into a dog. On seeing this the king brought his daughter

and bathed her into the pond with the result that she was transformed into a boy. The king then built a big tank on the spot, which is known by the name of *Mēn*.⁷

In a chapter called *Brahmottar Khand* of the *Padma Purān*, which describes the glory of a vow called *Uma Mahesh*, the greatness of observing fasts on Mondays is described at length. Two Brāhman brothers, one dressed as a man and the other as a woman, set out on a journey. Once they halted in a temple of the god Shiva, where lived a woman who had observed the fasts on Mondays. She invited them to dinner, taking them, as they appeared to be, for a man and a woman. The devotion of the hostess was so great that the brother dressed as a woman was actually transformed into a woman while partaking of the meal served to him.⁸

It is related that in ancient times the son of a certain sage once disguised himself as a girl with the result that he was actually changed into a girl. He was thereafter called *Mudrālōpi* and married to the sage *Agastya*.⁹

The warrior *Shikhandi* who assisted the *Pāndavas* in killing *Bhishma* (who had vowed not to raise his arms against a woman) was at first a girl, and was subsequently transformed into a boy by the boon of the gods.¹⁰

There is supposed to be a forest of *Pārvati* in a continent called *Ilavrit*. Any man visiting it is at once turned into a woman.¹¹

A king named *Sudyaman* visited this forest and was transformed into a woman. It was only after appeasing *Pārvati* by a sacrifice that he was restored to his original form.¹²

It is believed that in *Kamaru Desha* or the land of fairies, children are transformed into the opposite sex by the spell of the inhabitants.¹³

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Kolki.

³ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁴ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁵ The School Master of Uptela.

⁶ The School Master of Vanod.

⁷ The School Master of Ganod.

⁸ The School Master of Bhāyāvadār.

⁹ The School Master of Sānka.

¹⁰ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹¹ The School Master of Ganod.

¹² The School Master of Bhāyāvadār.

¹³ The School Master of Jetpur.

A belief is current that change of sex can be effected by the performance of the *Shatchandi* or the *prayoga* of Rudra, Bahucharaji, Ashapuri and Mahakali.¹

It is also believed that change of sex can also be effected by the spell of magic.²

There is a further belief that *Yogis* by their incantations, and *Mahatmas* by their blessings or curses, can effect a change of sex.³

The following things are considered efficacious in protecting oneself against evil spirits:—

- (1) A sword, (2) iron,⁴ (3) a woollen blanket, (4) fire, (5) a coin in the funeral pyre, (6) a nail of a tiger, (7) a blue thread, (8) the red lead offered to the god Hanuman, (9) a lime consecrated with incantations, (10) five kinds of cotton thread worn round the elbow,⁵ (11) blood, (12) corn, (13) frankincense, (14) salt, (15) water, (16) leather, (17) an amulet of iron procured from a well polluted by the death of some one in its water,⁶ (18) a garland, the beads of which are made of the wood of the *Ekal ber* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) (19) The sacred thread worn by Brahmins,⁷ (20) iron nails extracted from a wheel of a cart used for carrying fuel for cremation,⁸ (21) human blood,⁹ (22) a costly jewel.

Amulets are generally used as a precaution against the attack of evil spirits or the influence of an evil eye. They are also used to cure diseases. They are made of iron, copper, tin, gold, silver, alloys of precious metals, or leather.

Chithis or pieces of paper on which mystic signs are drawn are put into the amulets and are tied to the forearm with black woollen or silk thread.¹⁰

In some places, frankincense of *gugal* (*Canarium strictum*) or *lobun* (*olibanum*) is offered to the amulets before they are worn.¹¹

Amulets are also made of *tad-patras* (palm-leaves). They are tied round the arm with an indigo-coloured cloth.¹²

Doras or threads are also worn with the same object as amulets. They are generally made of five kinds of silk thread, black wool, or red or black cotton thread. The length of the *dora* must be eight feet, one and a quarter of a cubit or a man's height. They must have three folds and must be twisted seven or twenty-one times. After they are twisted, they are knotted seven, fourteen or twenty-one times, when they become ready for use. An offering of frankincense made of *gugal* or of *lobun* is made to a *dora* before it is worn.¹³

It is believed by some people, that a *chiti* (amulet) or *dora* in order to be effective, must not be touched with water.

The *dora* of the god Kālbhairav at Benares which is made of silk thread with seven twists is tied round the wrist of a patient in the belief that it cures illness.

A *janjiro* (black cotton thread with seven knots) of the god Hanuman is worn round the arm with the same belief.

Surakano, that is, twisted iron wire, consecrated by the worshipper of the goddess Machhu, is worn by the Bhavads round the elbow or the wrist with the belief that it cures wind.

Those people whose children do not live long put silver anklets round their left legs in the belief that by so doing their life is lengthened.¹⁴

¹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

² The D. E. Inspector, Halal.

³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁴ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohilwad.

⁵ Anklets are made of these nails and worn round the wrist.—The School Master of Zinzuwada.

⁶ The School Master of Vasvad.

⁷ The School Master of Dhank.

⁸ The School Master of Dhank.

⁹ The School Master of Mota Devalia.

¹⁰ The School Master of Dhank.

¹¹ The School Master of Kolki.

¹² The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹³ The School Master of Gohilwad.

¹⁴ The School Master of Todia.

An amulet made of a piece of cloth is called *dhāga*.¹ It is either a piece of cloth used by a holy man, a piece of cloth containing a mixture of red lead and oil offered to the god Hanumān,² or a piece of cloth in which are wrapped up the things put into an amulet. The *dhāga* is either worn round the wrist or suspended from the neck.³

Amulets tied to the horns of pet animals such as cows, bullocks, horses, etc., are called *dāmanās*. Sometimes they are also suspended from the necks of these animals. They are made of the hides of sacred animals and are believed to protect the animals against the evil eye, evil spirits and magic.⁴

It is believed by some people that one can escape injury from an evil spirit by seating oneself in a circle or square drawn in and plastered with cowdung.⁵

Others hold that the circle must be drawn with the point of a sword.⁶

Some maintain that the circle cannot be a protective unless it is drawn with enchanted water, milk or sesamum oil.

There are others who are of opinion that the entry of evil spirits into the circle can be prevented only by calling upon God not to allow the evil spirits to enter it.⁷

When an evil spirit is expelled from the body of a person, it is buried underground, a circle of water is made round the spot and an iron nail is driven into the ground, in order that it may be imprisoned there.⁸

If anybody step into such a circle, the evil spirit confined therein takes possession of him, and is thus freed.⁹

To prevent this evil spirits are generally confined in secluded spots.¹⁰

As the circle drawn by the point of a sword is a protection against an evil spirit, those

who go to the burning ground to propitiate or subjugate evil spirits, seat themselves in such circles while reciting *mantras*.¹¹

After entering the circle, some people recite the name of Hanumān, Chandi or Bhairav.¹²

Some people, after seating themselves in the circle, make offerings to the evil spirits, while reciting *mantras*, to propitiate them more easily. The *Kāli chaudas* or the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Ashvin* is considered a suitable day for propitiating or subjugating evil spirits.¹³

There are various superstitious beliefs entertained by people regarding omens.

1. If when leaving the house on a visit or with some definite object in view, a deer crosses one's path from right to left, it is considered a bad omen, while crossing from left to right is considered good. On returning home, this omen is read in the reverse way to that just stated.¹⁴

2. When starting on a journey, the braying of an ass on the right is a good omen and on the left, evil.¹⁵

3. If on leaving the house, a man meets an unwidowed woman or a virgin with a jar filled with water on her head, it is an indication that the object of the expedition will be accomplished.¹⁶

4. While starting on a good errand, if one breathes through the left nostril or comes across a person carrying a basket of eggs, it is a good omen.

5. If at the time of leaving for a visit to another town or village, the position of the moon in the circle explaining the position of stars with reference to one's birth-day stars, be in the rear or on the left of that position, it is a bad omen, but if it be in the front or on the right it is a good omen.

¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

² The Girl School-Mistress, Gondal.

³ The School Master of Dhank.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁶ The School Master of Chok.

⁷ The School Master of Dhank.

⁸ The School Master of Dhank.

⁹ The School Master of Dhank.

¹⁰ The Pathashala Shastri, Jetpur.

¹¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹² The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹³ The School Master of Todia.

¹⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

¹⁵ The School Master of Zinzuvada.

¹⁶ The School Masters of Dadvi and Dhank.

The moon in front means fulfilment of the intended purpose, on the right it confers happiness and prosperity, on the back it causes death, and on the left, loss of wealth.

6. The warbling of the bird *bhairav* on the right while going out and on the left while returning is a good omen, but the opposite is bad.¹

7. A cat or a serpent crossing one's path is ominous of evil; but if either passes on the right, it foretells good.¹

8. A jackal howling in the evening prognosticates damage by fire to the town or village; its howling at midnight predicts robbery; while in the last part of the night it foretells good.

9. *Kāg-rāshīās* (expounders of the utterances of crows) know the good and bad indications of the croakings of crows.

10. The wailing notes of the bird *Fāvadi* forebode evil.¹

11. The throbbing of the right eye or side in the case of men and of the left eye or side in the case of women is considered to be a good omen, while the contrary is bad.¹

12. If the bird *holo* sweeps the roof of one's house continuously for a number of days, a calamity is supposed to be imminent for the inmates of the house.

13. If a dog barks in front of a man it is considered to be a bad omen.²

A Brāhman, a cow, fruits, flowers, milk, pearls, jewels, a prostitute, an elephant, an umbrella, meat, fish, a gun, a bayonet, a mirror, a mongoose, a peacock with its plumage expanded, girls singing songs, band-players and a washerman carrying washed clothes are all considered to be good omens, if one comes across them while going out on business.³

The sight of a king, an armed man, a Dhed, a Bhangi or a Darji is also considered to be an auspicious omen.⁴

The sight of boys going to or returning from school is a good omen.⁵

A labourer carrying a load of fuel on his head, a corpse in front, a potter carrying earth on his head or on his donkey, a woman carrying her son, a man carrying molasses, are all auspicious omens.⁶

A male monkey or a donkey crying on the right while going out, and on the left while returning home is considered to be a good omen.⁷

Wine and good speech are also considered good omens.⁸

The sight of a herdsman, a dog scratching its right side, a cuckoo singing on a tree or a black sparrow is a good omen.⁹

Fuel, hides, grass, vegetables, a smoking fire, sesamum oil, molasses, a barren woman, an enemy, a disorderly mob, a woman without the auspicious mark on her forehead, a man besmeared with oil, a eunuch, mud, wet clothes, an ascetic, a beggar, are all considered to be bad omens, if one sees them while going on business.¹⁰

The sight of dry cow-dung cakes is supposed to be a bad omen.¹¹

The sight of a widow or of a corpse* is bad.¹²

Weasels crossing the road, dogs shaking their ears, a man carrying a black earthen vessel, a woman with loose hair, a person carrying clarified butter, a man with gray moustaches, a man having no hair on his chest, a cat-eyed man, a person carrying flour, a Brāhman without the sacred mark on his forehead are all bad omens.¹³

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Dhank.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Master of Songadh.

⁶ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

* The sight of a corpse is a good omen when one sees it on entering a village where he goes on business.

⁷ The School Master of Vanod.

⁸ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁹ The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁰ The School Master of Bhāyāvar.

¹¹ The School Master of Dhank.

¹² The School Master of Ganod.

¹³ The School Master of Vanod.

The sight of the husk of corn, a man with a medicinal application, or a lunatic, is a bad omen.¹

The question "*kiàn jào chho*" that is "Where are you going" is a bad omen.²

The mixture of whey, mud and cow-dung, a recluse with matted hair, a man spitting, a cough, and a man with the whole of his head shaved are bad omens³

Similarly, the sight of a drunkard, *Adad* or cotton seeds is a bad omen.⁴

A bride stumbling on her entry into the bridegroom's house is said to be a bad omen.⁵

A dog scratching its left side with his paws, a man riding a he-buffalo or a donkey, two Baniàs, one Musalmàn, one male goat, one ox, five she-buffaloes, six dogs, three cows, or seven horses, confronting a man on starting from the house are ominous of evil.⁶

Some numbers are believed to be auspicious and some inauspicious. There is a book on this subject, in which some good or evil is attributed to each number. One who wants to know the result of the undertaking in hand puts his finger on any number in the book, and the expounder of the science, reading the passage bearing on the number, explains how the undertaking will end.⁷

The numbers, 12, 18, 56 and 58 are considered inauspicious.⁸

An odd number is generally believed to be inauspicious. It is for this reason that newly-married girls are not sent to their husbands' house for the first time in any of the odd years of their age. They are also not sent back to their parents' house in an odd year of their age for the same reason.⁹

The numbers 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, and 21 are believed to be lucky while 3, 4, 8 and 12 are considered unlucky.¹⁰

A belief exists that if a company of three start on a mission, the mission is sure to fail. This has given rise to the proverb "*Tran trikat ane maha vikat*" that is, "Three persons going on an errand meet with great difficulties or danger."¹¹

A zero is believed to be inauspicious. In monetary transactions or bargains, therefore, all numbers ending in a zero are avoided. If such numbers are unavoidable, the sign of $\frac{1}{2}$ is placed before them. The number 12 is considered unlucky, to avoid which $11\frac{1}{2}$ is used in its place.¹²

Some people believe that the numbers $1\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 7, 21, 108 and 1,008 are lucky while 12 is unlucky.¹³

It is a belief that in the sales of cattle and certain other things if the price is raised by $1\frac{1}{2}$, it results in good both to the seller and buyer.¹⁴

It is for this reason that in subscribing to charitable funds people write 40! instead of 400 and so on. But $1\frac{1}{2}$ is preferred to 1 in valuing things. So in all purchases and sales $1\frac{1}{2}$ is added to the actual price of a thing.¹⁵

The numbers 5 and 7 are believed to be auspicious, because on starting on a journey from the house one is given five betelnuts as a sign of good omen, while in all auspicious ceremonies seven betelnuts are used.¹⁶

Certain days of the week are considered lucky while others are considered unlucky. It is also believed that certain days are

¹ The School Master of Dadvi.

² The School Master of Bhàvavālar.

³ The School Master of Todia.

⁴ The School Master of Dhank.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁶ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁷ The School Master of Limbdi.

⁸ The School Master of Todia.

⁹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁰ The School Master of Limbdi.

¹¹ The School Master of Songadh.

¹² The School Master of Ganod.

¹³ The School Master of Dadvi.

¹⁴ The School Master of Mota Devalia.

¹⁵ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁶ The School Master of Todia.

auspicious for performing certain acts, while others are inauspicious for the performance of the same acts.

Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are considered lucky, while Tuesday, Saturday and Sunday are believed to be unlucky.¹

It is a common belief that one should not go in certain directions on certain days ; for doing so results in what is called *dishà-shul* or pain caused by directions.²

Going to the north on Sunday, to the west on Tuesday, to the north-west on Monday, to the south-west on Wednesday, to the south on Thursday, to the south-east on Friday and to the east on Saturday is considered ominous of evil.³

According to another belief, Sunday and Thursday are inauspicious for going to the south-east ; Monday and Friday, to the south-west ; Saturday and Tuesday, to the north-west and Wednesday to the north-east.⁴

Some people believe that by going to the west on Monday or Saturday one secures the fulfilment of the desired object.⁵

Many hold that the favourableness or otherwise of the days for going in particular directions varies according to the occasion.⁶

The auspicious days for sending a girl to her husband's house are believed to be Monday, Thursday and Friday. Sunday and Tuesday are also considered auspicious for a girl to go to her house, but they are considered very unlucky for her to return to her parents.⁷

It is forbidden to eat *dālīa* (baked split gram) on Sunday, but it is favoured on Friday.

Wednesday is considered to be a lucky day for sowing corn, and making purchases of new articles. Thursday is believed to be auspi-

cious for sending a boy to school for the first time.⁸

Wednesday is considered unfavourable for the separation of brothers and sisters, but it is considered a suitable day for their meeting.⁹

It is believed that if a man wears new clothes on Sunday they will be burnt ; if on Tuesday, they will be lost ; if on Wednesday or Saturday, a quarrel with some one is the result.¹⁰

It is considered auspicious to go to a Chamār or tanner on Sunday, to a prostitute on Monday, to a Kàchhia (vegetable seller) on Tuesday, to a washerman on Wednesday, to a Brāhman on Thursday, to a Bania on Friday and to a barber on Saturday.¹¹

The beliefs regarding the lucky and unlucky days of a month are similar to those of the lucky and unlucky days of the week.

According to some, all the days of the bright half of a month are auspicious for performing any good act, while the days in the dark half are considered favourable for perpetrating black deeds.¹²

Some believe that the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 13th and the full-moon day of a month are auspicious, while the 2nd, 4th, 7th, 9th and 14th, whether of the bright or dark half, as well as the new-moon day, are inauspicious.¹³

According to another belief, the 1st, 6th and 11th days of a month are good, the 3rd and 8th are dates of success (that is acts commenced on these days are crowned with success) ; the 5th, 10th and 15th are *purna tithis*, that is, complete days, (meaning that the moon on these days appears full one-third, full two-thirds and completely full) ; while the 2nd, 7th and 12th are auspicious days.

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Sāyala.

³ The School Master of Vanod.

⁴ The School Master of Kolki.

⁵ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁶ The School Master of Songadh.

¹³ The School Master of Kotd Sangani.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ The School Master of Ganod.

¹⁰ The School Master of Ganod.

¹¹ The School Master of Bāntva.

¹² The School Master of Todia.

¹³ The School Master of Dhānk.

The 4th, 9th and 14th days of a month are inauspicious.¹

Some hold that if the 1st, 4th, 12th, 14th and 30th day of a month fall on a Saturday they are good; otherwise bad.²

The 1st, 13th or 14th day of either the bright or dark half of a month, as well as the full-moon and new-moon day, are considered unfavourable to patients.³

The 2nd, 14th and the last day of a month are considered unlucky. Those days on which there is a *panchak*—a grouping of constellations lasting for five consecutive days—are very inauspicious for commencing auspicious acts.⁴

A belief prevails that any one dying in a *panchak* draws five companions to heaven, that is, his death is followed by the death of four others of the same village.⁵

A son born on the full-moon day is believed to turn out brave, but is supposed to forebode evil to the parents.⁶

If a girl is born on the 2nd, 7th or 12th day of a month falling on a Tuesday or Saturday in the *Ashlesha*, *Kritika* or *Shubhilla nakshatra*, she loses her husband.⁷

The *Mul nakshatra* falling on the 1st day of a month, *Bharani* on the 5th, *Kritika* on the 8th, *Rohini* on the 9th and *Ashlesha* on the 10th, has an effect like a volcano. A girl born on the 1st, 6th or 11th day of a month falling on a Saturday, Tuesday or Sunday in the *Kritika* or *Mrigshar nakshatra* is like poison. She is supposed to cause the death of herself, her husband, or all the members of her father's family.⁸

Some of the Hindu holidays are considered auspicious for performing certain deeds, while inauspicious for performing certain others.⁹

The ceremonies described below are performed to help the spirit to the other world.

When a man is on the point of death the floor is cowdunged and an offering of sesamum seeds, *Durva* grass (*cynodon dactylon*) and *Java* (barley) is made to the deities. Next, water of the Ganges or the *Jumna* is dropped into the mouth of the dying man and the name of *Rām* is whispered in his ear, as this is believed to turn his consciousness to God and thus facilitate his way to the other world.

When a patient is convinced that his case is hopeless, he distributes money or other valuable articles among *Brāhmans*, as this is believed to make his way to heaven easy.

When life is extinct, the corpse is placed on the cow-dunged floor and then carried on a bier to the burning ground with the cries of "Shri Rām", "Rām", "Rām nam satya hai",* or "Jaya Shri Krishna". In the fuel with which it is burnt is put *Tulsi* (sweet basil) *Pipal* and sandal wood and cocoanuts. The bones and ashes are collected and preserved, to be thrown into the *Dāmodar kund*, (pool of water) at *Gaya* or other holy waters. For three days after death, holy water and milk is offered to the spirit of the deceased. On the 10th, 11th and 12th day after death, on all the days of every month in the first year corresponding to the day of death, and on every anniversary of the death, *Shrāddha* is performed. *Shrāddha* is also performed annually on the day corresponding to the day of death in the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapad*.

The ceremonies mentioned above are believed to make the passage of the soul to the other world easy. For his final emancipation a man must renounce all pleasures of the senses and all egotism.¹⁰

¹ The School Master of Moti Parabadi.

² The School Masters of Ganod and Vanod.

³ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ The School Master of Limbdi.

⁵ The School Master of Charādvā.

⁶ The School Master of Kolki.

⁷ The School Master of Mota Devalia.

⁸ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

* "The name of Rām is alone true" meaning all else except God is illusion.

¹⁰ The School Master of Dhānk and Mr. K. D. Desai.

Giving alms to the poor, holding recitations of the *Bhāgvat*, performing the *Vishnu Yāg*, *Gāyatri-purashcaran* and the *Chāndrāyan vrat* are also believed to make the passage of the soul to heaven easy.¹

In order that the departing spirit may meet with no obstruction on the way, cows, articles of dress, shoes and food are presented to a *Brāhman* for one year after death.²

Places for offering water to passers by, and houses in which to feed the needy, are also established by well-to-do people with the same object.³

The gift of sacks for holding corn, of umbrellas, blankets and bedding to travellers, is also believed to smooth the passage of the soul to heaven.⁴

The performance of the *shrāddhas* and other ceremonies mentioned above is believed to prevent the return of the spirit to this world.⁵

Observing fasts by the survivors of the deceased on the *Rishi Panchami* (the 5th day of the bright half of *Bhādrapad*), the *Jamāshṭami* (the eighth day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*) and the *Rāmnāvami* (the ninth day of the bright half of *Chaitra*) is also believed to prevent the return of a spirit from heaven. Some worship the *Pipal* with the same object.⁶

Reading the *Garud Purān* for nine days after death is also believed to be a means of preventing the return of the soul to this world.⁷

Some people believe that performing *shrāddha* in sixty-eight holy places secures this end.⁸

Daily offerings of rice and water to the departed spirits also prevent them from revisiting this world.⁹

The same means which are adopted to help the spirit to the other world and to prevent its return also secure its good-will to the survivors.¹⁰

Persons living on the banks of the Ganges do not burn the dead, but throw the corpses into the holy water of the river.¹¹

If a pregnant woman dies in the eighth month of her pregnancy, the foetus is taken out by cutting open the womb and buried, while the woman is burnt.¹²

Corpses of persons dying an unnatural death are burnt in a *Gondaro* (place where the village cows rest) or on the village common, in the belief that by so doing the deceased escapes divine wrath and is freed from rebirth.¹³

When a grave is commenced in a certain spot, the corpse must be buried on that spot, even though the ground be rocky or otherwise unsuitable. As far as possible, the corpses of relatives are buried near one another.¹⁴

The occasions on which the hair is shaved are as follows:—

1. When a boy attains the age of three years, his head is shaved completely for the first time.

2. At the time of performing *shrāddha* in holy places, the head, except the top-knot, and the moustaches and face must be shaved.

3. On the ninth day after the death of a man, all his male relatives younger than himself have to shave their heads, except the top-knot, and the moustaches and chin.

4. On the day of investing a boy with the sacred thread his head is shaved before the investiture.

5. Amongst high caste Hindus the heads of widows are shaved on the tenth day after the death of their husbands.¹⁴

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Khirāsara.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁶ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁷ The School Master of Chhatrāsa.

⁸ The School Master of Pātanvāv.

⁹ The School Master of Hālār.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹¹ The School Master of Kolki.

¹² The School Master of Dhānk and Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹³ The School Master of Ganod.

¹⁴ The School Master of Dhānk.

6. *Gorjis* or preceptors of the *Atits*, *Shrāvaks* and *Sanyāsīs* have to get their heads shaved at the time of entering the order.¹

7. All the male relatives the deceased have to get their heads shaved on the ninth day after death.

8. *Atits* and *Bāvās* get the heads of their disciples shaved at the time of admitting them into their order.²

9. The preceptors of the Swāmi Nārāyan sect shave off their moustaches every time they shave their heads.³

10. At the time of admitting a Jain to the ascetic order of the religion, the hairs of his head are pulled out one by one until the head is completely bald.⁴

11. On the occasion of a man being readmitted to his own caste, out of which he has been expelled for some breach of caste rules, he has to shave his head and face by way of *prāyaschitta* or atonement.⁵

It is believed that if the head of a widow is not shaved on the tenth day after the death of her husband, his soul is not admitted to heaven, and the funeral ceremonies performed in his honour bear no fruit.⁶

The heads of such widows are shaved on the banks of the Godāvari or at Benares or at some other holy place in the neighbourhood.⁷

The spirits of the dead are represented by balls of rice flour or cooked rice, and offerings of water, cotton thread, red powder, *abir* (white scented powder), red lead, sandal paste, frankincense, lamps, sesamum seeds and of the leaves of the *Tulsi*, the tamarind, the *Agathio* or *Agathi* (*Sesbania grandiflora*) and the *Bhangra*, and the flowers and seeds of the *Java*, are made to them.

The ancestral spirits are also represented by *chats* (twisted braids of the *Durea* grass (*Cynodon Dactylon*), and to them are offered the *Suran* (Elephant-foot) cooked rice, fried cakes of the flour of *mag* (*Phaseolus mungo*), rice cooked in milk, etc.⁸

It is believed that the departed spirits are pleased with offerings of *pindas* or rice-balls.⁹

Pindas are also made of wheat flour or molasses. Costly dishes, sesamum seeds, honey, curdled milk, clarified butter, and sugarcandy are also offered to the *manes*.¹⁰

The *pindas* are generally offered on the 10th, 11th and 12th day after death and on the occasion of performing *shrāddha*.¹¹

Rice balls are also offered to crows or thrown into water in the belief that by so offering they reach the spirits of deceased ancestors.¹²

A belief prevails that the messengers of the god of death eat the flesh of the deceased if *pindas* are not offered to them. So, in ancient times, offerings of flesh balls were made instead of rice ones.¹³

It is believed that male and female evil spirits such as *bhuts* and *pishāchas* manifest themselves as dogs, notably black dogs, goats, fire, the whirl-wind, snakes or children.¹⁴

They may assume the form of a he-buffalo, a heifer, a ram, a man, a woman,¹⁵ a lion, a tiger or a cat.¹⁶

The evil spirit called *jān* is believed to manifest itself as a snake.¹⁷

The voice of an evil spirit in any of the above forms is heard from a distance, and the nearer the hearer approaches the more it is found to recede.¹⁸

¹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

² The School Master of Bantva.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Dhank.

⁵ The School Master of Ganod.

⁶ The School Mistress, Girls' school, Civil Station, Rajkot.

⁷ The School Master of Dhank.

⁸ The School Masters of Chhatrasa and Uptea.

⁹ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹⁰ The School Master of Ganod.

¹¹ The School Master of Uptea.

¹² Mr. K. D. Master Desai.

¹³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

¹⁵ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹⁶ The School Master of Dadvi.

Among Bharvāds and Sonis, seven or nine earthen pots are broken in the house of the deceased on the tenth day after death. The number of the pots varies according to the individual merits of the deceased.¹

Among some low castes, an earthen pot is broken on the village boundary and another in the burning ground.²

Some break an earthen pot at the village gate on their way back from the cemetery after the performance of *shrāddha*.³

In some places, the earthen pots placed on the spot where the corpse is laid in the house are broken at the village gate.⁴

In some low castes two earthen pots are placed on the village boundary on the twelfth day after death, and broken by children.⁵

Some carry the funeral fire in a black earthen jar as far as the village gate, where the jar is broken and the fire carried in the hand, by one of the mourners, to the burning ground.⁶

According to some, this breaking of an earthen pot is a symbol indicating that the connection of the deceased with this world has broken or ceased.⁷

Others hold that it indicates the disintegration of the constituents of the body into the elements of which it was formed.⁸

There are others who are of opinion that the messengers of the god of death are satisfied with the breaking of an earthen pot after an offering to them of six rice balls and water.⁹

When a death takes place in a family, a *prana-poka* or death-wail is raised by the

chief mourner, who is joined afterwards by the other relatives.¹⁰

The *prana-poka* is believed to open the gates of heaven for the admission of the soul.¹¹

Some are of opinion that the object of the death-wail, which begins with "*O mara bhāi!*" that is, "Oh my brother!" or "*O mara bāp!*" that is, "Oh my father!", is that at the moment of death, the soul, by hearing the sound 'Om' may ascend to the *brahmarandhra* or the divine seat of the brain and thus attain salvation.¹²

When the funeral party start with the bier for the burning ground, the women of the house, accompanied by other women of the neighbourhood or village, follow them as far as the village gate, crying and singing funeral dirges. There they stop a while and sing more funeral dirges, keeping time by beating their breasts. They then start to return home, and, on their way, bathe in a tank or well and again mourn for some time before entering the house. The funeral party enter the house after the women and cry aloud for a few seconds. They also cry when the pyre is set on fire.¹³

The mourning of the women continues for thirteen* days after death. They also weep on such holidays as the *Holi*, the *Divāli*, etc., and on the quarterly, six-monthly and the first anniversary *Shrāddha* day.¹⁴

Male relatives of the deceased wear a white turban as a sign of mourning.¹⁵

It is generally believed that *bhūts* or evil spirits prove beneficial to those who succeed in securing locks of their hair or subjugate them by incantations or magical rites.¹⁶

¹ The School Master of Vanod.

² The School Master of Gunjar.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Mistress, Civil Station Girls' School, Rajkot.

⁶ The School Master of Dhank.

⁷ The School Mistress of Civil Station Girls' School, Rajkot and the School Master of Todia.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ The School Master of Dadvi.

¹⁰ The School Master of Bhāyavadar.

¹¹ The School Master of Hālār.

¹² The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹³ The School Master of Gunjar.

¹⁴ The School Master of Todia.

¹⁵ The School Master of Todia.

* It is believed that the spirit of the deceased returns to its house for thirteen days after death. Hence the period of mourning is thirteen days.—The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

¹⁷ The School Master of Dhank.

Such spirits generally belong to the class of the *Bavan*, the *Vir*, the *Bābro*, *Māmo*, *Vaitāl*, *Dādāmo* and *Yaksha*. Of these, *Māmo*, *Vir*, *Vaitāl* and *Dādāmo* prove beneficial through favour, while the rest become the slaves of those who subdue them.¹

It is believed that *Suro Puro* and *Dādo* favour only their blood relations.²

It is related that in building the numerous tanks and temples attributed to Siddhrāj Jaysing, a former king of Gujarāt, he was assisted by the spirit *Bābario* whom he had brought under his control.³

A tradition is current that Tulsidās, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyan* in Hindi and a great devotee of Rām, had secured personal visits from the god Hanumān through the favour of a ghost.

The king Vikram is said to have received great services from the evil spirits *Vaitāl* and *Jāl*.⁴

In a book entitled *Vaitāla Pachisi* it is described how a *bhut* lived on a banyan tree in Ujjain.⁵

It is related that in Rājkot a *bhut* called *Thunthia* lived on a banyan tree.⁶

To the east of Kolki there is a tree called *Jlāa* which is inhabited by a *māmo*. It is related that the *māmo* frightens persons passing by the tree. Near the school at Kolki there is a *Pipal* on which lives a *sikotarun* who frightens people passing along the road.⁷

It is related that a *māmo* lived on a *Khijado* tree at the gate of the village Surel. He manifested himself, dressed in white garments, for a period of nearly ten years. Once he frightened several persons out of their senses. It is said that on his being propitiated with an offering of wheaten bread at

his abode (the *Khijado* tree), these persons recovered their senses.⁸

The *Habib-Vad* or Habib's banyan tree on the road leading from Māvaiya to Gondal is a favourite haunt of *bhuts*, who frighten and stupefy persons passing by that road.⁹

There is a step-well near Hāmpar under the jurisdiction of Dhrāngadhra which is the resort of a *bhut*. A Girāsia and his wife arrived here one day at midnight. The Girāsia tied h's mare to a tree hard by, and went to the well to fetch water for the mare. On his return he found there a number of mares like his own tied to the trees. He therefore smelt their mouths to recognise which of them was his own, but in the flurry caused by the appearance of so many mares, his waist-cloth got entangled, and while mounting his mare he fell down, which frightened him so much that he exclaimed "I am overtaken (by a ghost)" and died.¹⁰

It is related that in the *Chhāliachok* at Limbdi, no woman has yet succeeded in reciting a *garabi* (song) in honour of the goddess Mahākālī to the end, as a ghost which lives on the tamarind tree opposite the *chok* (square) is averse to its completion.

There is a house at Porbandar haunted by a ghost, in which none is able to reside.¹¹

It is believed that only those trees, the wood of which cannot be used for sacrificial purposes, can be haunted by evil spirits. Such trees are the *Khijado*, the *Bāval*, the *Kerādo* and the tamarind.¹²

Kshetrapāl is believed to be the guardian spirit of fields and *Suropuro* and *Māmado* are believed to protect harvest and cattle.¹³

¹ The School Masters of Vanod and Kotda Sangani.

² The School Master of Dadvi.

³ The School Master of Uptela.

⁴ The School Mistress of Girls' school, Gondal, and the

⁵ The School Master of Surel.

⁶ The School Master of Kolki.

⁷ The School Master of Māvaiya.

⁸ The School Master of Limbdi.

⁹ The School Master of Limbdi.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹¹ The School Master of Kolki.

¹² The School Master of Dhānk.

¹³ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹⁴ The School Master of Surel.

¹⁵ The School Master of Līlāpur.

¹⁶ The School Master of Moti Murad.

It is also believed that the spirit *jakhara* protects crops and cattle.¹

Māmo and *Dādāmo* are also believed by some to be the guardian spirits of crops and cattle.²

A belief runs that if a cousin (father's brother's son) becomes a spirit after death, he proves beneficial to the cattle of his relatives.³

There are various ways of frightening crying children to silence, one of which is to invoke evil spirits.

When a child continues to cry for a long time, the mother says, "keep quiet, *Bāghada* has come." "Oh *Bāu*, come and take away

this child." "*Bbāara*, come here. Don't come, my child is now silent," "May *Bāghada* carry you away." These exclamations are uttered in such a tone and with such gestures, that generally the child is at once frightened into silence.⁴

In addition to the spirits mentioned above *Bābaro*, *Chudda*, *Dākana*, *Satarsingo* and other spirits are also invoked to frighten a weeping child to silence.⁵

A *Bāva* or *Bairāgi*, a *Fakir*, a tiger, a dog, a cat or a rat are all presented to the child as objects of terror, and are called one after another to silence it.⁶

¹ The School Master of Jetpur.

² The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

³ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁴ The School Master of Rājpara.

⁵ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁶ Mr. K. D. Desai.

CHAPTER VII.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP.

Certain trees are considered holy, and they are neither cut nor their wood used as fuel.

The *Pipal* is one of such trees. It is considered to be the incarnation of a Brāhman, and to cut it is considered to be as great a sin as murdering a Brāhman. It is believed that the family of one who cuts it becomes extinct.¹

Some people believe that the spirits of the deceased do not get water to drink in the next world. The water poured at the root of the *Pipal* on the 13th, 14th and 15th day of the dark half of *Kārtik* and *Shrāvan* and on the 14th day of the bright half of *Chaitra* is believed to reach these spirits and quench their thirst.²

Although to cut the *Pipal* is supposed to be a great sin, it is believed that if a corpse is burnt with its wood, the soul of the deceased attains salvation.³

The *Vad* or banyan tree is believed to be a representation of the god Shiva.⁴ There is a proverb to the effect that one who cuts this tree is punished with the extirpation of his family.⁵

According to another belief, the god Vishnu once slept on this tree.⁶

The *Tulsi* or sweet basil is considered to represent Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu. It is also related that Krishna wanted to kill the demon Jalandhar, but he could not be killed on account of the merit of the chastity of his wife Vrinda. Krishna, therefore, assumed the form of Jalandhar, violated the chastity of Vrinda, and was thus enabled to kill the demon. Krishna next expressed a desire

to marry Vrinda, when she transformed herself into the *Tulsi* plant. It is considered an act of great religious merit to wed Krishna with the *Tulsi*, and this marriage is celebrated every year by all Hindus on the 11th day of the bright half of *Kārtik* otherwise called *Dev Divāli*.

It is considered a great sin to uproot this plant, though no sin attaches to the plucking of its leaves during the day time. The leaves of the *Tulsi* are considered holy and are offered to the image of the god Vishnu and are required in all religious ceremonies.⁷

The *Khijado* or *Shami* tree is also held sacred. When the Pāndavas lost their kingdom in gambling with the Kauravas, the latter promised the former that they would give them back their kingdom if they lived in the forest for twelve years and unknown for one year. After having completed their stay in the forest, the Pāndavas remained unknown for one year in the city of Virāt. During this year they concealed their weapons on a *Khijado* tree. Before taking these weapons, they worshipped the tree. Next took place the great battle of Kurukshetra in which the Pāndavas won a splendid victory. This has given rise to the custom of worshipping the tree on the tenth day of the bright half of *Ashvin* or the *Dasara* day.⁸

It is a common belief that a tree haunted by ghosts should not be cut. So the *Khijado* is not cut, because it is the favourite residence of ghosts.⁹

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

³ The School Master of Moti Parabdi.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ The School Master of Todia.

⁶ The School Master of Dhank.

⁷ The School Master of Todia.

⁸ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁹ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

The *Kadamb* (*Anthocephalus cadamba*) is considered sacred because it is believed that God Krishna rested under this tree when he took cattle to graze.¹

The *Limbdo* (Nim tree) is also considered sacred as it represents the god Brahma.² Some believe that it represents Jagannāthji.³

The *Rudrāksha* is believed to be a representation of the god Shiva. It is therefore considered a sin to cut it. Garlands of *Rudrāksha* beads are worn round the neck by the devotees of Shiva.

The leaves of the *Bel* (*Aegle marmelos*) are offered to the god Shiva as they are supposed to be liked by him. It is also considered a sin to cut this tree.⁴

The *Karan* (*Mimusops hexandra*) is believed to be a representation of Shiva. A grove of the *Karan* trees is supposed to be inhabited by natural powers called *Mātās* and to cut a *Karan* is supposed to bring disaster to the cutter.⁵

The *Maravo* (*Marjoram*) is considered sacred by Musalmāns. They dip its leaves into oil and rub them against the face of a corpse.⁶

There is a temple of Bhimnāth Mahādev near Baravāla in the shade of an ancient *Jāl* tree. The worshipper at the temple, a wealthy man, once thought of erecting a grand temple over the image, but he was prevented from doing so by the god appearing in his dream and telling him that he preferred to live under the tree.⁷

Under a *Jāl* tree near Dhandhuka there is a shrine of Bhimnāth Shankar who is known as Bhimnāth Jālvālo after the tree.⁸

There is a *Sakhotia* tree near Kutiana, which is supposed to be the abode of a snake deity.⁹

Near Rājkot in Kāthiawār there is a tree called *Gāndu* or mad, vows in honour of which are said to cure children of bronchitis.¹⁰

In the village of Vadāl near Bhiyāl in the Junāgadh State there is a banyan tree called *Lāl Vad* said to have sprung from the sticks of a *Vad* (banyan) used as tooth brushes by Lāl Bāva, a preceptor of the Vaishnav school. A silver staff and silver umbrella belonging to Lāl Bāva are kept near this tree, which is visited and worshipped by the followers of the preceptor.¹¹

It is related that in this *Lāl Vad* there is an opening through which the virtuous can pass to the other side, but not the sinful.¹²

There are two banyan trees near Anandpur, one of which is called *Bhut-vad* or the banyan tree of the evil spirits, as it is supposed to be inhabited by ghosts. The other is called *Visal-vad*, because a devotee named Visaman Bhagat lived under this tree.¹³

There is a branch of the followers of Kabir called *Khijāda Panth*. They worship the *Khijāda* or *Shami* in their temples.¹⁴

There is a belief that the sanctity attached to the *Pipal* tree has been the act of the god Krishna. This tree is invested with a sacred thread.¹⁵

According to tradition, Krishna breathed his last under a *Pipal* tree.¹⁶

It is related that once blood gushed forth from a *Pipal* tree when it was cut. Thenceforward it came to be regarded as a Brāhman and it is no longer cut.¹⁷

There is a *Pipal* tree in the village of Prāchi near Prabhās Pātan, vows in whose honour are believed to favour childless persons with children.¹⁸

It is described in the *Purānas* that Sāvitrī, the daughter of King Ashupati, lost her husband within a year after her marriage. The death took place under a banyan tree, by worshipping which, Sāvitrī succeeded in re-
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¹ The School Master of Todia.

² The School Master of Dadvi.

³ The School Master of Kolki.

⁴ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁵ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁶ The School Master of Bhāyavādar.

⁷ The School Master of Anandpur.

⁸ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁹ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹⁰ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

¹¹ The School Master of Vanod.

¹² The School Master of Dadvi.

¹³ The School Master of Kolki.

¹⁴ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹⁵ The School Master of Uptela.

¹⁶ The School Masters of Ganod and Khirāsara.

¹⁷ The School Master of Kolki.

¹⁸ The School Master of Limbdi.

ving her husband. Since then women perform a vow called *Vat Sāvitrī Vrat* on the 13th, 14th and 15th days of the bright half of *Jetha* by observing a fast and worshipping and circum-ambulating the banyan tree.¹

There is a legend that in mythological times a woman named Vrinda was cursed to be a plant for infidelity to her husband. She became the *Tulsi* (sweet basil), which is held sacred by Hindus, and worshipped by women.²

On the top of the hill in the village of Jasdān there are two tall trees called 'mad trees'. As the fruits of these trees resemble the face of a saint, they are considered divine and worshipped with offerings of red lead, oil and cocoanuts.³

Amongst Rajputs, during the marriage ceremony, the bride has to walk four times round the sacrificial fire in the company of the bridegroom. Two of these turns are generally taken with a wooden blade called *Khāndu*.⁴

When a girl loses her betrothed twice in succession, she is married to a *Pipal* tree before being betrothed for the third time.⁵

If the betrothed husband of a girl dies before the celebration of the marriage, she is married to a *Pipal* or *Ankda* (a poisonous plant) in the belief that the danger of death will fall on the tree, and that the next husband of the girl will survive.⁶

If a man loses two wives one after the other, he is married to a *Shami* tree before he is married again, and his third marriage is called the fourth.⁷

In some places, such a man is married to a *Bordi* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*) instead of a *Shami*.⁸

In some places, if a man's wives do not live, his next wife is married to an *Ankdi* plant before her marriage with him.⁹

A belief prevails that an insane maiden is cured of her insanity if married to the field god *Kshetrapāl*.¹⁰

If a girl attains puberty before marriage, she is married to a *Pipal* tree. A girl with congenital deformities is also married to a *Pipal* tree.¹¹

It is generally believed that if a betrothed girl touches red lead, she is carried away by *Kshetrapāl*.¹²

The belief that *Kshetrapāl* carries away the bride from the marriage altar is so common, that a stone representing the god is placed on the marriage altar and touched by the bridal pair at every turn round the sacrificial fire.¹³

If this is not done, disastrous consequences follow, to avert which, that portion of the marriage ceremony in which *Kshetrapāl* is propitiated has to be performed a second time.¹⁴

Disagreement between husband and wife soon after marriage is attributed to the wrath of *Kshetrapāl*. To bring about a reconciliation between them, they are taken to a triangular field and married there to please the god.¹⁵

All Hindus worship the snake. The day especially devoted to its worship is the fifth day of the bright half of *Shrāvan*, which is called *Nāg panchami*. In some places *Nāg panchami* is observed on the 5th day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*. On this day an image of a snake is made of cowdung or earth, or its picture is drawn on the wall.

The image is worshipped as a deity, and *kulera*, a mixture of wheat, oat or rice flour, clarified butter, and sugar or molasses is offered to it. After worship, the members of the household take their meal and eat *kulera*, cocoanuts and cucumbers. Only one meal is taken on this day by men and women.¹⁶

¹ The School Master of Limbdi.

² The School Master of Jasdān.

³ The School Masters of Dhānk and Māvaiya.

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁵ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁶ The School Master of Vanod.

⁷ The School Masters of Uptela and Limbdi.

⁸ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁹ The School Master of Ganod.

¹⁰ The School Masters of Dhānk and Dadvi.

¹¹ The School Master of Ganod.

¹² The School Master of Dhānk.

¹³ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹⁴ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

¹⁵ The Schoolmistress, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

The *Nàg panchami* is observed as a *vrat* or vow, generally by women. They do not take any meal on this day, but live only on *kulera*. On this day, her Highness the Mahārānī of Baroda, mounted on an elephant, goes in procession to the woods to worship an ant-hill. The pipers who accompany the procession blow their pipes, and allured by the sound, the snakes come out of their holes, when they are worshipped and fed with milk.¹

Women do not pound, grind or sift corn on the *Nàg panchami* day, and all people try to see a snake.

It is obligatory in some families to offer a cocoanut to the *Nàgdev* (snake god) on the *Nàg panchami* day.²

In some places, the likeness of the snake is engraved on a stone or copper plate and worshipped. In others, it is drawn on a piece of paper which is affixed to the wall.³

In many places there are temples dedicated to snake gods. These gods are known by various names. Some of the temples with the names of the gods installed in them are given below :—

1. The temple of *Sarmālio Nàg* at Arani Timba near Bikaner.

2. The temple of *Ragatio Nàg* midway between Kanāza and Vanthali in the Junāgadh State.

3. The temple of *Charmālio Nàg* at Chokdi near Chuda. Vows of offering sweets are made to this *Nàg* by persons bitten by snakes, who visit the temple, hold the sweets before the image of the god, distribute them among the visitors, and are in return presented with cotton thread which they wear round the neck.

This god is also reputed to have the power of blessing childless persons with offspring. The offerings concerned consist of cradles, which are presented to the god after the wished-for object has been fulfilled.

4. The temple of *Vāsuki Nàg* near Thàngadh. This *Nàg* is supposed to be a servant of the god Shiva. An old snake with gray moustaches is said to live in this temple. He drinks milk at the hands of visitors. Many vows are made in honour of this snake god.

5. The temple of *Khambhadio Nàg* at Khambhada.

6. The temple of *Nàg Mandal* at Dadvi.

7. The temple of *Bhujia Nàg* at Bhuj.

8. The temple of *Shimalia Nàg* near Jadeshvar in the neighbourhood of Jetpur.

9. The temple of *Fulia Nàg* near Jopānāth.

10. The temple of *Malodaro Nàg* at Malod.

11. The temple of *Charmālio Nàg* at Chudia.

12. The temple of *Chhatràsia Nàg* in Chhatràsa.

13. The temple of *Monapario Nàg* at Monpar near Chital.

14. The temple of *Ashàpāl* at Nanadiya in the Bantva State.

15. The temple of *Khodiāl Nāgini* at Khokharda in the Junāgadh State.

16. The temple of *Gondalia Nàg* at Gondal.

It is related that there were once divine snakes in the royal fort of Jodia. When a pair (male and female) of these snakes were found killed, the heinous act was atoned for by the bodies of the snakes being buried and a temple erected over the grave. The male snake of this pair is known as *Nàg Nāth* or the Lord of Snakes.

According to others, *Nàg Nāth* was a big white snake with gray moustaches. He once waylaid a milkman of the royal household, forced him to put down the milkpot he was carrying, drank the milk and went away. This snake is believed to be divine.⁴

¹ The School Master of Khirāsara.

² The School Master of Dhānk.

³ The School Master of Sānka.

⁴ The School Master of Jodia.

The god Shiva is supposed to wear a snake round his neck like a garland of flowers. So, in all temples of Shiva, an image of a snake is installed behind the idol of the god with his hood spread over the idol.¹

In ancient times dead snakes were buried and temples and altars were erected over their graves. An image of the dead snake was engraved on the altar.²

There is a shrine dedicated to Chāndalia Nāg on the bank of the river Palavo on the road from Mota Devalia to Tramboda. It is visited by a sect of beggars called Nāg-magas. The Nāg-magas beg wealth of the snake god, and it is said, that he bestows it on them. They are never seen begging from any body else.³

In the *Purānas*, the Shesh Nāg, the Takshak Nāg, Pundarik, Kālī Nāg and Karkotak Nāg are described as gods. In modern times, Sarmālio, Bhujō and Gadhio are believed to be as powerful as gods, and vows are observed in their honour.⁴

Dhananjaya, Pushkar and Vāsuki are also considered to be very powerful.⁵

Takshak is believed to have drunk the nectar of immortality.⁶

A tradition is current that god Vishnu sleeps on the Shesha Nāg in the Milky Ocean. This snake is believed to have a thousand mouths and to support the earth on its hood.⁷

It is described in the *Purānas* how King Parikshit was bitten by Takshak Nāg and King Nala by Karkotak Nāg. King Nala became deformed owing to the bite, but he could assume his original form by wearing a special dress, through the favour of Karkotak.

Vāsuki Nāg was wrapped round the Māndar mountain, which was used as a churning handle by the gods and demons to churn the

ocean for the recovery of the fourteen jewels from the ocean.⁸

It is a common belief that treasures buried underground are guarded by snakes.

Generally a miser dying without an heir is supposed to be born as a snake after his death, to guard his hoarded money.

It is believed by some people that on the establishment of a new dynasty of kings after a revolution, a snake makes its appearance to guard the accumulated wealth of the fallen dynasty.⁹

It is also believed that a rich man dying with his mind fixed on his wealth is born as a snake, to guard the wealth.¹⁰

There is a further belief that one who collects money by foul means and does not spend it, is born as a snake in his next life to guard his buried treasure.¹¹

There is still another belief that a man who buries his treasure in a secret place becomes a snake after death, to guard the treasure.¹²

The beliefs mentioned above have given rise to the impression that places where big snakes are found are sure to have treasure trove concealed in them.¹³

It is believed that the snake guarding the treasure of his previous life does not allow anybody to remove it, and bites any one who attempts to do so.¹⁴

If in spite of this, a man succeeds in seizing the treasure by force or by the power of *mantras* or incantations, it is believed that he leaves no heirs to use it.¹⁵

A belief is also current that such guardian snakes allow those persons to take away the treasures guarded by them if they are destined to possess them.¹⁶

¹ The School Master of Ganod.

² The School Master of Mota Devalia.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

⁵ The School Master of Dhank.

⁶ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁷ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁸ The School Master of Vanod.

⁹ The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁰ The School Master of Sonka.

¹¹ The School Master of Jodia.

¹² The School Master of Dhank.

¹³ The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁴ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

¹⁵ The School Master of Charādva.

¹⁶ The School Master of Ganod.

¹⁷ The School Master of Songadh.

To the south of Kolki there is a site of a deserted village. It is believed to contain a buried treasure which is guarded by a snake with white moustaches. This snake is seen roaming about the place.¹

It is related that a Brāhman once read in an old paper that there was a treasure buried under a *Shami* tree in Deola. He communicated the information to the Thākōr of Dhrol who secured the treasure by excavating the place. The Brāhman went to worship the spot, but was buried alive. The Thākōr buried the treasure in his castle, but the Brāhman, becoming a snake, guarded the treasure and allowed none to touch it. All attempts to dig it up were frustrated by attacks of bees and the appearance of a snake.

A Kshatriya named Dev Karan, while the foundation of his house was being dug, found a treasure guarded by a snake. He killed the snake by pouring boiling oil over it and secured the treasure.

A Kunbi of Malia, while digging a pit for storing corn, found a large vessel filled with costly coins guarded by a snake. He killed the snake and secured the vessel.²

There are many practices in vogue to render the poisonous bite of a snake ineffective.

If the man bitten by a snake be bold, he cuts off the bitten part.

Some have the bitten part branded.

Those who have no ulcer in the mouth suck the poison, and spit it out.

The powder of the fruit of the *Nol Vel* is also administered with water.

Sometimes emetics and purgative medicines are given.

A mixture of pepper and clarified butter is also believed to be efficacious.³

Other remedies for the cure of snake bite, are as follows:—

The patient is made to wear a cotton thread in the name of Charmālia Nāg, Sharmālia Nāg, or Vasangi Nāg, and certain observances, as stated above, are promised to the snake deity.⁴

The ends of peacock feathers are pounded and smoked in a *chilum* (clay pipe) by the patient.⁵

A *moharo* (stone found in the head of a snake supposed to be a cure for snake poison) is applied to the wound caused by the bite. It absorbs the poison, and on being dipped into milk, transfers the poison to the milk.

Thus it can be used any number of times.⁶

There is a Girāsia in Lakhtar who is believed to cure patients suffering from snake poison. As soon as a person is bitten by a snake, one of the garments worn by him is taken to the Girāsia, who ties it into a knot and this cures the patient.⁷

There is a *Bava* in Rajpāra, a village near Anandpur. He and all the members of his family are reputed to be able to cure snake-bites. When a person is bitten by a snake, he or a friend goes to the *Bava's* house and informs him or any member of his family of the occurrence. The *Bava* or the person who receives the intimation folds into a knot a garment of the informant, which he afterwards unfolds. As soon as this is done, the patient is in great pain, loses his senses, is seized with convulsions and tells why the snake bit him. Thereupon the relatives of the patient implore the pardon of the snake, which is granted on condition that the patient should give alms to the poor.⁸

¹ The School Master of Kolki.

² The School Master of Dhānk.

³ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rājkot.

⁴ The School Master of Todia.

⁵ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁶ The D. E. Inspector, Hālār.

⁷ The School Master of Lilāpur.

⁸ The School Master of Anandpur.

In some places, *Bhagats* or devotees of Mātāji are invited to dinner along with a number of exorcists, who are generally Rabāris. After they have assembled at the house of the patient, they start out in a procession headed by one who holds in his hand a bunch of peacock feathers, to bathe in a river. On their way to and back from the river they sing songs in praise of the goddess to the accompaniment of drums and other musical instruments. After their return from the river, the whole party are treated to a feast, which is supposed to cure the patient of the effects of the snake-bite.¹

Some people believe that snakes, like evil spirits, can enter the bodies of human beings. Such persons, when possessed, are supposed to have the power of curing snake-bites.²

Every village has an exorcist who is a specialist in curing the effects of snake-bites. When a person is bitten by a snake the exorcist is at once sent for. He gives the patient *Nim* leaves and pepper to chew, to determine the extent of the effect of the bite. Next he asks one of those present to bathe and bring water in an unused earthen jar. He then recites incantations, and sprinkles water from the jar over the body of the patient. If this does not counteract the effects of the poison, he throws red-hot pieces of charcoal at the patient, when the snake speaks through the patient and states that he bit the patient because he committed a certain offence, and that he will leave him if certain offerings are made. After he has ceased speaking, the patient begins to shake and to crawl about like a snake, and is then cured. If the man be doomed to death, the snake would say, "I have bitten him by the order of the god of death, and I will not leave him without taking his life."³

Sometimes the exorcist fans the patient with branches of the *Nim* tree, reciting *mantras*, and thereupon the patient becomes possessed by the snake and declares the cause of his offence.

Some exorcists present a magic epistle or charm asking the snake that bit the patient to be present. The snake obeys the call, and appears before the exorcist. The latter then asks the snake to suck the poison from the wound of the patient, which is done by the snake, and the patient is then cured.⁴

In some places, the exorcist ties up the patient when the snake tells the cause of the bite. Next the exorcist calls on the snake to leave the body of the patient, who then begins to crawl about like a snake and is cured.

On some occasions, the exorcist slaps the cheek of the person who calls him to attend the patient. It is said that the poison disappears as soon as the slap is given.⁵

Some exorcists take a stick having seven joints and break them one by one. As the stick is broken, the patient recovers, his recovery being complete when the seventh joint is broken.⁶

It is believed that the Dhedas are the oldest worshippers of *Nāgs* or snakes. When a person is bitten by a snake, he is seated near a Dheda, who prays the snake to leave the body of the patient. It is said that in some cases this method proves efficacious in curing the patient.⁷

It is stated that exorcists who know the *mantra* (incantation) for the cure of snake-bites must lead a strictly moral life. If they touch a woman in child-bed or during her period the *mantra* loses its power. This can be regained through purification, bathing, and by reciting the *mantra* while inhaling the smoke of burning frankincense. Some

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

² The School Master of Dhank.

³ The D. E. Inspector, Hālār.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁶ The School Master of Songadh.

⁷ The School Master of Sānka.

exorcists abstain from certain kinds of vegetables and sweets, e. g., the *Mogri* (Rat-tailed raddish) *Julebi* (a kind of sweet) etc. They have also to abstain from articles of a colour like that of a snake.¹

A belief prevails that there is a precious stone in the head of the snake. Such stones are called *mohors*. They are occasionally shown to the people by snake-charmers, who declare that it is very difficult to procure them.

It is stated that on dark nights snakes take these *mohors* out of their head and place them on prominent spots in order to be able to move about in the dark by their light.²

It is believed that snakes give these *mohors* to those who please them. If one tries to take a *mohor* by force, the snake swallows it and dissolves it into water.³

As stated above, the *mohor* has the property of absorbing the poison from snake-bites.

It is because a snake is believed to hold a precious stone in its head that it is called *manidhar*, that is, holder of a jewel.⁴

It is believed by some people that the *mohor* shines the most when a rainbow appears in the sky.⁵

According to the *Purānas* the *pātāl* or nether world is as beautiful as heaven. It

is inhabited by *Nāgs* or snakes in human form. The *Nāg* girls are reputed to be so handsome that an extraordinarily beautiful girl is commonly likened to a *Nāg* girl.

It is believed that in ancient times inter-marriages between *Nāgs* and human beings were common.⁶

It is a common belief that *Kshetrapāl*, the guardian snake of fields, married human brides. So, to propitiate him, his image is installed on the marriage altar, and the bride takes three turns round it when walking round the sacrificial fire with the bridegroom.⁷

According to the *Purānas*, king Dasharath married a *Nāg* girl Sumitra.⁸ Similarly Indrajit, the son of Rāvan, the Lord of Lanka or Ceylon, married a *Nāg* girl.⁹

At times snakes are seen in houses. They are believed to be the guardians of the houses, and worshipped with offerings of lamps fed with ghi. After worship, the members of the family pray to the snake. "Oh snake! Thou art our guardian. Protect our health and wealth. We are thy children and live in thy garden."¹⁰

Some people believe that the spirits of deceased ancestors, on account of the anxiety for the welfare of progeny, become snakes and guard the house.¹¹

¹ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rājkot

⁴ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁶ The School Master of Vanod.

⁸ The School Mistress, Civil Station Girls' School, Rājkot.

¹¹ The School Master of Sāyala.

² The School Master of Dhānk.

³ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁵ The School Master of Kolki.

⁷ The School Master of Kolki.

⁹ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

¹⁰ The School Master of Vanod, and Mr. K. D. Desai.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOTEMISM AND FETISHISM.

The worship of totems is not known to prevail in Gujarāt, but the names of persons and clans or families are occasionally derived from animals and plants.

Instances of names derived from animals are given below :—

| NAME. | ANIMAL FROM WHICH DERIVED. |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. Hàthibhài ... | <i>Hathi</i> —an elephant. |
| 2. Vaghajibhài ... | <i>Vagh</i> —a tiger. |
| 3. Nàgajibhài ... | <i>Nàg</i> —a snake. |
| 4. Popatbhài ... | <i>Popat</i> —a parrot. |
| 5. Morbhài ... | <i>Mor</i> —a peacock. |
| 6. Chaklibhat ... | <i>Chakli</i> —a sparrow. ¹ |
| 7. Kido ... | <i>Kidi</i> —an ant. |
| 8. Mankodia ... | <i>Mankoda</i> —a black ant |
| 9. Tido ... | <i>Tid</i> —a locust. ² |
| 10. Hansràj ... | <i>Hansa</i> —a goose. |
| 11. Vinchi* ... | <i>Vinchi</i> —a female scorpion. |
| 12. Olo ... | <i>Olo</i> —a species of bird. |
| 13. Ajo ... | <i>Aja</i> —a goat. |
| 14. Mena* ... | <i>Mena</i> —a species of bird. ³ |

The *Kàli Paràj* or aboriginal tribes in Gujarāt give such names as *Kàgdo* (crow), *Kolo* (Jackal), *Bilādo* (cat), *Kutro* (dog) to their children according as one or other of these animals is heard to cry at the time of birth.⁴

The following are instances of names derived from plants :—

| NAME. | PLANT OR TREE FROM WHICH DERIVED. |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Gulàb † ... | <i>Gulàb</i> —the rose. |
| 2. Ambo ... | <i>Ambo</i> —the mango. |
| 3. Talsibài* ... | <i>Tulsi</i> —the sweet basil |
| 4. Tulsidàs ... | Ditto. |
| 5. Kesharbài* ... | <i>Keshar</i> —Saffron. |
| 6. Galàlbài* ... | <i>Galal</i> —Red powder. ⁵ |
| 7. Bili* ... | <i>Bili</i> —Aegle marmelos |
| 8. Dudhi* ... | <i>Dudhi</i> —Pumpkin. |
| 9. Lavengi* ... | <i>Laveng</i> —Clove. |
| 10. Mulo ... | <i>Mulo</i> —Raddish. |
| 11. Limbdo ... | <i>Limbdo</i> —The <i>Nim</i> tree. |
| 12. Mako ... | <i>Maki</i> —Maize. ⁶ |
| 13. Champo ... | <i>Champa</i> — <i>Michelia Champaca</i> . ⁷ |

Instances of family or clan names derived from trees and animals are as follows :—

| NAME. | DERIVATION. |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Untia ... | <i>Unt</i> —camel. |
| 2. Gadheda ... | <i>Gadheda</i> —An ass |
| 3. Dedakia ... | <i>Dedako</i> —A frog. |
| 4. Balada ... | <i>Balad</i> —An ox. |
| 5. Godhani ... | <i>Godho</i> —A bull. |
| 6. Bhensdadia ... | <i>Bhensa</i> —A buffalo. |
| 7. Ghetiya ... | <i>Gheta</i> —A sheep. |
| 8. Sàvaj ... | A species of wild animals. ⁸ |
| 9. Kakadia ... | <i>Kakadi</i> —cucumber. ⁹ |

¹ The School Master of Dhànk.

² The School Master of Kolki.

⁴ The School Master of Hālār.

⁶ The School Master of Dadvi.

† Both male and female.

² The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

* These are female names.

⁵ The School Master of Dhànk.

⁷ The School Master of Kolki.

⁸ The School Master of Dhànk.

⁹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

The cow, the she-goat, the horse, the deer, peacock, the *Tilad* or singing sparrow the goose, the *Nāg* or snake, the eagle, the elephant and the male monkey are believed to be sacred by all Hindus. Of these, the greatest sanctity attaches to the cow. Her urine is sipped for the atonement of sins. The cow is also revered by the Pārsis.¹

The mouth of the she-goat and the smell of the horse are considered sacred.¹

An elephant is considered sacred, because when the head of Ganpati was chopped off by Shiva, the head of an elephant was joined to his trunk.²

The peacock is considered sacred on account of its being the conveyance of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning.²

A male monkey is held holy, because it is supposed to represent the monkey god Māruti.²

Some sanctity attaches to the rat also, as it is the conveyance of the god Ganpati. He is called *Māma* or maternal uncle by the Hindus.³

The pig is held taboo by the Musalmāns.⁴ Brāhmins, Baniās, Bhātias, Kunbis, Sutaras and Darjis abstain from flesh and liquor.⁵

Some Brāhmins and Baniās do not eat *tādias* (fruit of the palm tree) as they look like human eyes.⁶

Some Brāhmins abstain from garlic and onions. Some do not eat *Kodra* (punctured millet).⁷

The *masur* (Lentil) pulse is not eaten by Brāhmins and Baniās, because, when cooked, it looks red like blood.⁸

The Humbad Baniās do not eat whey, milk, curdled milk and clarified butter.⁹

The Shrāvaks abstain from the *suran*, (Elephant foot), potatoes and roots that grow underground.¹⁰

Mahomedans abstain from the *suran*, because "su" the first letter of the word *Suran* is also the first letter of their taboo'd animal the pig.¹¹

There are some deities associated with the worship of animals. These animals, with the deities with whom they are connected, are given below.

1. *Pothio* or the bull is believed to be the vehicle of god Shiva. In all temples of Shiva its image is installed, facing the image of Shiva in the centre of the temple.

2. *Sinka* or the lion is believed to be the vehicle of Pārvati, the consort of Shiva. The lion is also connected with the demon planet *Rāhu*.

3. *Hansa* the goose is associated with Brahma the creator.

4. *Gadheda* the ass is believed to be connected with Shitala, the goddess of small pox.

5. *Undar* the mouse is the conveyance of Ganpati.

6. *Mor* the peacock is the conveyance of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. The peacock is also associated with Kārtik Swāmi.

7. *Garud* the eagle is the conveyance of the god Vishnu.

8. *Pādo* the male buffalo is the conveyance of Devis or goddesses.

9. *Ghodo* the horse is the conveyance of the Sun. The horse is also associated with the planet *Guru* or Jupiter and *Shukra* or Venus.

10. *Mrig* the deer is supposed to be the conveyance of the Moon as well as of *Mangal* or Mars.

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Mōta Devalia.

³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁴ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

⁵ The School Master of Pātānvā.

⁶ The School Master of Todia.

⁷ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁸ The School Master of Vanod.

⁹ The School Master of Songadh.

¹⁰ The School Master of Vāla.

¹¹ The School Master of Songadh.

11. *Balad* the ox is connected with Mars and *Shani* or Saturn.

12. *Hāthi* the elephant is supposed to be the conveyance of Indra. It is also connected with *Budha* or Mercury.

13. The tiger is the conveyance of the goddess *Ambāji*.

The animals mentioned above are worshipped along with deities and planets with whom they are associated¹.

It is generally believed that the earth is supported by a tortoise. So, whenever the goddess earth or *Prithvi* is worshipped, the tortoise is also worshipped.²

In the temples of the *Mātās* cocks and hens, and in the temple of *Kāl Bhairav*, dogs, are worshipped.³

For the propitiation of goddesses and evil spirits, male goats, he-buffaloes and cocks are sacrificed.⁴

In his first incarnation, the god Vishnu was born as a fish, in the second as an alligator, and in the third as a boar. For this reason the images of these animals are worshipped.⁵

All the gods, goddesses and spirits mentioned in the preceding pages are represented by idols made of stone, metal or wood. In addition to stone idols of gods there are certain stones which are considered to represent gods and worshipped as such. Some of these stones are described below.

All the stones found in the river *Narbada* are believed to represent the god *Shiva* and worshipped.

There is a kind of stone found in the river *Gandaki* which is smooth on one side and porous on the other. It is either round or square and about five inches in length. This stone is called *Shāligrām* and is believed

to represent the god Vishnu. It is kept in the household gods and worshipped daily.

There is another kind of hard, white, porous stone found near *Dwārka*. It is also worshipped along with the idol of Vishnu.

Sometimes tridents are drawn with red lead on stones to represent goddesses.⁶

There is a tank near the *Pir* in *Kutiāna* in which bored stones are found floating on the surface of the water. These stones are considered sacred.⁷

Certain stones are considered sacred on account of their supposed curative properties. One of such stones is called *Paro*. It is believed to be efficacious in curing rheumatism.⁸

There is also a kind of red stone which is supposed to cure skin diseases.⁹

Each of the nine planets is supposed to be in touch with a stone of a particular colour. For instance, the stone in touch with *Shani* or Saturn is black, and that with *Mangal* or Mars is red. These stones are bored, and set in rings which are worn by persons suffering from the influence of these planets.

A kind of stone called *Akik*, found in abundance in *Cambay*, is considered sacred by the Mahomedan saints, who wear garlands made of beads carved out of these stones.¹⁰

In ancient times human sacrifices were offered on certain occasions. Now-a-days, in place of a human being, a cocoanut or a *Kolu* (*Cucurbita maxima*) is offered. At the time of making the offering, the cocoanut is plastered with red lead and other holy applications and covered with a silk cloth. The *Kolu* is offered by cutting it into two pieces with a stroke of a knife or sword.¹¹

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

² The School Master of Vanod.

³ The School Master of Bantva.

⁴ The School Master of Devalia.

⁵ The School Master of Jetpur.

⁶ The School Master of Vanod.

⁷ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁸ The School Master of Ganod.

⁹ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹⁰ The School Master of Zinzuvada.

¹¹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani Zinzuvada and Gohelwad.

Sometimes an image of the flour of *Adad* is sacrificed in place of a human being.¹

This sacrifice is generally made on the eighth or tenth day of the bright half of *Āshvin*.

In place of human blood, milk mixed with *gulāl* (red powder) and molasses is offered.²

In ancient times, when a well was dug, a human sacrifice was made to it if it did not yield water, with the belief that this would bring water into the well. Now-a-days, instead of this sacrifice, blood from the fourth finger of a man is sprinkled over the spot.³

It is also related that in ancient times, when a king was crowned, a human sacrifice was offered. Now-a-days, instead of this sacrifice, the king's forehead is marked with the blood from the fourth finger of a low caste Hindu at the time of the coronation ceremony.⁴

There are a few stones which are supposed to have the power of curing certain diseases. One of such stones is known as *Ratavāno Pāro*. It is found at a distance of about two miles from Kolki. It is marked with red lines. It is bored and worn round the neck by persons suffering from *ratava*⁵ (a disease in which red spots or pimples are seen on the skin).

There is another stone called *Suleimani Pāro* which is supposed to have the power of curing many diseases.⁶

There is a kind of white semi-circular stone which is supposed to cure eye diseases when rubbed on the eyes and fever when rubbed on the body.⁷

Sieves for flour and corn, brooms, *sambelu* or corn pounders, and ploughs are regarded as sacred

Sieves are considered sacred for the following reasons.

1. Because articles of food such as flour, grain, etc., are sifted through them.⁸

2. Because, on auspicious occasions, when women go to worship the potter's wheel, the materials of worship are carried in a sieve.

3. Because the fire used for igniting the sacrificial fuel is taken in a sieve, or is covered with a sieve while it is being carried to the sacrificial altar.⁹

4. Because at the time of performing the ceremony when commencing to prepare sweets for a marriage, a sieve is worshipped.¹⁰

5. Because, in some communities like the *Bhātias*, the bride's mother, when receiving the bridegroom in the marriage booth, carries in a dish a lamp covered with a sieve.¹¹

The flour collected by *Brāhmans* by begging from door to door is supposed to be polluted. But it is considered purified when it is passed through a sieve.¹²

The *sambelu* is considered so sacred that it is not touched with the foot. If a woman lie down during day time, she will not touch it either with her head or with her foot.

One of the reasons why it is considered sacred is that it was used as a weapon by *Baldev*, the brother of the god *Krishna*.

A *sambelu* is one of the articles, required for performing the reception ceremony on a bridegroom's entering the marriage *pandal*.¹³

It is believed that a fall of rain is expedited by placing a *sambelu* erect in a dish when there is a drought.¹⁴

Among *Shrīgāud Brāhmans*, on the marriage day, one of the men of the bridegroom's party wears a wreath made of a *sambelu*, a broom and other articles. Some special marks are also made on his forehead. Thus adorned, he

¹ The School Master of Hālār.

² The School Master of Devalia.

³ The School Master of Kolki.

⁴ The School Master of Jetpur.

⁵ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁶ The School Master of Todia.

⁷ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁸ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁹ The School Master of Todia.

¹⁰ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

¹² The School Master of Aman.

¹³ The School Master of Lilāpur.

¹⁴ The School Master of Zinzuvāda.

goes with the bridegroom's procession and plays jokes with the parents of both the bride and bridegroom. His doing so is supposed to bless the bridal pair with a long life and a large family.¹

On the marriage day, after the ceremony of propitiating the nine planets has been performed in the bride's house, in some castes three, and in others one *sambelu*, is kept near the spot where the planets are worshipped. Next, five unwidowed women of the family hold the *sambelus* and thrash them five or seven times on the floor repeating the words "On the chest of the ill-wisher of the host." The *sambelus* are bound together by a thread.²

If a woman has to take part in an auspicious ceremony on the fourth day of her monthly period, she is made to thresh one maund of rice with a *sambelu*. Her fourth day is then considered as the fifth* and she becomes eligible for taking part in the ceremony.³

The plough is considered sacred, because it is the chief implement for cultivating the soil. It is worshipped on the full-moon day of *Shrāvan* which is known as a *Balev* holiday, the worship being called *Grahan-pujan*.⁴

Some people consider the plough sacred because Sita, the consort of Rām, was born of the earth by the touch of a plough.⁵ Others hold it sacred as it was used as a weapon by Baldev, the brother of the god Krishna.

On account of the sanctity which attaches to the plough, it forms part of the articles, with which a bridegroom is received in the marriage *pandal* by the bride's mother.⁶

It is related that king Janak ploughed the soil on which he had to perform a sacrifice. Hence it has become a practice to purify with a plough the spot on which a sacrifice is to be performed.⁷

In some places, on the *Balev* day, a number of persons gather together near a pond, and each of them fills an earthen jar with the water of the pond. Next, one of the party is made to stand at a long distance from the others with a small plough in his hands. The others then run a race towards the latter. He who wins the race is presented with molasses and a cocoanut.⁸

It is customary among Brāhmans to perform the worship known as *Baleviān* after the performance of a thread ceremony. In Native States, the prime minister and other State officials and clerks join the ceremony, the principal function of the ceremony being performed by the prime minister. In villages, this function is performed by the headman of the village. The party go in procession to a neighbouring village or a pond where an earthen image of Ganpati besmeared with red lead is installed on a red cloth two feet square. Near this image are installed the nine planets, represented by nine heaps of corn, on each of which is placed a betelnut. This is called the installation of *Baleviān*. A plough about two feet in length is kept standing near the *Baleviān* with its end buried in the ground. The prime minister or the village headman worships the plough, after which, four Kumbhārs or potters wash themselves, and holding four jars on their heads, run a race. Each of the Kumbhārs is named after one of the four months of the rainy season. He who wins the race is presented with the plough. The expenses of the ceremony are paid from the State treasury or the village fund.⁹

According to a popular saying, a broom should not be kept erect or trampled under foot. This indicates that brooms are held sacred.

¹ The School Master of Zinzavāda.

² The School Master of Līlāpur.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Līlāpur.

⁵ The School Master of Todia.

⁶ The School Masters of Dhānk and Kotda Sangani.

⁷ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁸ The School Master of Zinzavāda.

⁹ The School Master of Todia.

* Among Hindus women in menses are considered impure for four days.

When a newly-born infant does not cry, the leaves of a broom are thrown into the fire and their smoke is passed over the child. It is said that this makes the child cry.¹

Some people consider brooms sacred, because they are used in sweeping the ground¹ (that is the earth, which is a goddess).

In some places, children suffering from cough are fanned with a broom.²

In some castes, a broom is worshipped on the marriage day.³

Many people deny any sanctity to a broom. A belief is common that if a man sees a broom the first thing after getting up in the morning, he does not pass the day happily.⁴

Some believe that if a broom be kept erect in the house, a quarrel between the husband and wife is sure to follow. There is also a belief that if a person thrashes another with a broom, the former is liable to suffer from a gland under the arm.⁵

Fire is considered to be a deity by all Hindus. In all sacrifices, fire is first ignited with certain ceremonies of worship.⁶ In all Brāhman families, every morning before breakfast, a ceremony called *Vaishvadeva* is performed, in which fire is worshipped and cooked rice is offered to it.⁷

The *Agnihotris* keep a constant fire burning in their houses and worship it thrice a day, morning, noon and evening.⁸

The Pārsis consider fire so sacred that they do not smoke. Neither do they cross fire. In their temples called *Agiāris* a fire of sandalwood is kept constantly burning. It is considered a great mishap if this fire is extinguished.⁸

Fire is specially worshipped on the *Holi* day, that is the full-moon day of the month of *Fālgun*.⁹

Other special occasions on which it is worshipped are the thread ceremony, the ceremony of installing a new idol in a temple, the first pregnancy ceremony, and the ceremony performed at the time of entering a new house.¹⁰

Fire is also worshipped in *Mahārudra*, *Vishnuyāg*, *Gāyatripurāsharan*, *Nilōtsarga*, *Vāstupujan*, *Shatachandi*, *Lakshachandi*, and the sacrifices performed during the *Navarātra* and on the *Dasara* day.¹¹

Fire is considered to be the mouth of God, through which he is supposed to receive all offerings.¹²

The offerings made to fire generally consist of clarified butter, cocoanuts, sesamum seed, the *Java*, chips of the wood of the *Pipal* and the *Shami*, curdled milk and frankincense.¹³

The fire to be used for sacrifices and *agnihotras* is produced by the friction of two pieces of the wood of the *Arani*,¹⁴ the *Pipal*, the *Shami*¹⁵ or the bamboo while *mantras* or incantations are being recited by Brāhmins.¹⁶

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Songadh.

³ The School Master of Todia.

⁴ The School Masters of Dhānk and Vanod.

⁵ The School Masters of Ganod and Dhānk.

⁶ The School Masters of Ganod and Kalavad and Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁷ The School Master of Todia.

⁸ The School Masters of Dadvi and Dhānk.

⁹ The School Master of Aman.

¹⁰ The School Master of Kolki.

¹¹ The School Master of Limbdi.

¹² The School Master of Dhānk.

¹³ The School Master of Kalavad and Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

¹⁵ The School Master of Wala.

¹⁶ The School Master of Jetpur.

CHAPTER IX

ANIMAL WORSHIP.

The following animals are considered sacred and worshipped by the Hindus.

1. The cow :—is regarded as the holiest of animals. She is worshipped on the fourth day of the dark half of *Śrāvan* which is known as *Bol Choth*;¹ and a vow is observed by women in her honour on the fifteenth day of *Bhādarva*. It is known as *Gautrad Vrat*. On this day women do not eat wheat, milk, clarified butter and the whey of a cow.¹

The sanctity which attaches to the cow is due to the belief that in her body reside thirty-three crores of gods.²

2. The horse :—The horse is believed by some people to be the last incarnation of God. It is also believed to represent *Vāchhādo*, the deity who cures hydrophobia.³

Some people believe the horse to be a celestial animal. It is said that in ancient times it had wings, traces of which are believed to be still visible in its knees.

Of the fourteen jewels obtained by the gods and demons by churning the ocean, one was a horse with seven mouths. Hence the horse is considered divine.⁴

The horse is worshipped on the *Dasara* day.⁵

3. The elephant :—The elephant is considered divine because it is the vehicle of Indra, the lord of gods, and because its head was fixed on the trunk of Ganpati, the son of Pārvati and Shiva. It is believed by some people that vows to offer cocoanuts to an elephant are efficacious in curing fever.⁶

At the time of celebrating a coronation ceremony an elephant is worshipped. There is a tradition that in ancient times the coronation waters were poured over the king by a she-elephant.⁷

4. The lion :—The lion is considered sacred because it is believed to be the lord of the beasts of the forest and the vehicle of goddesses.⁸

5. The tiger :—The tiger is worshipped with *Vāgheshvari Mātā* as it is believed to be her vehicle.

6. The she-buffalo :—Some sanctity attaches to the she-buffalo, as it is believed that a she-buffalo was given in dowry to a *Nāg kanya* (snake girl) by her father.⁹

To atone for a great sin a she-buffalo decked with a black wreath, iron, red lead and marks made with the flour of *adad* is presented to a *Brāhman*.⁹

7. The donkey :—Is believed to be the vehicle of the goddess of small-pox.¹⁰

It is also believed that the god *Brahma* had formerly five mouths, one of which was like that of a donkey.¹¹

8. The dog :—The dog is believed to have divine vision and to be able to see the messengers of the god of death. Some believe that in its next life a dog becomes a man.¹²

The dog is also believed to be the vehicle of *Kāl Bhairav* and is worshipped along with his image.¹³

Some people offer bread to dogs in the belief that they will bear witness to their merits before God.¹⁴

¹ The School Master of Dhānk.

² The School Master of Devalia.

³ The School Master of Ganod.

⁴ The School Master of Todia.

⁵ The School Master of Moti Marad.

⁶ The School Master of Moti Parabdi.

⁷ The School Master of Aman.

⁸ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁹ The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwād.

¹⁰ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹¹ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹² The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹³ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

¹⁴ The School Master of Limbdi.

9. The goat:—is worshipped by the Bhāvāds when they worship the goddess Machhu.¹

10. The cat:—is worshipped in the belief that by so doing a man can win over his opponents.²

11. The bear:—is considered by some people to be a holy animal because the god Krishna married Jāmbuvanti, the daughter of Jāmbuvant, the heroic bear who assisted Rāma.³

12. Fish:—are considered sacred because they are supposed to carry the food (*pindas*) to the *manes* offered (in water) at the *shrāddha* ceremony.⁴

13. Alligators:—are worshipped in a pond at Magar Pir, near Karāchi.⁵

14. The crows:—are worshipped because they are supposed to represent *rishis*.⁶

Some people believe that crows were formerly *rishis*. They are supposed to have divine vision, and food offered to them is believed to reach deceased ancestors.

A loaf is cut into three parts. One of them is designated *kāl* (ordinary), the second *dukāl*

(famine), and the third *sukāl* (plenty). Next they are offered to a crow. If the crow takes away the *kāl*, it is believed that the crops in the following year will be normal; if it takes away the *dukāl* a famine is apprehended in the following year, and if the *sukāl*, it is believed that the crops will be plentiful.⁷

15. The goose:—is supposed to be the vehicle of the goddess Sarasvati. It is believed that its worship ensures success in any enterprise. If a goose is seen in a dream, it is considered to be a very good omen.⁸

A goose is believed to be endowed with the power of separating milk from water. It is supposed to feed on rubies. It is found in lake Mān in the Himālayās.⁹

16. The cock:—is considered holy as it is believed to be the vehicle of the goddess Bahucharāji.¹⁰

17. The hen:—is worshipped on the last Sunday of the month of *Jeth*.¹¹

18. The parrot:—is worshipped by singers desiring to improve their voice. It is also worshipped by dull persons desirous of improving their intellect.¹²

¹ The School Master of Aman.

² The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwād.

³ The School Master of Chhatrāsā.

⁴ The School Master of Kolki.

⁵ The School Master of Todia.

⁶ The School Master of Luvaria.

⁷ The School Master of Todia.

⁸ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁹ The School Master of Todia.

¹⁰ The School Master of Chhatrāsā.

¹¹ The School Master of Aman.

¹² The School Master of Todia.

CHAPTER X

WITCHCRAFT.

Dākans are of two kinds, human and of the order of ghosts.¹

Girls born in the *Ashlesha nakshatra* on the *bij* or second day of a month, in the *Kritika nakshatra* on the seventh day of a month and in the *Shatabhigha nakshatra* on the twelfth day of a month, are believed to be human *dākans*. They cause the death of their husbands, and their evil eye injures all things and individuals that come under its influence.²

Women who die in child-bed, meet an untimely death or commit suicide, become *Dākans* or *Chudels* after death.³

Some people believe that women of such low castes as Kolis, Vāghris and Chārāns become *Dākans*. High caste *Dākans* are rare.⁴

A ghostly *Dākan* dresses in fine clothes and decks her person with ornaments. But she does not cover her back, which is horrible to look at. It is so frightful that any one happening to see it dies of horror.⁵

Ghostly *Dākans* trouble only women. When possessed by them, the latter have convulsive

fits, loose their hair, and cry out without any reason.⁶

A ghostly *Dākan* lives with a man as his wife, brings him dainties and turns the refuse of food into flesh and bones. The man gradually becomes emaciated and ultimately dies.⁷

It is believed that generally a *Dākan* kills a man within six months.⁸

The *Dākans* do not allow calves to suck, cattle to give milk, and healthy persons to enjoy sound health. Sometimes they cause cattle to yield blood instead of milk.⁹

A *Dākan* by virtue of her powers, can ascend to the sky. She lives upon the flesh of corpses.¹⁰

A *Dākan* can assume any form she likes. She appears as a cat, a buffalo, a goat or any other animal. She can swell and shrink her body at will. Her feet are reversed.¹¹

Dākans haunt trees, cemeteries, deserted tanks, mines or other desolate places.¹²

They also haunt ruins and places where four roads meet.¹³

¹ The School Master of Dhank.

² The School Master of Gondal.

³ Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ The School Master of Dadvi.

⁵ The School Master of Ganod.

⁶ The School Master of Dhank.

⁷ The School Master of Ganod.

⁸ The School Master of Sultānpur.

⁹ The School Master of Vanod.

¹⁰ The School Master of Moti Khilori.

¹¹ Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹² The School Master of Ganod.

CHAPTER XI

GENERAL.

Various ceremonies are performed by cultivators at the time of ploughing the soil, sowing, reaping and harvesting. These ceremonies differ in details in different localities.

In all places, an auspicious day for ploughing and sowing is fixed in consultation with an astrologer. On the day when ploughing is to be commenced, the front courtyard of the house is cowdunged and an auspicious figure called *Sathia** is drawn on it with the grains of *juvāri*.¹

A dish called *kansār* is prepared, and served to all members of the family at the morning meal. Their foreheads are marked with red powder, and a piece of betelnut is offered to the household gods. Hand-spun cotton threads marked at intervals with red powder are then tied round the plough and to the horns of the bullocks which are to be yoked to the plough.²

Next, the farmer stands waiting at the front door of his house for good omens,³ and when a few are seen, sets out for his field.

In some places, the foreheads of the bullocks are daubed with red lead, clarified butter is applied to their horns and they are fed with molasses.⁴

In others, a betelnut is placed over the *Sathia* and given to the person who first meets the farmer on leaving his house.⁵

In some localities again, the farmer holds the plough over the *Sathia*, touching it with the end, eats a morsel of molasses, and bows to the *Sathia* before starting.⁶

As a rule, seed is not sown on Saturdays or Tuesdays. Wednesday is believed to be the most favourable day for this purpose.⁷

Sowing is commenced from that corner of the field which has been pronounced by the astrologer to be the best for the operation.⁸

Sunday is believed to be the most auspicious day for reaping.⁹ While reaping, a part of the crop is offered to the image of Kshetrpāl and to other village deities. In order to secure a good harvest, sweets are offered to the village gods on the eighth or tenth day of the bright half of *Ashvin*, or on the second day of the bright half of *Kārtik* which is called *Ananakuta*.¹⁰

No crop is brought into the house before a part of it has been offered to the local deities.¹¹

When juice is to be extracted from sugar-canes, the mill is first worshipped. In the shed erected for storing the jars of molasses, an image of Ganpati is installed, and worshipped before placing the jars in the shed.¹²

The first jar of molasses and two bits of sugar cane are offered to the local deities.¹³

Before reaping cotton, offerings are made to the village gods.¹⁴

¹ The School Master of Chhatrasā.

² The School Master of Devalia.

³ The School Master of Jetpur.

⁴ The School Master of Ganod.

⁵ The School Master of Jodia.

⁶ The School Masters of Zinzuvāda and Devalia.

⁷ The School Master of Bhāyāvaḍar.

⁸ The School Master of Vanod.

⁹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

¹⁰ The School Master of Jetpur.

¹¹ Mr. K. D. Desāi.

¹² The School Master of Movaiya.

¹³ The School Master of Luvāria.

¹⁴ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

When a cow or she-buffalo is about to calve, a packet containing a few pebbles or cowries, the *mali* (red lead) from the image of Hanu-mān, dust collected from a place where four roads meet, and grains of *Adod*, are tied to its horns by an indigo-coloured thread, in the belief that this protects the animal from the effects of the evil eye.¹

To guard cattle against an attack of small-pox, women observe a vow called *Shili Sātem* on the seventh day of the bright half of *Shrāvan*.²

To prevent a tiger from attacking cattle, a circle of the flour of *charonhi* is drawn round them by an exorcist reciting *mantras* or incantations. If a tiger tries to enter this protected area its mouth at once becomes swollen.³

In some places, salt heated over the fire of the *Holi* is put into the food given to the cattle in the belief that this protects them from disease.⁴

Instead of salt, some people give cattle leaves of castor-oil plants roasted over the fire of the *Holi*.⁵

In some places, on the *Divāli* holiday, a torch and a rice pounder are placed in the cattle shed, and the cattle are made to cross them one by one. This process is believed to protect them from disease.⁶

A ceremony called the *Doro* of Mahādev is also performed in the month of *Shrāvan* to protect cattle against disease.⁷

Vows in the honour of Ashpāl or Nāgdev are also observed for the protection of cattle.⁸

In the *Hasta nakshatra* during the monsoon, when there is a thunder storm, a *sāmbelu* (rice

pounder) is struck seven times against the main cross beam of the house in the belief that the sound thus produced destroys insects.⁹

To scare the insects called *itidio*, vows are observed in honour of the *Itidio Pir*.¹⁰

In order that insects and worms may not spoil the corn stored in a granary or in earthen jars, the ashes of the fire of the *Holi* or leaves of the *nim* tree are mixed with it.

To prevent insects from spoiling wheat, *bājari* and *juvāri*, mercury and ashes are put into them, while it is believed that gram cannot be eaten by insects if it is mixed with dust from a place where three roads meet.¹¹

To drive away insects, a ceremony called *Adagho Badagho* or *Marigan* is performed on the *Divāli* holiday. It is as follows:—

One man holds a lighted torch in his hand, and another an earthen jar, which he beats with a small stick. The two men pass through every nook and corner of the house and the cattle-shed crying "*Adagho may go, Badagho may go*", that is, "May troubles and diseases disappear; may bugs, serpents, mice, scorpions, mosquitoes and other insects die out." Next they proceed, repeating the same words, through the streets to the village boundary, where the torch, the earthen jar and the stick are thrown away, thus ending the ceremony.¹²

In order to secure sunshine and favourable weather, oblations are offered to the local deities, sacrificial offerings are made and bunting is suspended from the doors of temples.¹³

¹ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

² The School Master of Chok.

³ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁴ The School Master of Pātan Vāv.

⁵ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁶ The School Master of Sānka.

⁷ The School Master of Vanod.

⁸ The School Master of Devalia.

⁹ The School Master of Jetpur.

¹⁰ The School Master of Moti Marad.

¹¹ The School Master of Pātan Vāv.

¹² Mr. K. D. Desai.

¹³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

In order to secure a favourable rainfall, a grand festival is observed on an auspicious day. On this day all agricultural work is stopped and *megh laddus* (sweet balls called *megh* or cloud) are eaten by the people.¹

In some places, for the protection of the crops, a thread charmed by the incantations of an exorcist is passed round the hedge of the field.²

For the protection of crops of gram, wheat and sugar-cane against injury by rats, a ceremony called *Dādḥ Bāndhavi* is performed, in which a thread over which incantations have been repeated by an exorcist is passed round the crop, and an image of Ganpati is installed and worshipped with offerings of sweet balls of wheat flour.³

In some places, the ceremony of *Dādḥ Bāndhavi* is performed somewhat differently. Instead of passing a thread round the field, the exorcist walks round the field repeating incantations, holding in his hand a pot containing fire, over which is placed a pan containing *Gugal*. This ceremony is generally performed for the protection of sugar-cane crops against the attacks of jackals. It is believed that an animal entering the field after the performance of this ceremony has its *dādḥ* (gums) stiffened.⁴

Silence and secrecy are considered essential in working mystic lore, for it is a belief that if learnt openly such lore loses its power.⁵

The ceremony for obtaining command over Kāl Bhairav is performed in perfect silence at midnight on the *Kālicheudas*, that is the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Ashvin*.⁶

Silence and secrecy are also essential in the ceremonies which are performed for sub-

jugating such evil spirits as *Meldi* and *Shikotar* and *Mātās*.⁷

When Vaishnavas make offerings to their gods, the doors of the shrine are closed.

The initiating ceremonies of the Shakti Panthis and Margi Panthis are also performed in close secrecy.⁸

The Shrivaks have to observe perfect silence at the time of performing the *Shāmag Padakamannu*⁹ (a form of devotion to god).

Some people observe a vow of keeping silent while taking their meals either for life or during the monsoon.¹⁰

There are various legends current among the people regarding the origin of the *Holi* holiday. The chief versions are as follows:—

1. In ancient times there lived a demoness named *Dhunda* who preyed upon children. Her misdeeds caused great misery to the people, who went to *Vasishtha*, the preceptor of *Rāma*, and implored him to tell them of some remedy for the mischief wrought by the demoness. *Vasishtha* told them to light a pyre in honour of the goddess *Holika*, which he said, would consume the demoness. The people accordingly lighted a huge fire, into which the demoness was driven by boys who led her to the spot by abusing her and troubling her in many ways. She was reduced to ashes by the fire, and the people were saved.¹¹

2. A demon named *Hiraniāksha* had a sister named *Holika* and a son named *Prahlaḍ*. *Hiraniāksha* bore great enmity to *Rāma*, while *Prahlaḍ* was his devotee. *Hiraniāksha* did not like his son's devotion to *Rāma*, and told him several times to give it up, and even threatened to take his life.

¹ The School Master of Vanod.

² The School Master of Ganod.

³ The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

⁴ The School Master of Dalvi.

⁵ The School Master of Limbdi.

⁶ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁷ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁸ The School Master of Vanod.

⁹ The School Master of Devalia.

¹⁰ The School Master of Ganod.

¹¹ The School Masters of Dhānk and Ganod.

But Prahlād did not swerve an inch from the path of his devotion. At last, being desperate, Hiraniāksha decided to kill him, and entrusted his sister with the mission. Holika raised a big pile of cow-dung cakes, set it on fire, and seated herself on the pile, taking Prahlād in her lap. But through the grace of Rāma, Prahlād escaped uninjured while Holika was reduced to ashes.

3. A demoness called Dhunda had obtained a boon from Shiva to the effect that she would not meet her death during any of the three seasons of the year, either by day or by night. At the same time she was warned to beware of injury from children between sunset and nightfall at the commencement of a new season. To prevent any possibility of injury from children, she began to destroy them by preying upon their bodies. This caused a great panic among the people, who went to Vasishtha and asked his advice as to how to kill the demoness. He advised them to kill her in the way described in legend No. 1 above, and she was killed accordingly.¹

4. The Govardhan mountain had two sisters named Holi and Divālī. Holi was a woman of bad conduct while Divālī's character was good. Although unchaste, Holi boasted that she was chaste, and once, to prove her chastity, she threw herself on to a big fire. She could not bear the pain caused by the flames, and began to scream aloud, when people beat drums, abused her, and raised such a din that her screams became inaudible. Hence the custom of using abusive language and reciting abusive verses during the *Holi* holidays. Govardhan could not bear the disgrace attached to his sister's

reputation. So he threw himself into the fire and met his death without uttering a word of pain. This has given rise to the custom of throwing into the *Holi* fire the cow-dung image of Govardhan, which is installed during the *Divālī* holidays.²

On the *Holi* day sweet dishes are prepared and taken with the morning meal. Some women observe a vow on this day, and dine once only in the evening, after worshipping the *Holi* fire with an offering of a cocoanut and walking seven times round it.³

In some places, on the day preceding the *Holi*, which is known as *Kamala Holi*, sweet stuffed cakes are prepared, and on the *Holi Panema* day vermicelli is eaten.⁴

The fuel for the *Holi* fire is generally collected by boys. At about two in the afternoon on the *Holi* day a party of boys goes from house to house and receives five to fifteen cow-dung cakes from each household. These cow-dung cakes are bored, and strung on strings.⁵

The fuel thus collected is heaped at the village boundary or the end of the street. All the male residents of the village or street meet at the spot, a pit is dug, and earthen pots filled with wheat, gram and water mixed together are placed in the pit and covered with cow-dung cakes. Next, the headman of the village or the leading resident of the street worships the pile with the assistance of a Brāhman priest. After worship, the pile is lighted at the time fixed by an astrologer,⁶ by a low caste Hindu, generally a Bhangi or Kotwāl, as Hindus of good caste consider it a sin to kindle the *Holi* fuel. The Bhangi or Kotwāl receives a few dates and cocoanut kernel for this service.⁶

¹ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

² Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁴ The School Master of Moti Khiroli

⁵ This is generally in the evening or an hour or two after nightfall,

⁶ The School Masters of Zinzuvāda and Moti Marad.

³ The School Master of Vanod.

⁵ The School Masters of Dhānk and Songadh.

The offerings thrown into the *Holi* fire generally consist of fried *juvāri* grain, fried gram and cocoanuts. Flowers of mango trees and tender mango fruits are also thrown into the *Holi* fire. It is believed that newly married pairs, by worshipping the *Holi* fire, are blessed with long life, prosperity, and the birth of children. After the principal ceremony is over, they worship it one by one with the ends of their upper garments tied in a knot and walk seven times round the fire with their hands folded, the husband leading the wife.¹

Infants dressed in gay clothes and decked with garlands of dry dates and bits of cocoanut kernel are also taken to the *Holi* fire by their parents. The latter worship the *Holi* Mātā and walk four times round the fire, taking the children in their arms. Next they offer cocoanuts to the goddess, which are either thrown into the fire or distributed among those present.²

Women whose children die in infancy observe a vow of remaining standing on the *Holi* day. When the *Holi* is lighted they worship the fire, after which they may sit down and take their meal. It is believed that the observance of this vow ensures long life to children.³

Although the *Holi* itself falls on the full-moon day of *Fālgun* the rejoicings connected with it commence from the first day of that month. The principal feature of the rejoicings consists in indulging in indecent and vulgar songs and language. Vulgar songs or *fāgs* in honour of the goddess *Holi* are also sung. Songs are composed abusing each caste, and sung, addressing passers-by, by groups of boys who

have full license during the *Holi* holidays to indulge in all sorts of pranks and abuses.

Some make wooden blocks with engravings of vulgar and indecent words, dip them in coloured water, and press them on the clothes of passers-by.

Others make naked idols of mud, and place them on the tops of houses.⁴

The day following the *Holi* is known as *Dhul Pādavo* or *Dhuleti*. On this day people indulge in the throwing of cow-dung, black pigments, urine, mud, coloured water and red powder.⁵

In some places, on the *Dhuleti* day, a game is played with a cocoanut. The players form themselves into two parties and stand opposite to one another. Midway between them is placed a cocoanut. Each party tries to take away the cocoanut, and prevents the other from so doing by throwing stones and cow-dung cakes. The party which succeeds in taking away the cocoanut wins the game.⁶

Amongst *Dheds*, *Kolis*, *Rāyals* and other low castes a post of the wood of the tamarind tree is planted in the ground and surrounded by women holding whips and cords in their hands. A party of men run to the women to drive them away and take possession of the post. The women prevent them from doing so by striking them with all their might with the whips and cords in their hands. This struggle commences at 10 A. M. on the *Dhuleti* day and continues till one o'clock in the morning on the following day. At last the men succeed in carrying away the post, thus ending the game.⁷

In some places, a man is tied to a bier as if he were a corpse, and carried on the shoulders

¹ The School Masters of Dhānk and Vanod.

² The School Master of Todia.

³ The School Master of Kolki.

⁴ The School Master of Chhatrasa.

⁵ The School Master of Songadh.

⁶ The School Masters of Zinzavāda and Todia.

of four men to the post of tamarind wood followed by a party of men and women wailing aloud, to the great merriment of the crowd assembled near the post to witness the struggle described above.¹

Sometimes contests are held between two parties of boys in singing vulgar songs. The contest commences by one of the parties singing a song. The other party responds to it by singing another song, which is generally more indecent than the song sung first. The contest goes on like this, and the party which fails to respond to its rival is said to be defeated.²

The immoral practices described above are only to be seen among low caste people, and even their women take part in these practices.

The women of higher castes wear rich clothes and ornaments on the *Dhuleti* day, and sing songs in their houses. At times they throw coloured water and red powder at each other.³

In big temples a festivity called *Ful Dol* is observed, in which water coloured with the flowers of the *Khàkhra* (*Butea frondosa*) is thrown by the party assembled, and *kundaliàs* or indecent songs are sung in a loud voice.⁴

In some temples, holy songs are sung at night and prayers are held. At the end, fried *juvâri*, gram and sweets are distributed as the grace of God.⁵

The boys who take an active part in the *Holi* celebrations are known as *geraiyàs* or *holiàs*. For two or three nights before the *Holi* they steal fuel for the *Holi* fire and beat and abuse

those who try to prevent them from so doing. They also recite coarse songs and play with dirt and mud freely. Parties of them go from shop to shop and obtain by force dates and fried gram.⁶

At midnight of the *Holi* day a bower is erected in the centre of the village with bits of broken earthen vessels and cocoanut shells. A fool, generally a son-in-law of some low caste Hindu in the village, is induced, by the promise of dates and cocoanut kernel, to dress in a coat on which are drawn naked pictures. A garland of worn-out shoes is tied round his neck and he is mounted on a donkey. He is then called *Vâlam* and taken from the bower through the village accompanied with music and crowds of people, who utter in a loud voice coarse and vulgar expressions as the procession moves on. At times they play jokes with the *Vâlam*, and give him blows on the head with their fists.⁷

In some places, this procession is called *Vâlama Vâlami* and is celebrated on the night preceding the *Holi*. Two poor stupid persons are dressed as bride and bridegroom, the latter in a ridiculously grotesque dress. They are married on the following morning, when vulgar songs are sung. The *Vâlam* and *Vâlami* are represented by two naked idols, made of rags, of a man and a woman. They are carried through the village in a noisy procession and married on an altar of black earthen vessels. They are then placed erect on two wooden posts side by side.⁸

In some villages, a large stone is placed in a spacious compound in the centre of the village,

¹ The School Master of Todia.

² The School Master of Luvaria.

³ The School Master of Pâtan Vâv.

⁴ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Râjkot.

⁵ The School Master of Todia.

⁶ The School Masters of Ganod, Vanod and Dhânk.

⁷ The School Master of Kolki.

and broken earthen vessels are suspended over it with cords from the wooden bower erected over the stone. An ass is brought to the spot, and a fool decked with a garland of worn-out shoes is mounted on it with his face turned towards the tail of the ass. He holds the tail of the ass in his hands as reins and is carried in procession through the village to be brought back to the bower and married to another fool, dust, ashes and water being freely used in the service.¹

In some localities naked images of a husband and wife are set in a cart and taken through the village accompanied with music, the crowd singing indecent songs all the way long.²

On the *Holi* holiday children are presented with *harda* (garlands of balls made of sugar) by their relatives and the friends of their families.³

The *Holi* fire is extinguished by women on the morning of the following day. The earthen vessels containing wheat and gram which are put into the pit of the *Holi* before the fire is lighted are then taken out. The grain is cooked by the fire of *Holi*, and is called *Ghugari*. It is distributed among the villagers, the belief being that those who eat it are protected against disease by the goddess of the *Holi*.⁴

There are many other superstitious beliefs held by people in connection with the *Holi*.

According to one belief, those who expose themselves to the heat of the *Holi* fire keep good health during the ensuing year. According

to some, this can be secured by eating sugar-cane heated over the fire. *Juvàri* stems heated over the fire are given to cattle with the same object.⁵

Some believe that if salt heated over the *Holi* fire is given to cattle it protects them against epidemics.⁶

Virgins take home a little of the *Holi* fire and light five cow-dung cakes with it in the courtyard of their house. When the cakes are burnt, the ashes are removed and the spot is purified with a plaster of cow-dung. Next, they draw some auspicious figures on the spot and worship them for a number of days in the belief that this ensures good health to their brothers.⁷

Among Gujarāt Hindus no special ceremonies are performed when a girl attains puberty, except that on the third or fifth day she is bathed by an unwidowed woman and dressed in green or saffron-coloured robes. She is given rice in milk, sweetened with sugar, and is presented with a piece of green satin.⁸

In some places, the girl is bathed on the fourth day and given *kansār* to eat. She then bows to her mother-in-law and makes her a present of half a rupee. The mother-in-law blesses her and presents her with a bodice cloth.⁹

After the bath, a mark with red powder is made on her forehead and she is taken to the temple of the family deity.¹⁰

In some places, the red powder mark is made under the girl's right arm in the belief that this ensures to her the birth of many children.¹⁰

¹ The School Mistress, Barton Female Training College, Rājkot.

² The School Master of Todia.

³ The School Master of Pātan Vāv.

⁴ The School Master of Khirāsara.

⁵ The School Master of Vanod.

⁶ The School Master of Songadh and Mr. K. D. Desai.

⁷ The School Master of Songadh.

⁸ The School Master of Dhānk.

⁹ The School Master of Dadvi.

¹⁰ The School Master of Chok.

In some localities the girl is bathed on the third day, dainty dishes are served her, and she is presented with a cocoanut by each of her kinsfolk.¹

In some castes, when a girl attains puberty, a feast of cooked rice and molasses is given to the caste people. In other castes, pieces of cocoanut kernel are distributed among children,

and the girl is presented with a robe and bodice by her parents-in-law.²

In some castes, a girl is not allowed to cook before she attains puberty.³

No ceremonies are performed when a boy attains puberty, probably because in the case of boys the change is not so marked as in the case of girls.

¹ The School Mistress of Barton Female Training College, Rājket.
The School Master of Chhatrāsa.

² The School Master of Uptela.

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